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SIGNS OF ATTENTION TO MEANING:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF
COMPREHENSION IN THE
BEGINNING READING
PROCESS

A Dissertation Presented

By

JEAN GODSMAN McCLELLAN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1984

School of Education

Jean Godsman McClellan

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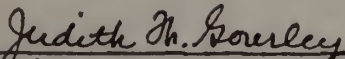
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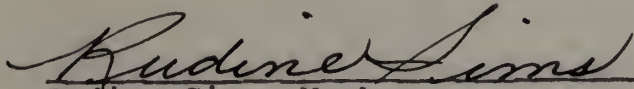
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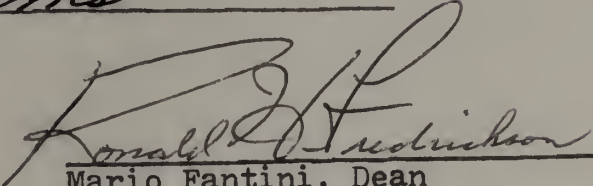
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To my Parents
who helped me to enjoy
and respect inquiry

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A B S T R A C T

SIGNS OF ATTENTION TO MEANING:
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PROCESS

(September 1984)

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The role of comprehension in the beginning reading process has been a debated issue among reading theorists and practitioners. Research on the issue, however, has been limited by the nature of existing measures and contexts studied. In this study, the researcher used naturalistic procedures to explore new measures of comprehension in a "whole language" context. She observed and interviewed children in a kindergarten classroom over a nine-month period, seeking to identify behaviors suggesting attention--or inattention--to comprehension as children began to read (largely without direct instruction).

Numerous "signs of attention to meaning" emerged from the data: intonation shifts, occurring as children appeared to question meaning-loss predictions and assert

their achievement of meaning; picture references, accompanying pauses as children worked on difficult words; commentary (both verbal and nonverbal), reflecting readers' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a word read; and paraphrasing, a last resort for some children when unable to achieve a meaningful graphic match. While these signs occurred in reading both with and without error (or miscue), their significance is perhaps greatest when accompanying miscues that appear to lose meaning, often suggesting meaning retrieval (through final paraphrase) or at least concern with meaning. The data support argument that comprehension is actively involved in the beginning reading process.

The data also suggest that the beginning reading process varies from child to child and with changes in contextual factors such as text familiarity and setting. Contextual variation appeared to affect both children's attention to meaning and reading "style" (combined attention to print and fluency). The data do not support clear demarcation of beginning reading into stages. Further, evidence was not found of extensive "non-response" reading, contrary to some earlier studies in other contexts.

Children's statements added access to the insider's view of the reading process, in many cases confirming or supplementing observed data. A "sentence probing"

procedure emerged from the study, augmenting elicited statements. The simple sentence probing technique involves asking a child, following reading, how she figured out a sentence, word by word.

The study suggests further exploratory research on comprehension in beginning reading.

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C H A P T E R I

THE STUDY

Introduction to the Study

While comprehension is commonly regarded as an essential--if not the essential--aspect of proficient reading, it is equally commonly regarded as a peripheral aspect of beginning reading. Some would even argue that it has no place at all in beginning reading, that the exclusive task of the beginning reader is to wrestle with graphophonic (print-sound relationship) information, and that this is a pre-comprehension task. In everyday teacher parlance, this view is expressed in phrases such as "words now, thoughts later"; in theoretical language, it is expressed in terms such as "automaticity" (LaBerge and Samuels, 1976), inherent in which is the notion that the reading acquisition process involves the development of graphophonic skills at the sub-word and word levels which must become automatic--having no cognitive load--before strings of words can be processed with comprehension. The reading acquisition process in this view is one of building from smaller to larger units of text in serial fashion.

Tacitly this serial view of reading acquisition is expressed in beginning reading texts which stress sight word acquisition or "decoding" skills at the expense of meaningful content, and in reading tests which are loaded toward graphophonic subskills at beginning reading levels or which, in some cases, initiate comprehension measures only after the first grade level (for example, Botel Reading Inventory, 1966).

A clear problem with this disregard for comprehension in beginning reading is that children gain a sense that reading is synonymous with "decoding" (in the traditional graphics to sound sense), that it is a kind of puzzle--the whole puzzle picture being less important than its pieces (DeFord, 1979). They may also gain a sense that the content of books, at least books that they can read, is rather trivial and uninteresting.

Other theories of the reading process, such as psycholinguistic theories, propose that comprehension pervades the process for both the beginning and proficient reader (for example, Goodman, 1977). The beginning reader brings to text a highly developed knowledge of the world (experience) and of language (syntactic and semantic understandings), using this knowledge in combination with emerging knowledge of the print system (graphophonics) to gain access to the meaning of text. The reader--even the

beginning reader--attends to comprehension as she reads, "seeking meaning," or "comprehending" in Goodman's lexicon, in order to achieve "comprehension . . . what is, in fact, understood" (1979, p. 658). This comprehension-centered view of the reading process stands clearly juxtaposed to the earlier serial view and, in turn, holds different implications for reading practice. The term "whole language" is often applied to reading programs following a psycholinguistic model of the reading process, since they emphasize keeping language "whole"--in meaningful units--from the beginning of reading instruction.

Research issues

Research on text comprehension in beginning reading gives somewhat mixed signals at the moment. There is an absence of "pure studies" of comprehension as end product for children just beginning to focus on print in their reading. Further, literature on attention to comprehension (or "comprehending") during reading for these readers, while more abundant, is still limited in significant ways.

A predominant mode of inquiry into beginning readers' attention to comprehension has been oral reading error (or miscue) research. Some of this research suggests specifically that beginning readers attend to the syntactic and semantic constraints of text as they read (Goodman,

1968; Weber, 1970). Other studies suggest, however, that there may be shifts over time, notably toward reduced use of syntactic and semantic constraints as children begin to focus on print (Biemiller, 1970).

Beyond longitudinal differences, however, comparative miscue studies suggest that there may be differences in the use of contextual linguistic constraints in varying types of texts (Rhodes, 1979) and in varying instructional settings (Barr, 1974-5; DeFord, 1979; DeLawter, 1970). Such variation with instructional or textual context suggests that any generalizations based on beginning readers' use of contextual constraints in a single context (for example, Biemiller, 1970) should be examined in other contexts as well.

Further, while oral reading errors have clearly provided a "window on the reading process" (Goodman, 1977), they reflect only a specific sample of reading behavior--error behavior--leaving open the question of whether this behavior is also representative of reading when errors are not made. (See Leu, 1982 for a discussion of this issue.) Oral reading error research also focuses on information about text processing per se, when in reality beginning attention to comprehension in a typical reading book may be more richly described as an interweaving of information from illustrations and text. For this kind of description,

we may need to look to other measures, perhaps developing new measures.

Statement of Problem

The purpose of this study was to observe and describe signs of attention to comprehension during reading as children begin to focus on print. A descriptive research mode allowed the researcher to explore beyond existing measures of attention to comprehension such as error analysis, and to search, as the data suggested, for new signs of attention to meaning.

Since the researcher shares with Mishler (1979) and others the sense that meaning is inseparable from its context, context is considered of importance in this study. For this reason, descriptions of children's reading are accompanied, throughout the study, by descriptions of the reading contexts--with sensitivity to variations in reading that may be related to variations in the particular context. For example, reading in unfamiliar text is compared with reading in familiar text; reading with a teacher's support, with unassisted reading with an observer. The overall instructional context--originally selected for its encouragement of comprehension--is also described for comparison with other instructional contexts.

Significance

The role of comprehension in the beginning reading process has profound significance at both theoretical and practical levels. If comprehension is not a concern for readers as they begin to focus on print, it may be dismissed in theoretical models of the beginning reading process. Beginning reading instruction reflecting such models might arguably focus on decoding letters, or letter strings, or perhaps recognizing words by rote, without attention to comprehension. Reading materials might be designed with little or no concern for a reader's comprehension. Evaluative measures could similarly disregard comprehension. If, on the other hand, beginning readers appear concerned with comprehension, both as their goal and as an aid to decoding text, comprehension becomes important to theoretical models of the beginning reading process. Beginning reading instruction following such models would encourage children's concern for meaning to help them make predictions about the text, to augment their initially shaky sight vocabulary and graphophonic understandings. In such instructional settings, reading materials would be chosen in good part for their comprehensibility, and evaluation of progress would include measures of comprehension. Such programs and materials would

nurture, from the beginning of reading instruction, the expectation that written text makes sense--a long-term aim of any reading program.

This study contributes to the literature on the role of comprehension in a number of ways. It contributes, first, through its open-ended search for signs of attention to comprehension. Since current indicators of comprehension are limited, a search of this nature can give new observational tools which shed stronger light on the role of comprehension in the reading process. It is not sufficient to say that something does not exist, or exists in a limited fashion, simply because vision is limited. New observational tools can aid the vision of both researcher and teacher.

Second, the contextualized nature of this research allows for various comparisons to be made which can further discussion of the unitary or non-unitary nature of comprehension's role in the beginning reading process. The study allows comparisons to be made, for example, among texts varying in their familiarity to the reader; among different reading settings; and among different individuals.

Third, inclusion of children's own descriptions of their reading process(es) advances understanding of the insider's view which anthropologists suggest is essential to an understanding of cognitive processes (Pelto, 1970).

Fourth, the open-ended nature of the interviewing, as of the observations, can lead to the development of new interview questions and tools to strengthen understanding of the beginning reading process.

In summary, this study offers potential data to enrich the currently limited--and critically important--understanding of the role of comprehension in the beginning reading process, as well as analytical tools to support future research and classroom practice.

Assumptions

While it is probably impossible to list all the assumptions behind a piece of research, several assumptions should be noted as of particular importance to this study.

First, reading in its full sense is a process of obtaining meaning from print. Meaning, in this view, is central and essential to the reading process. If readers at any point disregard meaning, they are doing something less than reading.

A second assumption of this study is that observable behaviors can provide clues to a process that is essentially not observable. In other words, for the purposes of this study, it is important to acknowledge both the interior nature of comprehension and the possibility

of delineating external signs that may accompany it. Such external signs can suggest, if not describe in full, the internal cognitive processing involved in comprehension.

A third assumption central to this study is that context affects behaviors. A child's reading may vary with different teachers, texts, particular reading settings, or other contextual factors, as the literature review in part suggests. It is therefore incumbent on researchers to gain contextualized understandings of behaviors signaling the reading process(es).

Definitions of Terms

Beginning reader. The process of learning to read for a child in this society is, in my view, an organic process which may be said to begin in linguistic and world knowledge prior to earliest print awareness, and continue through the acquisition of a working knowledge of the written language system. This process may vary from child to child. And, because of its organic nature, it may be difficult to separate into distinct stages. Since the learning process is so protracted, however, it may be useful to make distinctions between stages, acknowledging that such distinctions are at best "fuzzy."

The beginning reader as defined in this study, then,

is a reader who has progressed beyond a general print awareness--the awareness that print conveys meaning, and the attachment of meaning to certain examples of print in certain contexts; she has begun to focus on connected written text and in doing this, has begun to develop rules for understanding the written language system. This reader has, for example, attained at least partial appreciation of word boundaries and is beginning to develop a working knowledge of the graphophonic system.

Connected text. This may range from a single phrase which conveys a message to a lengthy story, article, or other passage. The critical features of connected text are that to be text, it must convey meaning (per Halliday and Hasan, 1976) and to be connected, it must be comprised of more than a single word.

Decoding. Indicates the translation of written symbol(s) to sound, without concern for meaning being required.

Miscue. An unexpected response to print, per Goodman (1977).

Phonics program. An instructional program in which decoding of individual letters to sounds is encouraged.

Phrased reading. Reading which is both focused on print and, to some degree, fluid. Words are read in

unpaused phrases.

Print awareness. The awareness that print conveys meaning, and attachment of meaning to certain examples of print in certain contexts. An initial stage in understanding written language.

Print focus/focus on print. Voluntary attention to print as a source of information in connected written text. Resultant reading matches the text, to some degree. New print focus may be accompanied by behaviors observed in this study, such as newly paused reading, finger pointing, and obvious left-right eye movements. Other researchers discuss similar behaviors--Clay (1972), in connection with achievement of "voice-print match" in reading; Biemiller (1970), during a "non-response phase" in beginning reading.

Sight word program. An instructional program in which readers learn to recognize whole words "by sight," through the repeated exposure to the words, not necessarily in meaningful context.

Story reading. A term used in this study to describe the fluid reading behavior which precedes print focus, in which the reader produces a good facsimile of the text, with reference, however, to pictures, memory, or imagination, rather than to print.

Whole language program. An instructional program in which reading and writing are introduced in meaningful, communicative context, rather than as discreet sets of isolated skills. Language is kept whole.

Written text comprehension. An exchange between incoming information (the written text) and what the reader knows. Includes comprehension as end product--the sense of the whole text, only realizable on reading it to completion. Also includes attention to comprehension--or meaning--while reading. Follows interactionist descriptions of text comprehension, for example, Kintsch and Van Dijk, 1978; Smith, 1975; Goodman, 1976.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Three bodies of literature had particular bearing on the shape of the questions and the design of this study. First, studies of text comprehension were important both in establishing a sense of the beginning reader's significant potential to comprehend text and in establishing the range of comprehension indicators that has been studied. The findings, difficulties, and limitations of this research helped form the major questions and design of this study. Second, comparative studies of beginning readers in different classroom environments and with different types of text suggested the importance of considering context in the design of a study of beginning readers. Third, discussions of methodological options helped establish the type of design and elements within the design of the study.

Text Comprehension Research

Research on text comprehension in beginning reading is both strongly suggestive and problematic at this point. The available text recall, text construction, and oral reading error studies, while useful, are

limited in important ways in the data they provide on a reader's comprehension of written text.

Text recall studies

Traditionally text comprehension has been measured after the fact, through a reader's recall--either unassisted or prompted. At best, recall, a productive process, can only be an indicator of comprehension. However, the closest we come to measuring comprehension is to measure indicators of comprehension.

For the researcher whose focus is beginning reading, the problems of recall studies are compounded by the nature of beginning reading. The researcher may choose to have the beginning reader recall text which includes pictures (per Rhodes, 1979), but pictures are a confounding variable if the interest is comprehension of the written text per se. Alternatively, the researcher may choose to eliminate pictures, but this also eliminates one of the accustomed sources of support for the beginning reader. While pictures have been eliminated in studies with "primer level" first grade readers (McClellan, 1980, for example), the researcher sensitive to children's anxiety levels and interested in connected text confronts a dilemma in trying to study children who are just beginning to focus on print as a graphophonic system (roughly, the preprimer reader).

As a result, there is an absence of what I will call "pure" recall studies of written text comprehension among these readers.

There is, however, literature suggesting that children of beginning reading age are quite competent in their comprehension of text presented orally. Specifically, children of beginning reading age appear to have acquired a working sense of how stories are structured--a sense of story "schema." Mandler and Johnson (1977), in a comparative study of story recall among first graders and adults, found that children, like adults, consistently recalled certain parts (or categories) of stories, but not others. Settings and resolutions were recalled, for example, but not the internal responses of characters to events. Children, however, paid less attention than adults to certain categories such as the attempts of a character to resolve a problem. Mandler and Johnson conclude from this data that children as well as adults are sensitive to the structure of stories--though their sensitivity is less developed.

In other work, Mandler (1978) and Stein (1976) manipulated stories to distort their natural story structure. Both researchers conclude from their work that young children depend on the structure of a story for recall, and in fact need this structure more than adults do.

Stein and Glenn (1978) in a study of the oral text recall of first and fifth graders analyzed children's inferences about omitted story categories. They found that 33 percent of the first graders showed capacity to infer an initiating event for the first episode of one of the stories, suggesting their sensitivity to what was supposed to be in the story as well as what was actually there.

In another kind of recall study, Smiley, Oakley, Worthen, Campione, and Brown (1977) found that five-year-old children recalled the most important ideas of stories best, though, unlike older children, their recall did not differentiate among lower order ideas according to their relative importance.

Text construction studies.

Beyond recall studies, researchers interested in children's oral text comprehension have studied the stories children could tell.

Shank and Abelson (1977) in reporting the story-telling development of a young child note that by the age of 4;1 this child's stories were dominated by "plans," their term for goal-directed storytelling in which the focus is on the most important ideas. Kintsch (1977) reports that four-year-olds given wordless picture books

can "read" them as stories when the pictures are well organized and when the pictures are not full of distracting details. Poulsen, Kintsch, Kintsch, and Premack (1979) also reported that four- and six-year-old children presented with sets of pictures that depicted a story could tell a story from them when the pictures were in coherent order; when scrambled, the four-year-olds reverted to labelling the pictures but the six-year-olds attempted to make connections between pictures to make them into a story.

The text construction research of Kintsch, and Shank and Abelson, as well as the recall studies of Stein, Mandler, and others suggest some of the strengths children of beginning reading age bring to text comprehension, at least comprehension of text presented orally or pictorially. Though this falls short of evidence that children use these strengths when they confront written text--and specifically, when they begin to focus on the graphophonic system--it suggests some of the capacities that children have, at least "on reserve."

Oral reading error studies

A number of longitudinal first grade studies suggest that the miscues of readers undergo qualitative changes as readers become more knowledgeable about reading.

Y. Goodman (1968), in an exploratory study of eight children mostly from code-emphasis (or phonics) reading programs reported a progression in readers' substitution errors from real words which had been seen before in print to non-words or real words which had not been seen before in print. Weber (1970) found an increase in the graphic similarity of substitution errors in the last three months of her first grade study of children in a basal reading program. Cohen (1974-1975), in a study of a code-emphasis reading program, noted a progression from "no response" errors to substitutions of nonsense syllables to substitutions of real words among the better readers, and a gradual progression toward both nonsense and real word substitutions among poorer readers. Biemiller (1970) noted a progression of errors in first grade through stages, the first involving substitutions with strong use of context (79 percent) and minimal use of graphophonic information (21 percent); the second, the stage in which the reader begins to focus on the graphophonic system, introduced by an increase in "non-response" errors, followed by decreased use of context (66 percent) and increased use of graphophonic information (42 percent); and the third, proficient stage in which the reader's use of context again increased (82 percent), at this point coupled with a stronger use of graphophonic information

(50 percent). The instructional program in Biemiller's study used a mixture of sight and phonics techniques, in traditional basal program sequence, though employing a range of materials including language experience and both basal and trade books (Levin and Mitchell, 1969).

Comparative Studies

Various comparative oral reading error studies suggest the existence of important differences among children's reading in varying contexts, notably instructional and textual contexts.

Influence of instructional program

Oral reading error studies point to different error patterns for readers in different instructional programs. One such first grade study (Barr, 1974-5) found a majority of students in a phonics program (10 of 16) making predominantly graphophonically appropriate errors while a majority of students in a sight word program (15 of 16) made errors related to their sight vocabulary. Similarly, an early second grade oral reading error study comparing children in a decoding (or phonics) program with children in a so-called "meaning" emphasis program (Chandler reading series) found a greater percentage of

non-word errors among the decoding students (DeLawter, 1970). A study of the effect of teachers' theoretical base and instructional practice (DeFord, 1979) noted that the reader considered the "best" by the teacher in each class conformed to the teacher's view of reading instruction-- decoding emphasis, skills (or sight word) emphasis, or whole language (psycholinguistic) emphasis.

Influence of textual variables

Studies also suggest an interaction between reading materials and oral reading errors. Rhodes (1979), in studying the interaction of beginning readers' strategies and texts varying in predictability, found higher semantic acceptability of sentences and stronger use of syntactic and semantic cues in the most predictable quarters of the more predictable stories, although she did not find greater semantic acceptability of sentences or stronger use of syntactic and semantic cues in whole story analysis between the two predictable stories and one of the two less predictable stories. McClellan (1980) in pilot work with children in a whole language first grade classroom found that the children's miscues were both fewer (by about half) and more semantically constrained for the "more interesting" (by researcher and student judgment) of two stories from

two first grade reading series reflecting content emphasis versus decoding emphasis.

In short, both instructional program and reading materials may have bearing on a child's beginning reading behavior.

Research Methodology

Calls for naturalistic studies

Two major design options--experimental and naturalistic--are available to the researcher interested in beginning reading. Historically, research in education has been dominated by experimental design, with its careful attention to controlling variables and to generalizability of findings. The majority of studies cited in the literature review to this point are of this type.

Increasingly, however, there have been calls in the educational literature for naturalistic studies. Proponents of such studies point to the importance of studying complex phenomena in their complexity (Carey, 1980), to retain their "ecological validity" (Bronfenbrenner, 1976). For this purpose they argue against experimental designs which "strip" away context from the thing studied. Mishler (1979), for example,

asks if we can in fact address the meaning of a given phenomenon without considering its context.

In another vein, Hymes (1980) addresses the importance of gaining accurate knowledge of the meanings of behaviors to the participants themselves. This is important certainly across cultures, as Hymes illustrates with an example of an interviewer's use of the general term "playground" among people who distinguish between "playgrounds" and "playyards." Research by adults among children is in a sense also cross-cultural. An example I particularly like of usage differences is one Margaret Donaldson (1979) uses of an adult who asks a child to "sit here for the present," not predicting the child's consternation when a gift is not proffered.

"Generalizability"--a capping stone of experimental design--is challenged as of lesser importance than "new, local knowledge" which, argues Hymes (1980), demands the open inquiry more characteristic of naturalistic research. The "insider's" view is particularly appropriate, suggest anthropologists such as Pelto (1970) and Frake (1962) in considering inside, cognitive processes. Graves (1981) adds to these arguments for naturalistic research that studies which describe learners in real classroom situations can be more credible to teachers.

While Graves, Hymes, Mishler, and others argue the

case for naturalistic research in education, others discuss the importance of matching the research mode to the process studied (Wolf and Tymitz, 1976-1977). Clearly, contributions have been made by comparative, experimental research to an understanding that context is important to beginning reading behavior (for example, DeLawter, 1970; Barr, 1974-1975; Rhodes, 1979 . Further, experimental research has given solid clues to aspects of the beginning reading process, at least for given contexts (Weber, 1970, for example). If the task, however, is to look for new clues about the beginning reading process, for readers in real learning situations, the case is well argued for naturalistic design--of varying types and to varying degrees--in studies of the beginning reading process.

Naturalistic studies of beginning reading

Bissex (1980), in an ethnographic study, documented her son's acquisition of reading and writing for more than five years from age five on, with thorough description of what he did as he developed, though little description of the context of his school learning. (It would have been difficult indeed for a mother to accompany her son regularly to school!) Bissex found that when her son, Paul, was at a stage of "working at reading"--or just beginning to grapple with the print system--he appeared almost to

abandon his use of contextual information as his attention appeared absorbed in figuring out the print (p. 125).

Haussler (1982) in a kindergarten-first grade classroom study largely comprised of set interview and reading tasks in an environment described as whole language, found that young readers varied in the strategies they used in their "transitions" into literacy. Of interest to this study is her suggestion that readers who begin to focus on print appear to attend both to the meaning and print systems when reading familiar text, though to attend primarily to the print system in unfamiliar text. Haussler bases her suggestion on very limited data--one reading by each of two children in unfamiliar text.

Graves and Hansen (1983) combined observation and interviewing in a study of the relationships between beginning reading and writing. They found that in the "transition phase," during which "more and more sounding is heard," in children's reading, "when the message is interrupted by sounding out a word (, the) children do an abundance of rereading as they strive to make meaning" (p. 180). The classroom environment in which the study was done was one in which children were involved regularly in writing and sharing their writing.

Harste, Burke, and Woodward (1981) in a large longitudinal study of children's "initial encounters with print" in varying educational settings and from varying home settings found that successful readers and writers held a "textual intent" (p. 52-53), making text personally meaningful; they also "negotiated" to meaning in difficult language situations" (p. 61).

In short, naturalistic studies have begun to give information about the beginning reading process in varying classroom settings, including whole language classrooms. Two studies suggest that readers may retain attention to meaning as they begin to attend to print in whole language settings. Of these, the Haussler suggestion is limited to familiar text, and drawn from limited data; the Graves and Hansen suggestion does not give details of what is involved in the readers' attention to meaning, beyond suggesting that rereading suggests the striving for meaning. There is room in the literature for further naturalistic studies of children's attention to meaning as they begin to focus on print.

Summary of the Literature

While research on comprehension of orally presented text suggests considerable strengths among children of

beginning reading age, research on their comprehension of written text is currently limited. Prevailing recall tools present difficulties for the child just beginning to maneuver through connected text, leaving the researcher a choice between presenting text accompanied by pictures (on which the recall would in part be based) or text unsupported by pictures (perhaps an overwhelming and unnatural task for the child at this stage of reading).

Oral reading error studies of beginning reading populations while useful in their concern for comprehension-centered aspects of the reading process have been largely limited to children in phonics and sight word instructional contexts, a limitation that comparative oral reading error studies suggest may have important bearing on the kinds of behaviors observed. Further, oral reading error studies have been criticized for the limitation of their data to error information, a partial information source at best.

New modes of analysis for this thorny research area are clearly needed, and in their development, exploratory, naturalistic studies promise to be useful. Existing naturalistic studies, however, have only begun to examine the issue of attention to meaning as children begin to focus on print. It is therefore appropriate to embark on a naturalistic study on this issue since children's concern for meaning as they begin to read

can influence the shape of both reading theory and practice.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this study I followed beginning reading development among twelve children in a whole language kindergarten. The central concern of the study was children's attention to meaning (or comprehension) as they began to focus on print in their reading.

Naturalistic data collection procedures were used, including participant observation, informal interviewing, collection of audiotapes of regular reading activities, and finally, reading tasks established for the study.

The study began as part of a larger, three-year literacy study directed by Judith Gourley.

Inception and Social Relations

Inception

When Judith Gourley broached the possibility of my helping her gather data for a study she had undertaken to begin in the fall of 1981, I was eager to join in. In part, I joined in simply because I thought her proposed ethnographic study of literacy acquisition in this kind of

environment would be worthwhile; I also thought my participation could help me give shape to a dissertation topic, probably centered on my interest in the issue of comprehension and beginning reading. I did not think, as fall began in 1981, that I was actually beginning my dissertation. In a very real sense, I was.

Spradley (1980) uses the term "funneling" to describe the ethnographic process of beginning with broad observations and questions about an environment and working toward more focused, narrower ones. I had, with my first day's fieldnotes, begun that process. From the first months' fieldnotes came, for example, a broad sense of the children's individual differences in approaching the reading task, and of differences in each child's approach to different reading materials, as well as a sharpened sense of the discrepancies at times between a child's perceptions and my own. These somewhat vague senses were the foundation of more specific kinds of observations, increasingly focused on signs of attention to comprehension that were evident as children read.

Entry

Since I began this study within the framework of a larger project, I was spared some of the typical entry issues. Permissions had already been granted by the

principal and parents. The teachers, who knew Judith Gourley from coursework and prior research projects, had already been established as part of the research team. Judith Gourley had met the children and their parents in home interviews before school began, and had begun her observations in the classroom prior to my arrival. The children had been informed of her role--to learn about what children in kindergarten do--and were introduced to me as someone helping her in this role. What remained was for me to establish my position in the classroom.

Relationships with the teachers

From the beginning the teachers appeared to accept my presence with impressive ease. Probably their knowing me from prior professional encounters helped. They also knew that I was excited by some of the things they were doing. They knew too that the focus of the study was on the children, not on the teachers.

Nevertheless, I was apprehensive about my relationships with the teachers. After all, I had license--and mandate--to give careful scrutiny to everything I observed, and I was sensitive to how threatening this could be. Not everything in a classroom goes according to plan. I tried on occasion to convey to the teachers my genuine respect for what they were doing, and, over time, became confident

--in my own mind--that they knew I was not a Madame DeFarge knitting seditious notes. With this confidence, by mid-year, I began to relax, and at one point in the spring (May 11) noted a real feeling of satisfaction as I comfortably took notes of a group writing project under teacher direction that was a shambles. One child, a boy, was deeply involved in developing the story line; the other three, all girls, sabotaged every suggestion he made. Finally, the teacher suggested scrapping the project, inviting the boy to continue it on his own. It was definitely a project that had not gone according to plan--but it was interesting data.

Given my early apprehension, it seemed a bit paradoxical as the year progressed that I should feel increasingly aware of the possibility of becoming too much an insider in interactions with teachers. We were all part of the research team; yet my role was to document.

As we all gained knowledge and shared perceptions of the children, it became easier to exchange appreciative glances as we listened, for example, to Beatrix describe the yellow dots of "sunshine" she had painted on her landscape. Such exchanges were, however, infrequent. I think we all tried to be quite careful.

Agar (1980), in The Professional Stranger, discusses the ethnographer's balancing act between being friend and

stranger. I for my part found myself correcting my balance throughout the year.

Relationships with the children

For my first day in the classroom, the team had agreed that I would be useful as a "naive" observer who could ask the children about their perceptions of their work in the classroom. In the library, I found Beatrix leafing through A Pocket for Corduroy. When I asked what she was doing, she responded easily, "looking at a book." When I asked what she did when she looked at a book, Beatrix continued, "turn the pages and look at the pages," then, pointing to the print, volunteered, "If I looked at this I could say what they say." This, she went on, was reading. But could she read? No. Did she know how to read? Beatrix responded by sounding out with great labor "s-o-r-d-r" for the text, "Corduroy," then asked me to read a story to her.

Shel, looking at a dinosaur book in the library, would not even acknowledge my question about what he was doing. Charlotte, in turn, asked me to read a phrase from a bear book she was looking at. I asked what she thought; she saw I was useless and approached a peer who could read fluently.

From the start, my relationships with the children

varied markedly. For my part, after the first day of interviewing, I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible in taking observational notes. I turned back requests for help, but it was not possible to turn back all bids for attention.

I tried to be neutral not only in not providing assistance to the child but in not providing assistance to the teacher. On one of my first days of observation, for example, I watched a boy pocket a matchbox car that did not belong to him, and I watched the moment of truth that ensued as the owner declared his car lost. I did nothing.

I think over time most children distinguished between me and a "teacher." On one occasion, for example, Luke eyed me with a glint in his eye as he and a friend proceeded gleefully to turn their water experiment into a rambunctious free-for-all, with water splashing everywhere. Jack, too, once glanced up at me and proceeded to hurl his pencils and erasers toward another table.

The Classroom Setting

The teachers

Since I have an educator's bias that teachers are central to classrooms, I shall begin description of this

kindergarten by introducing the teachers.

The head teacher. The "teacher," as I will refer to her in this study, is a seasoned professional with more than a decade's teaching experience and a substantial amount of graduate coursework in reading, language development, and writing. She has read closely the work of Marie Clay, Yetta and Kenneth Goodman, Frank Smith, and Donald Graves, among others. She has given regional and national presentations about her classroom at reading and language conferences. She is intelligent, well informed, and dynamic.

Her teaching is based on firm philosophy. For her, language skills (including reading and writing) are best learned in communicative context, largely through experience rather than direct teaching. Children in her classroom are asked to think--and learn--for themselves. "What do you think?" "Does that make sense?" are questions an observer hears her ask often.

In reading with children, she emphasizes sense and use of syntactic cues for many children, rereading a faltering line to help a child predict an unknown word, directing a child to use a picture for a cue, or suggesting that the child skip a troublesome word and return to it. She also encourages children to use initial and other sounds, to point to words as they read. Sometimes, too,

she provides words. Her guidance depends on the reader. For one doggedly print-bound reader on one occasion she suggested covering the print altogether and just looking at the picture for information, but for others, making the transition to print focus, she would encourage attention to the words. Overall, she encourages flexibility and independence. To her it is important that readers be ready to take risks.

The aide. The aide is a certified teacher who previously had her own kindergarten in another town. She has, as she noted to me, learned to do things differently in this classroom than she used to, and has herself taken recent coursework in reading and language development. She is a warm and comfortable woman, with a twinkle in her eye.

Student teachers. In addition to teacher and aide, there were two student teachers in this kindergarten during the year. Both brought considerable energy and perception to the room, and both tried, I think, to fit into the classroom philosophy. However, it is not easy, if one is kindhearted, to be disciplined about asking children to think for themselves. It also takes training to have questions like, "Does it make sense?" become more automatic than "Sound it out" in reading with a child. Tapes of the second semester student teacher suggest that

she was trying--but not yet proficient in directing children to independence or sense in their reading.

The physical setting

The school. The school selected for this study is a kindergarten-sixth grade public school in a New England town whose primary industry is higher education. The nature of the town clearly has an impact on its public schools--both on the budgetary support for education (ample though not luxurious) and on the educational qualifications of the teaching staff. The populations of the elementary schools within the town, however, vary. This school draws children largely from nonacademic families.

The one-level school building stretches out across a hillside. Many of its classrooms face south toward a small mountain range, with small class gardens outside their windows and a lively assortment of birdfeeders in the winter.

The corridors, those inevitable sources of first impressions, are institutional but wide, colorful and light, enlivened with changing displays of children's art work on the walls and often, with work in progress--children and paints sprawled on the terrazzo around an underwater-mural-to-be or other large project.

The library, at the center of the building, is both amply stocked and comfortable; its shelves of beginning level reading materials are packed with new and well-loved titles. All of Arnold Lobel's Frog and Toad books are in the collection, for example.

The kindergarten room. The kindergarten is a large, carpeted space, partitioned by bookshelves, filing cabinets, "cubbies," display boards, and other dividers into various "areas." These are announced by overhead signs: "Writing Area," "Library," "Math Area," "Art Area," "Drama Area," "Games and Puzzles," and "Small Blocks."

While by teacher description, the classroom is quite bare as a year begins, it was not at all bare by October when I began to observe. In the drama area--also used for class meetings--a "Hopping Helpers" board announced children's jobs; the "Letter of the Week" was boldly displayed, next to a large-scale calendar. The day's snack was announced on a nearby sign. The month's birthday children were posted. In the library area, an "Author of the Week" board told about an author whose works were featured. Bulletin board space was filled with children's artwork--often captioned, always titled. Shelves, cubbies, and containers were labeled. Mailboxes for all the children children stood near the entrance ready for messages. Print, in short, was everywhere.

Writing Area. The writing area comprised about one-sixth of the area of the large room. Included in the area were several tables, one round, two rectangular, and, from midyear on, a "private desk." Largely then the work spaces were social.

Near the windows, at child height, a plastic milk crate held the children's writing journals, and later, "story books." In a corner near the art area were tubs of pencils, colored markers, erasers, and other tools of the writing trade. On a divider next to the tables were often pictures and sometimes, frequently used words like "the." In general the area was free of distractions beyond the other children--that is, at a distance from cars and trucks, sandtable, cooking activities, and so forth.

The area was bounded on one side by windows, and at the ends by dividers constructed from bookcases, file cabinets, and shelving units. The remaining "side" was somewhat open, allowing easy overflow of writing activities into the adjacent art area. Writing on occasion took over the entire room.

Drama area. Beyond its print features, the drama area was home to large construction blocks, a steering wheel mounted on a board; hats, dresses, odd bits and pieces of costumes; a play kitchen. Activity began from these.

Art area. Twin easels and art supplies were housed in the art area. But art projects, like writing projects, on occasion overtook the room.

Games and puzzles. Shelves surrounded this area, filled with an assortment of games, puzzles, beads. A sand table was lodged at one edge.

Small blocks. Here were found small blocks, small animals, small cars and trucks for creative play.

Library. A low table featured books of special interest or written by the author of the week. Shelves were stacked with a good assortment of other books for reading or browsing. A wide, comfortable, grown-up-scale chair lounged in one corner--ready for several children at a time. A small rocker invited a child on his own. Children also sprawled on the rug--and even under the low table (a wonderful place for ghost stories).

Math area. Shelves, surrounding a large table, were stocked with materials for categorizing and counting--bread bag tags, beads, animal figures, counting blocks.

The program

The kindergarten day began regularly with a class meeting. The date was circled on the large calendar. The day's schedule was discussed. The snack sign was read (and often, written) by the children. There might be a singalong

with the giant songbook, or perhaps, warmup exercises to music.

Beyond the meeting, there was both variation and flexibility in the schedule, but with some regular elements. The two major elements were blocks of time for "teacher's choice" and "children's choice." Both were included in a typical day's schedule, for example:

9:00	Class meeting
9:30	Children's choice
10:15	Story, friend-to-friend reading, other
10:30	Snack
10:45	Teacher's choice
11:30	Dismissal

Children's choice. This was a time in which children could sign up to work in an area by placing their name tags on a hook next to the name of the area. When the hooks were full, the area was full. Sometimes only certain areas were "open," and sometimes these were set up with special projects to which the children had been introduced in meeting. Much of the time, the children could use the resources of an area as they wished.

Teacher's choice. Children were assigned during this time to activities such as writing, math, or cooking. Typically, several different activities were scheduled at the same time. But the whole class might also be assigned to writing, math, science, or craft projects.

Writing. Writing was a regular component of both teacher's and children's choice times. It was a teacher's

choice activity at least three days a week.

At the beginning of the year, each child was given a large, empty notebook. This "journal" was for his ideas, written in his own spellings, accompanied by his own drawings. The children usually wrote in their journals in groups, around worktables, though the private desk introduced at midyear was sought out by some. Writing time was, usually, a social time, with children sharing their ideas and drawings, asking each other questions about their work, asking each other for assistance, and carrying on conversations unrelated to their work or school. For example:

October 29.

Lucille: I'm just writing a baby.
 Beverly: You mean drawing a baby.
 Lucille: Yup.
 Beverly: You know what a baby does? (She scribbles.)
 That's what my brother does.
 Lucille: My sister doesn't do that. She's eleven.

March 2.

Beatrix, Jane, Lucille, Beverly, and Sarah were together at a writing table, discussing the volume of work they had written. Beatrix suggested they would need a bag to take it all home; Sarah, a big paper bag; Lucille, a garbage can . . . After a moment, I heard Jack, at a nearby table, suggesting to Arnold that the word, "car," was spelled c-a-r. Arnold contradicted, "No, two 'r's'." (He had spelled it, c-r-r.)

Book publishing. From November onward, many of the children wrote pieces "for publication" by the classroom

press. The publishing process began with a piece drafted by a child in his own spellings and hand. This was then typed by a teacher on a primer typewriter, using conventional spellings and punctuation; illustrated by the child; and bound for the classroom library. Published books always included a formal title page and a page about the author. A pocket inside the back cover held a regular library circulation card.

Book publishing was a process taken seriously by both teachers and students. George, on reading me one of his published pieces at the end of the year, blurted out, "I've already published one story. Guess how much my mom and dad have published? . . . None. And you know what-- I'm going to publish five more!"

Letter of the week. Each week, the class focused on a given letter of the alphabet. Take "W." On the day I observed during "W" week, the letter was displayed in the meeting area (it had been introduced earlier); some children took a walk around the school, making a list of workers; others made an underwater mural. One of the children read a short story, "The Well" to the group. Wieners and juice were served for snack. Letters were spotlighted--in context.

Story time. Almost every day that I observed, a teacher spliced in a story with the whole group, often just

before or just after snack, usually fiction, occasionally nonfiction.

Authors' circle. At the beginning of December, after the first full-length story had been written, an authors' circle was established as a vehicle for sharing writing. On authors' circle days (about two or three a week), teacher's choice and children's choice might be a little shorter than usual. Authors' circle would end the morning.

Children volunteered to share their stories, and for the most part, the reader controlled the discussion by announcing as she began that she would accept "questions," "comments," and/or "suggestions" about her piece. The author decided whose hand to recognize. Listeners were expected to be quiet. Again, an excerpt from the discussion may help describe:

Shel(reading): This is a palm (pine?) tree. It is all cut up.

Arnold: That really looks like a palm.

Jack: I like the way you colored the palm tree. You used the right kind of colors.

Everett: It looks like the tree has shoes on. (giggles around the circle)

----: What are the brown things?

Shel: Those are the coconuts.

----: He should have had more coconuts.

Instructional reading sessions. From January onward, the teachers invited children one at a time to read with them, when possible, in a little side room, where they

could close the door, sit comfortably on floor cushions and read with tape recorder rolling. Sometimes, children were invited to bring something of their choice or something they could read; sometimes, the teachers invited them to choose from a preselected group of books, or to read a specific text. The kinds of guidance varied with the teacher and the child. The number of recorded sessions varied from three to five (most had four) by year's end. This then was a regular, but infrequent part of the program. However, it is important to note that reading instruction did not dominate the classroom. There was not an intensive effort by the teachers to create kindergarten readers. Reading happened sideways, without most of the children understanding that it was happening; most, when asked where they had learned about reading, credited home not school.

Other reading events. In keeping with the philosophy of the classroom, "learning to read" occurred everywhere, all the time, in all manner of ways, with little direct instruction. Children read their freshly written stories "in conference" with a teacher, perhaps getting a lesson on "ing" endings or spaces between words, as might fit the occasion. They also shared their pieces with peers, both for performance and input. Children read the snack sign, the names on cubbies, the titles on shelves

and containers. They read the "Hopping Helpers" board. They read along in the giant songbook or in a book at the listening station; they browsed in the library. Some read sentences they dictated to teachers in directed writing sessions. They read sentence cards describing their projects. They wrote and read the titles and captions on display boards. They read color words in a math activity. With environmental support and teacher guidance, they had many opportunities to focus on reading, the largest number probably derived from their writing.

The Sample

The twelve students in this study included all the children in the morning kindergarten session who began their year without print-focused reading, and who completed the full year. Three additional students entered with at least some print focus; two more left before the end of the year; one joined the class in the spring; and one child was not a participant in the larger study.

Thick description of three of the children studied is provided in a report from the larger study of their literacy acquisition (Gourley et al., 1983). Shorter profiles of the twelve students are also provided for reference in the Appendix.

Pseudonyms have been used throughout this study consistent with those used in the larger study.

Materials Collection

A combination of data collection procedures was used in this study, including naturalistic observation, informal interviewing, and audiotaping of children's reading in various settings.

Naturalistic observation

From October 1 to June 21, I observed children in the classroom setting approximately weekly. I arrived at the school at about 9:15, shortly after the day had begun and remained in the classroom until the children were on the buses headed home.

Initially, and until April, my schedule comprised taking fieldnotes on the children in all their daily activities. This data, which provided information for the larger study discussed earlier, was formatted to correspond to the data in the larger study.

The research team had divided the class--for observational purposes only--into four groups, roughly along social lines. Each week we focused on one group.

As the children went about their activities--

writing, sharing books in the library, constructing at the sand table, cooking, whatever--I stood by a divider at the edge of their activity, jotting down in a small notebook as much as I could about what I saw and heard. While I tried to hone in on the activities of members of the focus group, I took notes as well about other children, particularly when they were engaged in reading activities.

At first, everything counted as data--who sat next to whom, who chose the drama area during choice time, who plunged into writing, who stood back. But while this kind of messy data played havoc with my need for organization, from it, over time, emerged patterns of individual choices, strategies, and styles which provided a sense of the distinctiveness of each child, important background to more closely focused observation of their reading behaviors.

By January and February my notetaking became more focused on children's reading. I observed the groups in their daily rounds of activities but if there was a choice, I observed children reading. Further, as I began to analyze the transcripts of their reading in authors' circle and in instructional sessions, I began to develop categories for observation drawn from the data. For example, as I listened to tapes of children reading with pauses between words, I began to focus in authors' circle observations on what I could see these children doing

during the pauses, or what I could see children doing when they read without pause. I compared what I saw in their journals and what I heard on the tapes. Observation fed analysis and analysis, observation.

By the beginning of April, I was ready to begin observation of the children whose reading was at least partially print focused. At this point my weekly observations of the classroom at large were curtailed. I still observed authors' circle regularly, and writing time, as much as possible. But my time "at large" was reduced to about an hour to an hour and a half.

Informal interviewing

From my first day of observing in the classroom, I occasionally asked children informally about their activities. As noted earlier, my "role" on the first day in the classroom was to be the "naive interviewer." From then on, while my role was largely to observe, I did ask children about their reading and writing as they were engaged in these activities. Usually, I took the opportunities that presented themselves to me. For example, when Jack invited me to join him reading, I asked about his reading.

Toward the end of January, I began asking questions more methodically, exploring individually, for example,

each child's preferred reading materials (books or journals).

Finally, from April to June, I interviewed all the children who read with me in the context of these reading sessions. I began with questions about their choice of books and their reading process--how they read, what they looked at, whether they did the same things in their journals as in books, what they did when they came to words they did not know, how they learned to read. These questions, in part borrowed from "The Reading Interview" (Burke, 1978) were addressed to each child as were questions that emerged from discussions with Sylvia Forman (about their recollections of first reading experiences, for example) and from the data (about where they learned to read, and how they had learned). As individual responses suggested, I followed up many of these questions with further explorations that varied from child to child.

Sentence probing. In the course of a reading/ interviewing session with Beatrix (May 25), I fell upon a simple technique for eliciting her statements about the reading process, which I then applied to other children. This "sentence probing" involves asking a child, word by word, how she read (or figured out) a sentence in a text she had just completed. My use of "sentence probing" in this study was experimental--and not entirely

consistent. Regardless, I think at this juncture I can say that it appeared to be a profitable tool for print-focused readers, in stretches of text both with and without miscue. For many of the children, it provided a source of new insights about their reading strategies.

Collection of audiotapes

Authors' circle. With the inception of authors' circle in December, Gourley began taping many of these sessions, a venture that I supplemented during the spring.

Instructional sessions. As well, in January, the teachers began taping their individualized instructional reading sessions with the children. Both kinds of taping continued to year's end.

Reading/interviewing sessions. Also, in April, I began collecting tapes of children reading with me. My intention was to tape twice each child considered by both me and the classroom teacher to be capable of focusing on print in unfamiliar text. The protocol I established for these reading sessions involved my inviting a student to read in the side room used for reading, asking him to bring something he had written to read with me. As we began, I advised the child that the session would be tape-recorded in order for me to listen to it later. When the child had finished reading his own piece, I invited him

to read one of the books I had brought with me. If he agreed, I briefly introduced the books, in varying order, by giving their titles and a one-sentence statement about their content. Titch (Hutchins, 1971) was introduced as a book about a little boy who has an older brother and sister; I Was Walking Down the Road (Barchas, 1975), as a book about a little girl who goes for a walk and finds things; Homes! (Wiskur, 1971), as a book about homes that animals live in. When the student selected a book, I reread the title as well as the first page of text, a procedure adapted from one used by Gourley (1984) and similar to procedures used by the classroom teacher. I indicated that for the remaining text I would like him to read on his own, that I would just be a listener. Following the reading, I asked questions. After the first selection, I asked for recall, inviting the child to "pretend I haven't heard you read this before." I also asked about book choice and opinion. Between this and other sessions, I then asked questions about how the child read and learned to read, as noted earlier.

My criteria for choosing the books for these sessions was that they be ones that would conform to classroom practice, but that had not been used in the room that year. I checked with the teacher, and chose Titch from her list of early predictable books. I chose I Was Walking Down the

Road since it had been used in earlier studies in this room (Gourley, 1984). I chose Homes because it was part of a reading series used in the classroom. I sought variety rather than consistency in these texts--beyond predictability--as I was interested in the choices the children made.

As a child read, I made notes about what might not show up on tape--his eye movements, finger pointing, picture references, head scratches, shrugs, beseeching glances to me, playing with the tape recorder, and so forth. The behaviors which occurred regularly, I began to abbreviate:

P . . . looks at picture

T . . . looks at adult

. . . . points to word

For the texts I had preselected, I jotted my notes on typescripts of the texts. For the children's writing, I jotted notes in my observation book, acquiring a copy of their text as soon as possible afterwards.

An advantage of ethnographic research is the latitude it allows to modify one's intentions. I read two times with almost all the children who appeared capable of print-focused reading. Arnold, however, would only read new text once. I did not press. I read twice with Emily --at her invitation. Emily, however, had not been on my

list of children who might be capable of focusing on print in reading unfamiliar text. But Emily's invitation was not useless data; nor Arnold's reluctance to read text that was not his own with me.

I also decided in midcourse that while I wanted to allow children to choose materials as they were often allowed in the classroom, I also wanted a glimpse of all of them reading one text, if possible. I chose Titch for this. While some of the children had already read Titch, it meant that some were asked to read a third book. On one occasion too, with Luke, who was capable of some print focus at the end of the year but inclined perhaps to story read something that looked like work, I invited him to read the shortest selection, Homes.

Data Analysis

I suspect a description of data analysis is a little like a description of comprehension: a worthwhile goal, only partially achievable because the process is inherently interior, unseen. Philosophers (Polanyi, 1958) and linguists (Chomsky, 1967) discuss the role of tacit knowledge in the formation of ideas and language respectively. Their thoughts apply here. With this cautionary prologue, however, I shall try to describe the analysis of which I am

aware.

Chronology

I began a minimal level of analysis with the earliest observations in October, 1981, writing margin notes along with my field observations. These at first were diffuse in substance but, like the observations themselves, became more focused over time.

In January, 1982, I began transcribing the tapes of children's instructional reading sessions, making notes of audible behaviors surrounding their reading: pauses, sighs, comments, questions, for example. I made note too of teacher responses. By mid-February, I had begun to identify a working list of reading behaviors and reading "styles." I had developed a beginning sense of behaviors I might expect to accompany "print-focused" (print-attendant, not proficient) and "story" (not print-attendant) reading. Print-focused reading might, for example, be accompanied by pauses, finger pointing, attempts to sound out words, repeated attempts at words. "Story" reading might be more fluid, unmarked by signs of attention to print such as finger pointing. These were not new observations (see Clay, 1972; MacKinnon, 1959, for example). But the observations emerged anew from this data. Some behaviors observed in other studies--"non-response" as a general

phenomenon (Biemiller, 1970)--did not emerge from this data.

I collected the behaviors I had observed into a starting checklist for further observations.

By mid-March, I had reviewed and organized fieldnotes child by child, and attempted to define a starting point child by child (where applicable) for print-focused reading. This attempt was not successful. I found children reading in what might be described as a print-focused style in one selection or part of a selection and not, in another. I had thought I was coming to see a train stop at a station and move on; I saw instead considerable shunting back and forth in the yard. This will be described further in the findings section.

By April, continued analysis of transcripts produced a revised list of behaviors which could imply attention to comprehension, a list that would be revised and revised again. I was ready to bring this checklist to bear on children's reading in a one-to-one situation with me.

During the summer months of 1982, I transcribed the remaining tapes of reading sessions, as well as authors' circle tapes. I coded transcripts of children reading with me for miscue analysis, where applicable (Goodman and Burke, 1972). (I did not apply miscue analysis to clear examples of "story reading.")

I also coded the transcripts for pauses and intonation shifts that occurred within words:

Markings above words--

- /? . . . rising, questioning intonation
- \. . . falling, declarative intonation
- ! . . . exclamatory intonation
- , . . . hesitant, drawn-out intonation

Markings between and within words--

- / . . . one second pause
- // . . . two second pause (etc.)
- c.at . . . unnatural juncture in word

For reliability purposes, a sample of the intonation markings was later verified by another coder who listened to the audiotapes and marked a second set of transcripts. This person was a speech and language clinician who had no other contact with the study. Her coding largely confirmed mine, with two exceptions. For one reader (Jack), she marked more hesitant and questioning intonation than I did, characterizing much of the reading as hesitant. While I had not marked as many individual words in this case, our overall characterizations agreed. For another reader (George), the second coder marked a few examples as questions that I had marked as exclamations; this would have changed somewhat the overall characterization of the reading. However, I am confident from my knowledge of the

child's expression in other contexts as well that these few examples were exclamations. All of the examples of questioning intonation around "loss" miscues were confirmed by the second coder.

During the summer of 1982, as part of the larger research effort, I also reviewed my fieldnotes as sources of data to support generalization made through the year from "weekly meeting" data assembled by other members of the research team. I had contributed data for the weekly meetings but had not been part of them for most of the year.

By spring of 1983 (such is the pace of this working mother) I was clear in my own mind about what I considered useful in my data. I began writing up my findings during the summer, then let them lie fallow (such, perhaps, is the blessing-in-disguise for the working mother) as I clarified in my own mind what others might possibly want to read. Analysis continued. I examined, for example, all the meaning-loss miscues against surrounding behaviors, and charted them for the findings section.

Lines of analysis

At the outset, in this process, I had an intuitive sense that beginning readers in comprehension-centered classrooms were perhaps on the whole paying more attention to comprehension than we gave the general reading

population credit for. I did not know what I might find in my exploration. As I looked, data emerged: the pausing of print-focused readers, for example. As data mounted, it was refined: notations about pauses (/) gave way to notations about one second pauses (/), two second pauses (//), and so forth. Lines of analysis evolved.

An early sense developed of the importance of children's individual differences in their beginning reading. And I began to pay close attention to the path for each child.

Miscue analysis proved an important starting point for some of the data. It was the yeast which allowed the bread to rise. The behaviors I noted (the picture use, intonation shifts, sighs, and so forth) when mixed with miscue data, took on a new shape.

Other findings began to take form as I tried to establish contrary points. For example, in looking for the beginning point of print-focused reading, I found instead the shunting back and forth.

As the study progressed, I was careful to compare one kind of information with another. I compared my observations of children's reading, for example, with their statements; their statements in response to questions, with their statements in response to additional probes; their reading in one context, with their reading in another.

This "triangulation" of data sources provided in some cases confirmation of the information obtained from each source; in some cases, added to the data; and, in a few cases, provided contradictory data.

Retrospect

Data collection for this study was overwhelmingly just plain fun. The analysis, while tedious, was sufficiently exciting that I would speak well of it. I suspect what has sustained me through the analysis, beyond its puzzle quality, is the data I have analyzed. I can still see and hear the children as I read over now crumpled transcripts. I can still laugh as I think of George, shaking his head and pronouncing, "It makes no sense, makes no sense"--or as I think of Luke's reading to me from the plain back side of his paper.

As I reflect on this work almost two years after completion of data collection, I am conscious of many things I would do differently another time around. I would take more vivid notes, and begin my reflections on them earlier. I would keep a log of my reflections, dating each one scrupulously.

I would perhaps more actively pursue more data. The process of naturalistic observation seems to be a bit

of a balancing act. On one hand, a researcher may err toward too much intervention in the classroom, affecting the data; on the other, she may err in too little intervention--reducing the data she obtains. I would, with the guidance of hindsight, like to have had more regularly taped reading by children through the year. There are gaps in data for some of the children that if filled could have enriched the study.

But hindsight does not leave me with regrets alone. I am glad, for example, that I was careful in triangulating data sources. I am glad too, that I asked questions consistently of the children I read with, and established some consistency in the kind of materials they read with me.

The grass could always be greener.

C H A P T E R I V

FINDINGS

The findings of this study can perhaps best be appreciated as an integrated system. For the purposes of initial discussion, however, I will focus individually on a number of the major findings. First, I will discuss "signs of attention to meaning," including some new signs which may be used to augment existing error analysis data. These signs in their composite offer a larger perspective on the role of comprehension in the beginning reading process. Second, I will discuss "differences" that were observed in children's reading in different contexts, with particular focus on differences found in texts varying in their familiarity to the child. Third, I will discuss the relationship between my observations and children's statements about the reading process, introducing a new "sentence probing" tool for eliciting their statements.

Signs of Attention to Meaning

Beatrix, at the beginning of a page in I Was Walking Down the Road, looked at the picture--a girl with a rake near a pile of leaves and trees almost bare,

looking toward a snake and dog in the foreground. Then she looked at the text, "I was working with a rake" (unnumbered page, fifth page of text). She began reading, "I was," and paused. Then, with the rising intonation of a question, she proffered, "hoeing.^{/?}" Another pause. "Ho." Pause. "I think that's hoeing. Ho.ing. Ho.wo.th." Pause. "Woth." Another glance at the picture. "A r.a.k." And finally, swiftly, she declared, "I was raking leaves, raking leaves." And she went on.

The longer I observed children reading in this kindergarten, the more aware I became of what was happening around the words they read. I paid attention to their pauses, glances at pictures, and intonation patterns; their sighs, comments, and shrugs. Among these I found numerous signs suggesting the readers' attention to meaning, signs which could augment data one might obtain from examination of the words themselves.

Examination of the words themselves--and specifically, "miscue analysis"--gives important insights into the reading process for beginning readers. Substitutions, omissions, and insertions that a reader makes that do not interfere with the meaning of the text provide strong signs of his attention to meaning, as do a reader's corrections of errors.

Numerous researchers have drawn attention to these

signs among beginning readers (Weber, 1970; Y. Goodman, 1968, for example) and any discussion of signs of attention to meaning should include reference to the importance of their research. In this study, however, the focus is on signs of attention to meaning beyond those described by error--or miscue--analysis

In the slice of Beatrix's reading above, there is much to note about attention to meaning beyond the words themselves. For example, Beatrix looked at the picture, a source of contextual support, as she began her reading, and referred back to it when her sounding produced nonsense. With her intonation, she questioned "hoeing" as she read it, then commented on her tentativeness, "I think that's hoeing." Hoeing was close but not quite right either in terms of matching print or picture. She worked further at making a match, then resolved her difficulties by paraphrasing the text, "raking leaves, raking leaves." Once resolved, with meaning intact, Beatrix proceeded immediately to the next section of text.

It should be noted that Beatrix's final, meaningful paraphrase is not included in the miscue analysis, according to the Reading Miscue Inventory Manual (Goodman and Burke, 1972). Since she was unable to correct her initial attempt, that attempt, not her final paraphrase, is analyzed. Miscue analysis of this sentence would indicate three

miscues, one with "partial loss" of meaning and two, with "loss":

<u>Reader</u>	<u>Text</u>	<u>Patterns of comprehension</u>
hoeing	working	partial loss
woth	with	loss
rak	rake	loss

However, consideration of information such as Beatrix's paraphrase, along with her use of pictures, comments on her reading, and intonation shifts, enriches--and in this case, changes--the description of Beatrix's reading that would emerge from miscue analysis alone.

In this section, through paraphrase, Beatrix came to a meaningful resolution of the text. This was a pattern found elsewhere among her errors in this story. But even when she did not achieve meaningful paraphrase, there are still in most cases signs that she was attending to meaning. Early in the text Beatrix read, "s.k.e (pause) ske (pause)" in the sentence, "I was looking at the sky." She read "ske" with questioning intonation; then she paused and looked back at the picture; she sighed, "ooh," uncomfortably, and went on. She was not pleased with the nonsensical "ske."

In two places, notably where difficult text was combined with nonsupportive pictures, Beatrix abandoned sentences at an impossible midpoint. "I was," she read, and paused, but did not proceed with "looking for my

mitten." Rather, she declared, "I'm not going to read this," and turned the page. She did not leave her sentence awash in midstream without deliberation. But, in a pattern characteristic of her reading all year, she was ready to abandon a sentence and save the story. In fact, in this story, she abandoned a whole stretch of text near the end, stating, "I can't read that." But she homed in again on the final climactic sentence, "I set them free." Though it gave her difficulty, she worked it through to meaning, "I saw (pause) the (pause) I let the animals go." Again, her final paraphrase would not count in miscue analysis; this would be another meaning-loss miscue. But, that is not my main point here. The main point is that Beatrix appeared to keep her focus on what was important in the story--and brought the story, like most of her sentences, to meaningful resolution.

I focus on Beatrix's reading of this story, I Was Walking Down the Road (April 13) to begin my discussion of signs suggesting readers' attention to meaning because it represents probably her most "soundbound" reading of the year: it was the first recorded sample of her reading in unfamiliar text which could be considered print-focused throughout, and it includes numerous examples of contorted and unsuccessful sounding of words.

Beatrix made 34 miscues in this reading (beyond

her omissions of longer-than-sentence chunks of text). Their analysis revealed a comprehension pattern of 14 (41 percent) "no loss," 6 (18 percent) "partial loss," and 14 (41 percent) "loss" miscues. However, at least 9 of her 14 "loss" miscues were accompanied by signs suggesting that she was concerned about meaning, in the sense of reworking a prediction to meaningful paraphrase, or for miscues left in "loss" condition, questioning them with rising intonation, perhaps attempting them again, looking at the picture and, finally, when meaning was not achieved, sighing or saying that she could not (or would not) read that text. Table 1 shows the behaviors observed with her "loss" miscues. These signs of attention to meaning surrounding her "loss" miscues augment the sense of her concern for comprehension gained from miscue analysis alone.

Beatrix's reading became increasingly streamlined by the end of her kindergarten year, and the signs of her attention to meaning began to reflect a systematized, highly effective pattern of strategies. Regularly, Beatrix would confront an unknown word by sounding, then checking the picture, and either adjusting her guess to accuracy or continuing to "try on" possibilities until she either had what she wanted, or wanted to stop trying. Her intonation patterns regularly paralleled her achievement, or loss, of

TABLE 1

SIGNS OF ATTENTION TO COMPREHENSION
SURROUNDING MEANING-LOSS MISCUES
IN BEATRIX'S READING, APRIL 13

Text	Reader	Paraphrase	Questioning Intonation	Picture Use	Repeat	Commentary
was looking sky saw butterfly it with rake	swent ---- ske saw ---- at woth rak	(I was) (raking) (leaves)	x x x	 x x x	x x	(I can't really (do these words. ooh
little	lot	Then I saw a snake.	x	x		
cleaning up the rug looking for my mitten Then I saw a little sparrow set them free	c.l.en. on.g ---- ---- I tripped ¹ saw the	I let them go				(I don't want to (read this.

¹While this lost the intended meaning, it was meaningful as story reading.

meaning. For example, she read successfully, "And Titch held the n.ā." and with a look at the picture and firm, falling intonation, continued, "nails." And she read unsuccessfully, "Mary had (pause) a (pause) fe.t (pause) fet (with rising intonation) fet (pause) flō.er.pot (pause) fet floerpot (again, rising intonation and pause) fet floerpot (again, rising intonation)." Beatrix looked at the picture twice in this process, both when working on "fat" and when working on "flowerpot." It did not help. As her intonation suggested, she questioned her attempts, including her final "fet floerpot." Then, after a pause, she commented, with a sigh, "I don't think I can do that. I'll just go on to this one."

Of interest to me in observing the signs surrounding Beatrix's reading in these examples are both her apparently systematized check and balance use of sounding and pictures, and also, her apparent monitoring of accuracy suggested by her intonation, and, in the case of unsuccessful attempts, her repeated tries at the word, and finally, her sigh and verbalized decision to go on regardless of success. Beatrix lost meaning only four times during this reading of Titch, in miscue analysis terms. Each time, her reading included multiple attempts at the word(s), picture reference, and rising intonation. In three of the cases, her verbal comments provided

additional signs of dissatisfaction as did her sigh over leaving her reading at "fet floerpot." Clearly meaningless was not accepted lightly by Beatrix.

But what of other readers? Was their reading also accompanied by the signs of attending to comprehension that were evident in Beatrix's reading?

George's reading, like Beatrix's, was surrounded by signs of attention to comprehension. But there were differences. George appeared to begin to focus his attention on print in unfamiliar text earlier than Beatrix, and, as he did, his reading included laborious sounding and the occasional nonsensical prediction. His February 10 reading of Victor Makes a TV is an example of this early print-focused reading. George, a risk taker, lurched through the text, apparently satisfied if his predictions matched in terms of initial sound and syntax. He read "Very" for "Victor"; "piece" for "paper"; "where" for "what," with apparent contentment--no questioning intonation, no checks with pictures, no repeated attempts to improve his prediction. However, when, on one occasion, his reading was syntactically impossible, "I'll make on too," he read this with questioning intonation, and when asked if what he had read made sense, corrected himself with exclamatory intonation and volume, "I'll make one ! too." (George's reading here and throughout the year

was characterized by exclamations.)

On this occasion, George was reminded several times to refer to the pictures for guidance in making more accurate choices; according to the teacher's notes, he appeared not to use the pictures for contextual clues.

When I first read with George, two months later, he did use pictures. I observed at least twenty references to pictures in the fifty-three lines of text he read. He studied pictures before he read a page, often checking them after sounding the initial letter of a word, and sometimes, he just seemed to look at pictures for pleasure, stopping after the end of a sentence like, "Then I saw a little mouse," looking at the picture, and laughing.

Laughing and smiling were common as George read, as were verbal comments. He read with gusto. At the end of his first page, he read, "I put it in a cage," then smiled, adding "I bet it gets outs." His smiles and his inferences were clear signs of his attention to comprehension, as were his editorial comments about his reading. "It makes no sense," he noted as he read, "I swipt a little frog."

While George's style appeared to be to accept a reasonable guess (for example, "coffee" for "cider," or "crashed it" for "caught it") if not accuracy, he did on

occasion correct to accuracy, "I was looking for my (pause) /? man (intonation rising and pause), mittens (said in exclamation)." [!]

Analysis of his miscues reflects the strength of his substitutions and corrections. Sixteen of his 25 miscues involved "no loss" of comprehension; only four involved loss:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Reader</u>
saw a little frog	swam a lake
I picked	it put
something funny	some fun
while	whil

Of these, only "some fun" was unattended by signs of dissatisfaction. Though he did not produce, "I saw a little frog," he studied the picture before his first attempt ("swam a lake"), then wrestled, pausing, with "saw"--"swit a (pause) I sw (pause) I swipt (pause) a little frog," he read, then announced, "hmm, it makes no sense." He worked at sense and declared nonsense after he read "it put" and reworked it to "I put it up." The remaining meaning-loss miscue he read in tentative, stretched out monotone, "I thought (pause) a (pause) whil." In short when he lost meaning, he was aware of it. He was processing text to comprehend it.

By the end of May when George read Titch with me, he made only ten miscues; of these four involved "loss" of comprehension. He had meaning-loss miscues for

"high" and "hand" in the following reading:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Transcript</u> (coding per p. 56)
Mary had a kite	Mary/had a kite/
that flew high	that flew/h.h.i.n.ch/hinch
	What's this say/ that flew/above
	I don't know what this h-i-g-h
	says.
	(Observer: What can you do if
	you don't know?)
	Well, I think about it. And it
	takes a long time to think.
	Sometimes I even just give up.
	Mary had a kite/that flew/
	/? /?
above the houses	behind/flying above the tree.
	I'll stick with flying.
And Titch had	(looks at picture) And Titch/had
a pinwheel	a/pinwheel (looks at picture)/
that he held in his	that/he/hid in/his
hand	head (looks at picture). He
	can't hide it in his head!

The effort for "high" was substantial, with sounding, as well as repeated (and questioned) swings at the word, even application of the teacher's strategy to omit the problem word and read around it for clues, then a decision to say

something that made at least partial sense, and to go on. The effort for "hand" was smaller, involving a glance at the picture, and a prediction--"head"--that was a good fit syntactically and graphophonically, but not semantically, as George declared.

"Wondn^{/?} whistle" he read, with three attempts at "wondn," questioning intonation, and the comment, "Doesn't make any sense." I think of George here as a sportscaster--giving a play-by-play commentary on his own performance. He knew when he had fallen, and he let his audience know.

"Tinny^{/?}," he read toward the end, and with a glance at the picture, "tinny^{/?}," again with rising intonation, "it's teeny, oh the teeny seed." He was inaccurate. The word was "tiny." Another meaning-loss miscue. Or, if looked at another way, another meaningful paraphrase. George did not declare it meaning-loss.

George and Beatrix were among the children whose reading was richest in signs of comprehension. Some did not appear to view reading as clearly as meaning seeking; others, like Jane, may simply have been more inward in their processing.

Jane's reading stands, in many ways, in juxtaposition to George's. George was a risk taker, making reasonable predictions with ease; Jane was cautious,

capable of making reasonable predictions, but often stopping herself short. Omissions characterized her reading as she began to focus on print. But these omissions, which usually punctured the meaning of the text, were not made without effort. Jane invariably paused as she made an omission, and as she did, regularly studied the picture (a meaning source), and almost as often, looked beseechingly toward the person reading with her. Sometimes, when she was stumped, she shook her head in dissatisfaction.

When I first read with Jane (April 13), she made eleven omissions, accounting for all but one of her meaningless miscues. She looked at the pictures during her pauses over the majority of them, and several times, looked imploringly at me. At least nine times in this reading, her glance asked for my assistance. In reading Homes a month later (May 18), her glance sought assistance three times in six lines of text. However, by the end of the year, when she read Titch (June 15), there appeared to be a shift--in the direction both of fewer omissions (three) and of less dependence on outside assistance, perhaps reflecting a real shift in strategy, perhaps simply knowledge of my "rules." Only twice in this reading did she glance in my direction.

She questioned her choices on ^{/?}occasion--even when they were meaningful. "Mary had a tuba," she read, her

voice sliding upwards as she substituted "tuba" for "trumpet." Her voice also slid upwards in question as she read "nails,"^{/?} correctly, but perhaps uncertainly because the picture did not clearly confirm the choice. Overall, however, her reading of Titch was marked by the phrasing and emphasis of a storyteller, someone who is both making sense and communicating it to others.

By the end of the year, Beatrix, George, and Jane were counted by the teacher among the more proficient readers of the children who had entered school without print-focused reading. But signs of attending to comprehension surrounded the reading of less proficient students as well.

During the kindergarten year, Emily began to focus on stretches of print only in reading familiar text, or new text with strong support from adults. She read with me, twice, not because I considered her a child who was independently attempting to focus on print in unfamiliar text, but rather, because she asked to read. She would only, however, read unfamiliar text during the first session. She chose Titch. "A" she read, pausing more than seven seconds, then asking for my help with the rest of the line. When I suggested that she just read it the way she would if she were on her own, she paused, for another seven seconds, then proceeded to story read,

using the pictures as her guide.

With shorter text, and teacher support, Emily was more successful in attempting to focus on the print. In an April 15 reading with the teacher she appeared to combine story reading and print-focused reading. Teacher input included reminders to "point to each word" and to look at beginning letters. Her print focus was hesitant but rife with signs that she was attending to comprehension in this early effort. "Carol," she began, and paused, correcting herself tentatively, "sh.e (pause) put it," and again a pause, correcting "it" to "ba.nanas," with firm declarative intonation. Numerous sure words--both graphophonically and semantically appropriate--were marked by this intonation.

Substitutions accounted for all of Emily's miscues, and the majority of these miscues (8 of 14) involved no loss of meaning; 4 of these were corrected; 7 of these were substitutions of word for word, not phrase for word or phrase. Teacher assistance on miscues which resulted in partial or complete "loss" of comprehension, in miscue analysis terms, makes them difficult to analyze. But assuming that Emily left these as she read them before the teacher intervened, she would have had two "loss" miscues. She read one with rising intonation; the other, a "the" at the beginning of a sentence, without rising

intonation--but "the" is not a suspicious word at the beginning of a sentence.

In a brief mid-May reading with a teacher, Emily was again reminded to point to the words as she began, "The boy (pause) is (pause) even (3 second pause) is (cough) (3 second pause) eating (pause) the (pause) san.wich." This was reading in which meaning was, with effort, attained, and celebrated.

Luke was a child whose reading shunted back and forth between story reading and print-focused reading throughout the spring of his kindergarten year. As early as February, with teacher support, he attempted to follow text word by word, building guesses on the initial sounds of words. But, when he was not very successful in figuring out the words, he would readily revert back to story reading, keeping the storyline intact.

Similar reversion to story reading to keep the storyline going was evident in his early April reading with a teacher. Luke was not interested in working hard at print focus. He made repeated attempts at words only at teacher behest--sometimes accompanied by yawns. By contrast, he appeared actively interested in the story content, asking questions about the heroine (Did she really bring a frog to the store?) and preserving the thread of the story throughout.

Luke's first reading with me, on May 4, like Emily's, was at his insistence. He began Titch with print focus--but by the end of the first sentence, had devolved into story reading--which he did with aplomb.

He again pursued me for a chance to read on June 15. At my suggestion he read Homes, which, I thought, would give him the best chance of achieving print-focused reading. In fact, he maintained print focus through most of the short (and highly patterned) text:

Text

A rabbit has his home in the grass.

A worm has his home in the ground.

A snail has his home on his back.

A turtle has his home

Transcript

(shadow reading--following me as I read)

A//what's that a caterpillar
a worm/lives in/has its home
the ground. A caterpillar has
its own house in the ground.

What's that called/
(Observer: Do you have any idea
what that's called?
/?
A snail has its his home
on a branch. Is that true, that
they have it on a branch?

(Observer: I'm not sure.)

A turtle has its home in/a
has/a home (shakes head, looks

on his back too.	at picture) on land///
A bird has his home	A bird/has/its/his nest/
in a tree.	in a//nest/tree (rocking hard)
What has this	Web/what does this say?
for a home?	(Observer: this first word?)
(picture: spider in	a web/web has//what's that/
web)	spider/?/for//a/has a home.

As the transcript indicates, Luke clearly focused on the print, frequently making initial predictions using picture cues and beginning sounds (for example, "web" for "what," "branch" for "back"), sometimes correcting predictions to match the print (for example, "lives in" to "has," "caterpillar" to "worm," "its" to "his"), and proffering predictions that did not match the text with uncertainty either expressed by intonation or by words (for example, the last sentence).

His concern for getting the print right included making sense. He left all but the last sentence (of six) in acceptable syntactic and semantic condition, close to the text on most occasions, and was clearly disturbed by his difficulty with the last sentence. His concern for sense also expressed itself in his questions, asking for names of things and asking if it was true that snails

had homes on branches.

Only two of his fifteen miscues involved complete loss of meaning--both of these on the last sentence, and both lost only after struggle. For "what" he used initial sounds and picture to predict "web," asked for my assistance, then repeated "w.web." For "this" he first asked for help, then made a prediction, "spider," using picture, and perhaps syntactic cues, voicing it with rising, questioning intonation. Then, he rushed to give some closure to the sentence, articulating in one breath first that he had read it right, and then, that he had questions about what he had read.

Not all readers showed as strong signs of attending to meaning as did Luke and the others described to this point.

Arnold was one whose reading was accompanied by relatively few outward signs of attention to meaning. Arnold read very little, at least publicly, in his kindergarten year. He read once in authors' circle in December, then not again, until May. He read in January, February, and again in May with teachers. He read once in May with me. As early as January, with teacher support to point to words and look at beginning sounds, Arnold appeared capable of print focus in familiar text. Similarly, in February, with strong teacher support, he

was able to achieve print focus in a short piece of unfamiliar text. But he was not confident in this, nor would he appear confident in his reading through the year.

Arnold read with me on May 4. He chose Homes, as he later told me, because it was the shortest of the books in my selection. Through most of the text, he paused after every word (as did many children who were newly focused on print), and he paused six, even ten seconds when he met difficulty. It is clear that he studied pictures during some of these pauses--but it is unclear, for the most part, what if any predictions he had in mind. Occasionally, he tried on a prediction with intonation rising in question. "Dirt," he read, then corrected for graphophonic match, "ground (pause) ground," with declarative conviction. But more often he just paused and studied picture and text, as he did for ten seconds before the phrase "on his back" (in "The snail has his home on his back."). He then read it accurately. In this short text, his reading was extremely hesitant, but notably accurate, until the last sentence. Here the sentence pattern shifts to a question, "What has this for a home?" Arnold began, with reference to both picture and text, "A (3 second pause) web (6 second pause) hmm (4 second pause) web (1 second pause) a (2 second pause, shaking his head) hmm (1 second pause) web (1 second pause) there's

no 'A' there." Then, when I asked him to do whatever he would do when he was reading on his own, there was a long pause (14 seconds) as he studied the text, then the picture, then the text, and announced, "I can't read that." When I suggested that he do whatever he did when he couldn't read something, he reiterated, "I can't read that page."

Unlike Luke who leapt across textual rapids with paraphrase, Arnold, like a skittish horse, saw rapids and reared. He appeared to want a guarantee of safety before he made an attempt.

As Jack began to focus on print, he read carefully, pointing to words on his own initiative, and attending to beginning sounds. There were few signs, however, of his attention to meaning. In his April reading of I Was Walking Down the Road, his predictions often lost meaning--and even became a syntactic jumble. Moreover, he did not show signs of caring about meaning. He usually did not go beyond his first attempt at a word, and read it, right or wrong, in somewhat hesitant, workmanlike monotone; he rarely appeared to use pictures for support. So, for the three-line text, "I sat a while, I thought a while, and then I set them free." Jack read the first line, "I saw a s.a.r," then omitted a line, and continued, "And they I said lit.tle fried." That was the end of the story.

Comparison to Beatrix's struggle with the same section, mentioned earlier, is telling.

Jack subsequently read with me two more times. Neither time did he read with as conspicuous care in following the print. In his June 18 reading of Titch, in fact, while he began with finger pointing to the text, he was quickly stumped and apparently reverted readily to story reading for much of the text. So, the sentence, "Pete had a great big bike" was read, "Peter had a ten speed and he could ride it." But, Jack also pointed to words and in sections read with attention to the match between the print and the sense of the pictures. He referred to pictures at least nine times, seven over miscued words. There was no overt sounding in this reading. His intonation rose three times--twice on accurate reading; his intonation fell frequently, and naturally, at the ends of sentences. He was reading with sense--if at the expense of print focus. I will later address the apparent effects of context on the readers. Now, I simply note that Jack slid in and out of print focus in different reading contexts.

However, his most contorted, early print-focused reading was characterized by apparent readiness to abandon meaning in favor of graphophonic match, with hesitation but without at least outward signs of

dissatisfaction. Jack was alone among the children studied in this.

Up to this point, I have focused my observations on individual readers in their most hesitant early reading. I have picked "worst case" examples to suggest that even here children often show rich signs of attention to meaning.

The context of error; review of meaning-loss miscues

Other slices of data confirm the richness of readers' signs of attention to meaning, as, for example, does a review of the signs surrounding the meaning-loss errors or miscues in the children's unassisted reading with me in the last two months of the school year.

Since this data cuts across a specific time of the year rather than a specific point in the development of each child, it includes readers with greater and lesser proficiency; some had shown signs of print focus for several months, some were newly attending to print in unfamiliar text.

Of the ten children who achieved some degree of independent print focus in unfamiliar text by the end of April--and who thereby qualified to read, unassisted, with me--seven children's reading was appropriate for

miscue analysis. Three simply chose to story read when it came to reading unfamiliar text, unassisted, with me. However, the seven included in the miscue analysis represented the range of print-focused proficiency among the ten readers.

As table 2 indicates, the 66 meaning-loss errors were accompanied by 101 signs of dissatisfaction (beyond pausing, which accompanied virtually all meaning-loss miscues). The readers made 25 repeated attempts following these miscues, 10 requests for assistance, 26 references to pictures, and read 10 with questioning intonation, 23 with verbal or nonverbal commentary (for example, sigh, or "I can't read that"), and 7 with final, meaningful paraphrase. Of these signs, a majority represent unambiguous reference to meaning--picture checks, paraphrase, or meaning-centered commentary (for example, "That doesn't make any sense."). For all the readers, except Jack, meaning-loss errors were regularly accompanied by clear signs of dissatisfaction and attention to meaning.

TABLE 2

MEANING-LOSS MISCUES AND SURROUNDING BEHAVIORS
 AMONG CHILDREN WHOSE YEAR-END READING
 WITH OBSERVER WAS AMENABLE
 TO MISCUAE ANALYSIS

Reader	Beatrix	Jane	Jack	George	Arnold	Shel	Luke	ALL
Loss miscues	18	17	16	8	2	3	2	66
Surrounding behaviors								
Paraphrase	4	1	0	2	0	0	0	7
Picture reference	8	9	1	5	2	1	0	26
Repetition	11	2	2	5	1	3	1	25
Intonation rise	8	0	0	2	0	0	0	10
Seeks assistance	0	4	0	2	1	1	2	10
Dissatisfied comment (verbal/nonverbal)	9	4	0	6	2	1	1	23
Totals, per child	40	20	3	22	6	6	4	101
Books read ¹	IT	IHT	IHT	IT	H	H	H	

¹I I Was Walking Down the Road
 H Homes
 T Titch

The context of success

As suggested by examples cited earlier, but perhaps worth addressing specifically, signs of attention to meaning accompanied successful as well as unsuccessful reading.

(Successful here refers to reading that was without error.)

Intonation shifts. As Jane corrected herself, her intonation, which had previously risen, fell:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Transcript</u>
He didn't	He/didn't ^{/?}
know	(Teacher: There's a silent "k" at the beginning of that word.) /? not/no (laugh)
that she . . .	(Teacher: He didn't not, go on) know//know that she . . .

Or, Sarah, with a prompting question from the teacher, produced accuracy, declaring it with her intonation:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Transcript</u>
It jumped	It jumped//n
off the boy.	(Teacher: Where did it jump?) It jumped off the boy.

Intonation shifts frequently followed what might be called a try-on pattern among these readers--the first try, successful but worn with hesitation or question, a second

or third try worn with conviction, a hat well placed on the brow. An example from Sarah's reading illustrates:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Transcript</u>
A frog jumped out of Carol's pocket.	A/frog/jumped/out/of/ /? C.Carol's Carol's pocket.

Declarative intonation, however, was not reserved for accurate reading alone, but used on occasion for meaningful substitutions, as in this example from Leo's reading:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Transcript</u>
The frog was Carol's pet.	(Teacher: The frog was Carol's) frog (appeared focused on print)

Commentary. Verbal and nonverbal commentary also joined with successful reading. George (April 27), for example, laughed at least seven times in reading I Was Walking Down the Road, partly in response to the storyline, as further suggested on several occasions by comments such as, "I bet that escapes." Emily, in reading The Bus Ride, asked for names of animals in the pictures, then read the text accurately.

Picture reference. Frequently, children were observed pausing for a word, perhaps making an attempt at the initial sound, glancing at a picture, and producing

accurate reading several times in mid-sentence in Homes, a six-sentence text. On three of these occasions he produced accurate reading; on two, paraphrases that involved partial but not full "loss" of meaning.

George (April 27) was observed referring to pictures ten times in reading I Was Walking Down the Road, following many with meaningful predictions, such as:

Text

I was eating cake
and cider.

Transcript

I was eating cake
and (looks at picture) coffee.

Beatrix, by the end of the year, responded systematically to difficult words, attempting the initial sound (or more), referring to the picture, and making a meaningful --and often accurate--prediction. There are at least seven examples of this in her reading of Titch.

Summary

In this study, children's early print-focused reading was often accompanied by signs suggesting their attention to meaning: picture references and repeated attempts as they tried to figure out words; intonation shifts and commentary expressing their satisfaction with words read; paraphrases following unsuccessful attempts at a word.

The signs of attention to meaning described in this section provide data to augment miscue analysis and the sense it gives of the role of comprehension in the beginning reading process. Specifically, in many cases, miscues analyzed as losing comprehension (or meaning-loss miscues) are accompanied by signs of attention to --and sometimes, in fact, attainment of--meaning. Also, reading that is without miscue as well as reading with miscue is accompanied by the kinds of signs of attention to meaning described in this study.

The diversity in signs of attention to meaning among the children is notable. Each child was distinct in the degree and manner in which she attended to meaning. A similar diversity was found, it might be noted, in the overall patterns of literacy acquisition described in an early report from the larger study (Gourley, Benedict, Gundersheim, and McClellan, 1983).

Effects of Text Familiarity

Introduction

As the year of data collection progressed and I became decreasingly optimistic about the possibility of discerning clearly bounded stages in the children's reading, I became increasingly attentive to the differences

in their reading in different situations. I became interested in factors that might influence them to shunt back and forth between one reading style and another--focusing on print on one occasion, story reading, or perhaps, reading in phrased style on another. I became interested also in differences there might be in signs of attention to meaning.

Style shunting

One factor that appeared to affect a child's reading style was the reading context, and specifically, the person reading with him. Leo, at the end of the year, story read a new text with me, but focused on print in new text during instructional reading sessions. The rules, stated and implied, were different: with me the reading was unassisted; with teachers, assisted, with guidance to focus on print.

Jane regularly sought--and obtained--help with words from a student teacher as she read with her, or in authors' circle with her near. She began seeking assistance from me too, but by our third reading session, did not. The teachers also encouraged her self-reliance. The aide was quite direct (May 6), "You keep looking at me, the answer's in your head."

As in many circumstances, children appeared to have

a keen appreciation of differences in adult rules, spoken or unspoken, and to adapt their reading styles, at least in part, to the rules.

Textual variables also appeared to affect the children's reading style. Other researchers have addressed the effects of textual variables on children's reading. Rhodes (1979), for example, documented differences in the miscues and verbalizations of mid-first graders in texts varying in their "predictability." Harste, Burke, and Woodward (1981) discuss successful beginning readers' "negotiation" to meaning, or reversion to meaning-based sources of cues, in text that is too difficult for them.

Another factor, perhaps related to difficulty, that appeared important in this study was text familiarity. This section focuses on the familiarity issue.

Children often appeared to approach familiar text--text they had read before--differently than they approached unfamiliar text. If, as noted elsewhere, reading styles followed a rough progression from story reading to print-focused reading to phrased reading, it could be said that children frequently appeared to bring a more advanced style to their own writing before unfamiliar text. The earliest forays into print-focused reading appeared in children's own writing. (See profiles in the Appendix.) Also, comparison of chronologically matched reading

indicated a more advanced reading style in familiar text. Children's reading with me at the end of the year demonstrated this.

Since within each session, children were invited to read both their own writing (familiar) and text they had never seen before (unfamiliar) there was good opportunity here to compare their reading. In the majority of sessions, children's style in familiar text was ahead of their reading in unfamiliar text (9 of 17); in 2 additional sessions, children would only read their own writing. In 6 sessions, the styles were equivalent. In none was their reading style in unfamiliar text ahead of their reading in familiar text, as illustrated in table 3.

Beyond children's own writing, texts "written by another man" (to borrow Shel's phrase) might also be considered familiar if they had been practiced. When children were invited for their first recorded instructional reading sessions, most brought highly predictable books that they had practiced. Leo, for example, (January 19) brought Over/Under. After apparent story reading initially, and a teacher request to point to the words, he read in phrases, with print focus, correcting himself on two words he began to read inaccurately. His reading otherwise was flawless. He then read a story he had not

TABLE 3
COMPARISON OF CHILDREN'S READING STYLES
IN FAMILIAR AND UNFAMILIAR TEXT

Reader	Date	Reading Styles ¹		Comparison of own, unfamiliar
		Own	Unfamiliar	
Beatrix	Apr. 13	Ph	PF, S	ahead
	May 25	PF, Ph	PF, Ph	same
Jane	Apr. 13	PF	PF	same
	May 18	PF, Ph	PF, Ph	same
George	Apr. 27	PF, Ph	PF, Ph	same
	May 25	PF, Ph	PF, Ph	same
Jack	Apr. 27	Ph	PF	ahead
	June 1	PF, Ph	S (PF)	ahead
Arnold	May 4	*		
Don	June 7	PF, Ph	refusal	(ahead)
Luke	May 4	PF	(PF) S	ahead
	June 15	*		
Shel	May 4	Ph	PF	ahead
	June 7	*		
Leo	May 6	PF, Ph	S	ahead
	June 1	PF	(PF) S	ahead
	June 18	*		
Emily	May 18	PF	(PF) S	ahead
	June 7	Ph, PF, S	refusal	(ahead)
Charlotte	Apr. 1	*		
	May 18	PF, aban.	S, abandoned	ahead
Sarah	Apr. 1	PF, S	PF, S	same
	June 7	*		

¹Phphrased style *data problematic for
PFprint-focused style analysis
Sstory reading style (ahead).implicit in refusal

seen before, Catch That Frog. Here he would only focus on print with persistent reminders, and considerable teacher assistance.

Charlotte, by contrast, read a short, new text with teacher-supported print focus as early as January. In March, she read The Bus Ride, with less apparent print focus than in the January reading, though she corrected herself at least twice, and at least twice, also asked for teacher assistance with specific words.

The familiar--and highly predictable--text in this case appeared to be cued more by memory and pictures than by print on the page. In other words, familiarity appeared to be able to facilitate print focus--but it could also provide the means for abandoning print focus. Here, it might be noted, the familiar text, The Bus Ride, was Charlotte's choice; the unfamiliar text, "The Horse," was teacher's choice.

Some children on occasion had the capacity to make familiar text appear unfamiliar to them. In January, Arnold for example read the Over/Under text. Following a teacher reminder to point to the words as he read, he read in phrases, with print focus, correcting himself several times. However, on May 2, when he read a friend's published book which he had heard his friend read, and had

even taken home the night before, his print-focused reading was extremely hesitant and unsure, with pauses up to twelve seconds, and questioning intonation even on correct choices. I can only speculate on the cause of this hard labor and uncertainty. The text may have been particularly emotionally charged for Arnold; he had been very upset that his friend had published before he had.

A child's own writing, perhaps the most familiar text when freshly written or well-rehearsed, for some at least could become apparently less-familiar terrain over time. Luke, who on several occasions volunteered his concern for "goofing up" in reading his own work, shared with me, on May 4, a six-sentence piece that he had written two weeks earlier. He began with fluency on his first sentence, abandoned the second sentence, returned to accurate reading on the third and fourth, and omitted the fifth and sixth, with exclamation, reading "the end." While Luke had written this text, it was perhaps no longer entirely "familiar" to him because it had been written two weeks earlier, without intervening practice. It is perhaps telling in this context that Luke next time (June 15) read me a pretend story from a piece of plain paper.

Charlotte read a newly written, seventeen-word piece in authors' circle on May 11--verbatim, in word by

word, print-focused style, holding the book high in front of her face. A week later, she chose to read this same three-page piece to me. On the first page, she began, had difficulty with a word, and with an "I don't want to read that" went on to the second page, which she read, in word by word, print-focused style, verbatim. On the third page, she again started, with difficulty, and said, "I can't read that page."

Emily read a new piece to me on May 18, and brought the same piece with additions on June 7. If the beginnings are compared, both readings diverged from the text in the first two sentences--the later reading, moreso. Both produced the next two sentences verbatim; the later reading, however, after a false start and a request, "What does that say?"--referring me to the teacher's margin notes, not her own writing. The verbatim stretches were the most legible:

<u>Text</u>	<u>May 18 Transcript</u>	<u>June 7 Transcript</u>
The tree is sad	The tree is hap	The/tree/
	I mean sad	
because she	because it	
doesn't have	doesn't have	doesn't have
any friends	a friend	a friend
A girl	A the little girl	A girl

	came along	comes along
said		and says
I am your friend	I am your friend	I am/your friend
The tree is happy	The tree is happy	The girl/was/////
		What does that say?
I want the tree	(text not written	I want the tree
to thank the girl	until later)	to thank the girl

It appears that for both of these girls, whose writing was a bit difficult to decipher and whose reading (in text of any kind) was somewhat marginally print focused, the task of reading old writing was, at least in these examples, more difficult than reading fresh writing. This implies perhaps the importance of memory for this reading--and the decay of memory over time.

Summary. Text familiarity appears to be an important, though not always straightforward, factor affecting a child's reading style. It may facilitate early print focus--but may also provide a means of abandoning print focus altogether. Authorship and recent practice appear to be factors affecting a text's familiarity. Most children in this study, as they began to focus on print, chose to read familiar text with an adult.

In the end of year reading with me, some who happily read their own work with me, refused altogether to read my unfamiliar texts.

Signs of attention to meaning and text familiarity

In the previous section, I described signs that might augment miscue analysis as a source of information about a beginning reader's attention to meaning. All of the examples cited were drawn from reading in text that was unfamiliar to the readers. Reading in familiar text also produced signs of attention to meaning, but these varied in a number of ways that were readily observable.

Meaning-loss miscues. While my focus in this dissertation is on information other than miscues, I also want, as noted earlier, to stress the importance of miscues as signs of attention to meaning. In the context of the familiarity issue, it is worth noting that in familiar text, miscues suggesting "loss" of meaning were rare.

Sarah, for example, whose reading was often marked by long pauses, labored sounding, and requests for adult assistance as she began to focus on print in new text, responded quite differently when the text was her own and recent. On April 1, she began to read me her newly published piece, with numerous miscues--but none that lost

meaning. She began, visibly studying the words and pointing to them as she read. But she also took liberties from the start, substituting words that matched meaning but not print (for example, "crept" for "sneaked"), inserting lines and phrases with ease--and, increasingly, as the text progressed, reverting to story reading. It interested me that she read a beginning section of the this text not as it was on the typewritten page, but with miscues identical to those she had made a month earlier in reading her handwritten version. Memory appeared to be a powerful source not only for gist (overall meaning) but for specific words.

Jack was a reader who did produce meaning-loss miscues in reading his own work. He read a long (69 word), published story to me (April 27), with 7 miscues, 2 of these losing meaning. He appeared satisfied by neither of the loss miscues. He read, "The (pause) seven racing truck (pause) got (pause) w- (a rare picture check and pause) got out (pause) all, does that say all?" and when I replied, "Do the best you can, okay," he continued, "the mud." Then he went on to the next sentence where, with a two-second pause, he omitted the verb, without further apparent signs of attention to working at sound or meaning, beyond the pause.

To my knowledge, these were the only recorded examples of a child leaving his own text with syntactic holes. On June 8, Arnold read his own two-sentence text in authors' circle with pauses ranging up to fourteen seconds--but even in this, the syntax was left complete. While children omitted whole sentences, they did not usually abandon text in mid-sentence.

Intonation patterns. On April 13, Beatrix shared with me a piece of hers that had been published several weeks earlier. She read it verbatim with the exception of an abortive attempt to read the year on the title page. The reading was phrased, though slower than her talking, with intonation moving up and down in a storytelling mode. She was attentive to the print (even finger pointing in a couple of places) and also, attentive to conveying her meaning, as her storytelling intonation suggested.

Shel also shared his own published work with me (May 4). He read the 93 word text with only 3 miscues, 1 of which he corrected, and none of which showed "loss" of comprehension. The majority of his reading was phrased, slightly staccato, with storyteller intonation; in a few places, it was almost robotic in its monotone. Nowhere was it labored.

Leo, on June 1, chose to share a new, and, by his description, "sort of long" piece he hoped to publish.

Most of his reading was print focused, with storytelling intonation, though storytelling intonation disappeared in a stretch that gave him difficulty. Here, his intonation apparently rose or fell as he questioned or declared his predictions, in a fashion similar to that discussed in earlier-described intonation patterns in unfamiliar text:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Transcript</u>
THE BOY IS PAKIAG	The boy/is/picking
APLS. ALAG KAMA	apples/along came/a/
DARGN YAHa BABE.	dragon/with/a baby/
DARGN.THE DARGN	dragon. The dragon//
IS ATKIAG THE BOY THE	is killing/the boy/the
BOY IS DAID THE DAD	boy is dead. The dad/ ^{/?} the dad oh
	brought no/this part
IS ATAKIAG THE DARGNS	is kil.ling the/dragons/
	The dad is killing/killed the/
	no/is/the dad is killing the
	dragons. The dad is/what does
	that (Observer: What do you
	think it might be?)
	kill/it might be kill
	(Observer: Yeah, what do you do
	if you're not sure of a word?)
	skip/ing//is killing/ ^{/?} wait/is/

\.
 killing/there's no "t"/is ki-/
 attacking/the dragons. The
 dad . . .

After Leo completed his reading, he asked, referring to the labored section, "Shall I read this and this again?" When I responded that that was up to him, he said, "I'll read it so you know." He resumed reading, with storytelling intonation. Though more labored and less fluent in stretches than the examples of Beatrix's or Shel's reading, this was, like theirs, reading intended to convey meaning.

Picture reference. Picture reference appeared to serve different purposes in different types of familiar text. In text "written by another man" picture references followed patterns similar to those in unfamiliar text-- providing a source of initial context and, when difficulties arose, a source of further contextual cues.

In children's own text, pictures appeared to serve reading differently, at least for most of the children. There was little overt attention to pictures as children read. Pictures appeared less a means of sustaining meaning for a reader than of conveying additional meaning to an "audience."

Beatrix, for example, read her newly published story at authors' circle on April 1, pausing ten seconds or more after each page to show her pictures to her

audience; otherwise, she did not appear to look at pictures.

Similarly, Leo shared an older published story of his with me (published early May, read June 18). He drew my attention to his picture in mid-text, "See them," he enthused, "that's me and that's my mom and that's my dad and that mouse was really dressed up into _____, my sister." Here the picture may have cued Leo to the meaning, but more importantly, I suspect, it held meaning to be conveyed to his audience. When Leo subsequently in this reading ran into difficulty, he did not appear to use pictures but other sources to aid him. He read, "The mouse (pause)," then looked at me, asking "What does that say?"

When I was of no help (replying with the classroom standard, "What do you think?") Leo retorted with emphasis, "I don't know." When I then asked, "How do you figure it out?" he paused and began to sound out "we.wek.wagd.wat," then, with frustration, reminded me, "You know." The exchange continued with my agreeing, "Well that's true. I do know," then asking, "Is there any other way you can figure it out?" and so on, until I asked him to do "whatever you'd do if I wasn't here," and he continued, "Skip that one," and went on with a paraphrase of the text. Leo may have used pictures to get his general bearings as he read his own text, but he did not refer to them for

help with specific words.

George, after reading a short piece about a monster attacking the world, in authors' circle on April 1, drew his audience's attention to his captioned picture: a man shooting a gun was saying "bag" (an intentional miswrite of "bang" which George thought amusing and wanted to share). With his audience where he wanted them, George then tried to draw them further into his picture, saying there was something they'd have to come close to see--a two-headed white (therefore invisible . . .) monster.

As noted in the discussion of writing in a kindergarten report from the larger study (Gourley, Benedict, Gundersheim, McClellan, 1983) and elsewhere in a study by Dyson (1983), pictures were often an extension of the children's writing and so, in terms of their reading, a source of meaning to be conveyed to an audience. For most they did not appear--unlike the pictures in their readers--intended as a source of support for reading in difficult text, and they were not used this way.

Summary. As rarity of miscues with "loss" of meaning suggests at the outset, readers attended to meaning in familiar text. Their cueing sources, however, differed. Memory's role appeared clear in familiar text, as statements in the next section confirm. Also, pictures, which were useful in helping with "unknown words" in familiar

text that was not their own appeared of little help in their own writing.

The intonation patterns accompanying the words read were also different. They were more often the intonation patterns of a storyteller seeking to convey meaning than of a struggling reader seeking to acquire meaning.

Comparison of Children's Statements and Observed Behaviors

Readers' statements about their reading serve two purposes in this study. First, by confirming (and in some cases augmenting and even contradicting) observed data, they provide a means of triangulating data sources, to strengthen the "truth value" (Guba, 1980) of the observed data. Second, they provide a glimpse from the insider's perspective.

These statements, proffered voluntarily on occasion, but more frequently drawn from interviews or "sentence probes," include information both about the cue sources readers used (both meaning and non-meaning based) and about the distinctions readers drew between their own writing and trade books as reading materials.

Signs of attention to meaning: cue sources

After Beatrix read with me on April 13, I asked her about her reading:

- Observer: How is it that you could read this?
What do you do when you read?
- Beatrix: You gotta know what it's about. . . .
- Observer: Aha--and is that all you've got to do?
Do you have to do something else?
- Beatrix: I don't know.
- Observer: Do you--there are different things on the
page: there are pictures and there are
words. What do you look at when you read?
- Beatrix: The words, and the pictures. 'Cause
pictures also tell you what it says.
- Observer: . . . What do you do Beatrix when you come
to words you don't know?
- Beatrix: I skip them. Or sometimes I just sound them
out.

In these statements, Beatrix has noted her attention both to graphophonic and meaning-centered cues. The statements correspond well with observations of her reading, both including sounding out or skipping words, and using pictures. The statements also add information only inferrable from observation--Beatrix's attention to the overall meaning of the text, "You gotta know what it's about."

After Beatrix read Titch with me, on May 25, I spontaneously began my first "sentence probe," asking her to explain, word by word, how she had read the last sentence of the story, which she had read verbatim:

- Beatrix: And T.Titch/s seed/grew and grew and grew.
 Observer: Beatrix, that was very nice. May I ask you about this page? How did you figure it out? (I pointed to each word in turn.)
 Beatrix: And
 Observer: How did you figure it out?
 Beatrix: Well, I just knew how to write it and I can read it.
 Observer: If you can write it, you can read it? And how about this. You read that as--
 Beatrix: Titch. Well, I knew that because they were always talking about him too. I knew that it was him and I remembered his name and I knew that this (points to 's) was /s/ or /z/. And I knew it meant Titch, Titch's seed because I knew it made sense.
 Observer: And how did you figure that out?
 Beatrix: Grow. Well I figured that out because of the picture.
 Observer: Aha, and how did you figure out "and grew and grew?"
 Beatrix: Because they were both on this side (opposite page) and I knew them.

Here Beatrix's statements confirm information obtained from observation: her use of pictures, sense, and repeated language. They also added information that could again only be inferred from observation: use of knowledge gained from writing, memory of a repeated name, subtle graphemic cues ('s). Further, the statements have added information that might have been--but was not--observed: the picture reference, specifically.

Jane, a less verbally open but clearly print-focused reader at year's end, responded to my first inquiry (April 13) about how she read a book by saying, "I look at the pictures and they give me an idea of what it says." This, in part, confirmed observed data,

but it was not very revealing. A subsequent inquiry (May 18) provided more information:

Observer: When you come to a word that you don't know, what do you do?
 Jane: I sound the word out . . .
 Observer: . . . other things?
 Jane: Look at the next page to see if it was there.

I clarified that "next" page meant prior page by pointing to the prior and following pages and asking her which she meant. Then we proceeded:

Observer: Other things?
 Jane: (with a pause) Look at the picture--that's all.

These statements confirmed but did not enrich the observational data.

Sentence probing did both. According to the sentence probe, Jane used sounding and pictures, as suggested by observations; she also stated that she remembered words, again a cue source that would not have been observed. The text was the sentence, "Pete had a big spade," which Jane had read, "Peter had a big shovel:"

Observer: I'm curious, there's a page here, can you tell me how you figured out those words. Let's look at the first word (and I pointed).
 Jane: Peter
 Observer: How did you figure that out?
 Jane: I don't know.
 Observer: Okay, how about this next one?
 Jane: Had. I sounded that one out.
 Observer: . . . How did you know this one was "a"?

Jane: (giggling) It's just an "a."
 Observer: And how about this one? You said it was "big."
 Jane: I have a book at home and it says "big" in it, lots of "bigs."
 Observer: How about this last word? Peter had a big--did you say shovel there? How did you know that was shovel?
 Jane: 'Cause I looked at the picture.

As observation and statement both suggest, Jane and Beatrix used a range of cues to guide their reading, cues suggestive of attention both to graphophonic information and to meaning. Jack, in his statements as in observed data, presents a different picture.

After Jack completed I Was Walking Down the Road with me (April 27), I asked him about his reading.

Observer: I'm curious, how is it that you can read this? What do you do when you read?
 Jack: I sound them out.
 Observer: What is it that you sound out?
 Jack: I sound out the words.
 Observer: Is there anything else you do?
 Jack: Yeah. I think of what it says.
 Observer: And what happens when you come to a word you don't know, what do you do?
 Jack: I think.
 Observer: You think, huh?
 Jack: And I try to sound it out.

His responses to my questions corroborated his apparently dominant strategy--sounding out--and added thinking, which is difficult to observe. He did not mention his occasional use of pictures.

Sentence probe data for Jack adds no more. It is monotonic. In Titch he had read the text, "Pete had a big

spade," as "Peter had a shovel." He explained:

PETER because you see the "e's" and the "t's"
 HAD h-a-
 A because it's spelled with an "a"
 SHOVEL I know there was an "s" and an "e" and a "p"

Jack had clearly used the picture for "shovel," but he would not admit it. I subsequently pushed him into a verbal corner, asking him how he had figured out "fan," which he read for the text, "pinwheel." He then admitted that he used the picture.

Jack appeared loyal, both from observed and stated data, to his sounding strategies. While he used other information--specifically pictures--his reading was in fact constrained by his reliance on sounding.

Shel read Titch (June 7) in a story reading mode after an initial pause-filled, yawn-filled attempt to deal with it word by word. His sentence probe confirms his combination of word and picture-centered strategies, adding detail about spelling-word knowledge and memory for repeated names. For the text, "And Titch had a little tricycle," Shel read, "And/Titch/said/give me a hand up the hill."

Observer: How did you know that was "and?"
 Shel: Because I knew how to spell it.
 Observer: And how did you know that was Titch?
 Shel: Because I could look on the title.
 Observer: And how did you know that was "said?"
 Shel: I didn't know . . . that was even "said."
 I just made the word up. I didn't know
 it really said, "said." . . . I made the

- whole word up.
- Observer: Aha. And do you do that a lot when you read?
- Shel: Yeah, but I don't really know if I'm really saying the right word, 'cause sometimes I can read a whole dictionary.
- Observer: Do you like reading at this point?
- Shel: Yes, 'cause I've got a loose tooth.

Shel invariably could pull discussion to his topic.

George's reading was riddled with voluntary statements about his process, these statements or commentaries in a sense crossing the ordinary boundary between observed and stated data. For example, for the text, "I was cleaning up the rug" (accompanied by a confusing picture of a girl beating a rug on a clothesline) George began: "I was/k./I know a way to figure that out. I was up. I was hanging up the rug." He announced his skip and return strategy and executed it, maintaining sense.

I guess George's response to my initial question about how he read, in the context of this kind of statement-laced reading, surprised me. "I don't know," he said.

Then I followed up:

- Observer: What do you look at when you read?
- George: Well, I look at the words, that's the most thing I look at, then I can know what it says. If I didn't do that, what would I do?
- Observer: And if you have problems with some words, what do you do then?
- George: Well, I put a little mark in it to say I don't know what that word is.
- Observer: And if you're reading a book like this,

George: did you put marks in the book?
 Observer: No, I tried to think what they said.
 George: And what helped you.
 Observer: My mind.

Sentence probing followed George's reading of Titch (May 25), based on the sentence, "And Titch had a little wooden whistle," which had given him some difficulty. He had read "and Titch/had/a/little/won.d.n/wondon/wondon /? wistle--doesn't make any sense."

AND That's because at home my mom tells me how to spell and she says a-n-d, and that's a-n-d.
 TITCH I looked at the picture and you were starting talking about Titch, so I said Titch.
 HAD Well, "head" has an "e" in it, so I put an "a" in there and sounded it out and I found "had." This is getting worse every minute!
 A (omitted)
 LITTLE (didn't know how)
 WOODEN (didn't know word)
 WHISTLE I was thinking about whistle.
 (Observer: And what gave you the clue . . .)
 Well, there's a kind of instrument, whistle, that looks like that and I have one of them.

George's sentence probe confirms his observed use of pictures and sounding and adds his use of known spelling words and memory of names.

There are a number of things about George's observed and stated behaviors that interest me. My direct questions produced surprisingly little and quite general information except about "putting a little mark in it"--a reference to his writing strategy rather than his reading, a confusion or association noted for other children as well. The

sentence probing added more specific information, both confirming the observations and adding to them. But the truly interesting picture comes from the composite: his use of "sense," sounds, skip and return strategy, his "mind," "memory" of text and specific names, and spelling patterns for examples.

Only one reader appeared false in his sentence probe statements about his reading. Luke, whose reading was full of use of story and sentence sense, and punctuated by picture references, insisted in his statements that he used graphophonic cues alone.

His sentence probe was based on the text, "A bird has his home in a tree." He had read, "A bird/has/its/his nest/in a//nest/tree."

- Observer: I'm curious to know how people figure out the words as they go along. How did you figure out that one?
- Luke: It's easy.
- Observer: What makes it easy?
- Luke: The letter.
- Observer: And how about the next one?
- Luke: Easy
- Observer: Why is that one easy?
- Luke: Short
- Observer: . . . anything else?
- Luke: No
- Observer: Next one?
- Luke: h.has
- Observer: Why do you say "has"?
- Luke (reading) A bird has its own nest a tree.
- Observer: And how did you figure out that this was tree?
- Luke: treeeeeeeeeeeeeeee
- Observer: And how did you figure that out.
- Luke: I knowed it. Treeeee.eee.ee

I basically got nowhere in this probe. Luke was more interested in reading the "ON" button on the tape recorder than in talking to me about his reading, and I do not put much stock in his answers. (Nor do I quarrel with his priorities.)

Differences between one's own writing
and unfamiliar text

During the course of the year, I asked the children a number of questions to gain their view of reading their own work and work written by others.

Toward the end of January I began asking them about their reading preferences. The majority of the children questioned said they liked their journals better. It may be noted that though the children were not invited at this point to bring their journals to read for their instructional reading sessions, many brought other familiar text when given choice.

At the end of the year, I repeated the question, finding that the majority by this point said they preferred books. However, all but 2 of the 12 also said in response to my questioning that their journals were easier. One of the two remaining clarified that his own published books were easier than either journals or books written by someone else. The other remaining opinion in favor of books came from Luke, whose responses were not highly

serious. Most explained that their journals were easier because they wrote them. Even George, who talked about his writing being "all scrunched up" said it was easier for him to read.

When I explored further about differences in how they read the two types of text, at least two strong differences emerged, per table 4.

TABLE 4

CHILDREN'S STATED CUE SOURCES FOR THEIR
OWN WRITING AND UNFAMILIAR TEXT,
FROM RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS
IN YEAR-END INTERVIEWS

Stated Cue Sources	Own Writing	Unfamiliar Text
Recall	10	0
Pictures	2	9
Words (general)	2	7
Sounding	7	9
Context	8	9
Thinking	4	5

All but two of the children (Jack and Don) mentioned recall as a cue source for their own work; none mentioned it for unfamiliar text. Comments about recall of their own text included:

Arnold: I keep it in my head.
Shel: I know every word.
Jane: If I forget the words I just pass it . . .
and read the rest of it and then it helps
me find out what word that goes in it.

- Luke: If you write it you don't remember what you say. You goof up. (Here, recall is implied.)
- Emily: (in response to general question:)
I just look at the writing because I can still see 'em (pictures) in my head.
(in response to question about unknown word:)
When I see pictures, I know what I wrote.

Children's unsolicited statements also referred to the role of memory in their reading. Sarah, for example, on June 7, observed, "Now I can't even read my first journal" and on probing, talked directly about memory.

The role of memory in reading self-authored text stands to reason. It was implied from observation. The children's statements made the role explicit.

Picture reference was another category mentioned strongly for one kind of text (this time, the unfamiliar text) and not for the other. This conforms to observation. Pictures appeared highly useful to a good number of the children when they met unknown words in unfamiliar text; they were apparently not as useful for one's own.

Before such generalizations begin to blur differences among the children, I should reiterate that Jack mentioned sounding and thinking as the things he did in reading both his own and unfamiliar text.

Summary

A number of points can be made in summarizing the comparison of children's observed and stated reading behaviors.

First, children's statements about their reading confirmed and added to the data obtained from observation. Use of memory, or of words known from writing and reading in other contexts, while sometimes implicit in observation, were made explicit through statements. Together the observed and stated data have a texture richer and more durable than either alone.

Second, children's statements about their reading were found to vary with context. A response to a general question was often enriched by additional exploration through follow-up questions, or through the sentence probing procedure which emerged from the study. Also, children's unsolicited comments in the context of reading added information not obtained through general questioning or probes. This variation suggested both the profitability of considering context as important to data but also of combining data from various contexts to obtain a composite sense richer than that available from any single context.

Third, the observed effects of text familiarity on children's reading were confirmed by their statements in response to questions about text preference, ease of reading,

and variation in strategy, as for example, the use of pictures to guide reading in unfamiliar text but not their own for the majority of the children.

Fourth, differences among children's statements, as among their observed behaviors, were at times found to be marked and important.

Fifth, and finally, children's statements, gathered carefully through attentive notetaking and exploratory probing, clearly provide data useful for an outsider interested in access to an insider's perceptions of the reading process.

C H A P T E R V
DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The explorer's journey is filled with uncertainty, surprise, and on occasion, the delight of things hitherto unseen. This study has been an explorer's journey. Of the things seen along the way, there are a number which have particular bearing on the shape of reading theory and educational practice.

Signs of Attention to Meaning

First in importance among the findings of this study perhaps are the signs of attention to meaning observed among the children as they began to focus on print for their reading. These signs--for example, intonation shifting, picture references, and paraphrasing following repeated attempts at a difficult word--are important in various ways.

Implications for reading theory

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the signs of attention to comprehension is to the theoretical discussion about the beginning reading process. The

presence of the signs among readers just beginning to focus on print strengthens the existing evidence of attention to comprehension among readers at this critical juncture in reading development. Also, the combination of the signs with error data further strengthens the evidence of attention to meaning, suggesting that even errors which might be analyzed, on their own, as losing meaning, are often accompanied by signs suggesting readers' concern for meaning.

Strengthened evidence suggests strengthened argument for a theoretical view of the reading process which gives room to children's ability to attend to comprehension as they read.

Implications of theory for practice

The theoretical issue of beginning readers' attention to meaning as discussed in the introductory chapters of this study is a highly important one, casting a long shadow over reading instruction, and text and test design. To restate briefly, if beginning readers care about meaning as they read, if readers sustain attention to meaning as they wrestle newly with the graphophonic system, it can be argued that they be given reading materials which engage that attention and use it to bolster the emerging graphophonic facility. This clearly happened

throughout the data in this study. Assuming this concern for meaning, text coherence should be as important an issue to publishers of beginning reading texts as syllable length and word frequency, perhaps more important. Following the same argument, teachers of beginning reading should put a premium on "comprehensibility" in their selection of classroom reading materials. Teachers should also encourage children in their attention to comprehension through techniques suggested by authors such as Clay (1972) and Goodman and Burke (1972). They could listen for questioning intonation, for example, and ask the reader if a questioned attempt made sense. Authors (and consumers) of reading tests should also, in deference to beginning readers' potential concern for comprehension, include its measurement in their tests of early reading achievement. Decontextualized lists of words, or straight sound-symbol matching, by this criterion, would be insufficient measures of beginning reading ability by themselves. Measurement of reading ability would involve analysis of children's approaches to comprehensible text, even at the very beginning levels.

Relationship to existing error analysis studies

The theoretical thrust of this discussion of signs of attention to meaning is in line with, and offers support for some earlier error analysis studies (Weber, 1970; Goodman, 1968, for example) which showed that the errors of beginning readers to a substantial degree reflect sensitivity to contextual linguistic constraints (both syntactic and semantic).

However, the theoretical thrust of this discussion stands in contrast with at least one earlier error analysis study (Biemiller, 1970). The Biemiller study found that as a reader "moves through the NR (non-response) phase and develops some skill in using graphic information " (p. 91) (similar to my description of establishment of "print focus"), his errors reflect significantly reduced "contextual constraint." Contextual constraint for Biemiller is indicated if an error makes "sense grammatically and semantically in terms of the preceding context" (p. 82). An error that is contextually constrained therefore is roughly comparable to a miscue which maintains meaning in the terms of the current study, though the Reading Miscue Inventory criteria (Goodman and Burke, 1972) used in this study consider syntactic and semantic fit with following as well as preceding context.

Biemiller argued from the reduction in contextual constraint (from 79 percent to 66 percent) with onset of the NR phase for

. . . a considerable proportion of early reading training in situations providing no context at all, in order to compel children to use graphic information as much as possible" (p. 95).

While I agree with Biemiller that one of the tasks of beginning reading is to grapple with the graphophonic system, and that beginning readers should be encouraged to focus on print, I find myself at the end of this study in disagreement with the general direction of Biemiller's argument.

In the current study, children's reading moved in a general direction from story reading to print-focused reading without intensive reading instruction. Their story reading was consistently meaningful, if sometimes at variance with the meaning of the text; it was not, however, amenable, as was Biemiller's pre-NR reading to error analysis, since story reading often strayed from the text at the sentence- rather than word-level. Newly print-focused reading included errors that lost meaning, notably in unfamiliar text, or to use Biemiller's terminology, newly print-focused reading included errors that were not contextually constrained.

At this level of analysis, the current data agree

with Biemiller's in a sense, in their suggestion that newly print-focused reading includes the first clear examples of meaning-loss errors, to return to the terminology used in this study. However, in my analysis of this shift, I part company with Biemiller. I find it entirely logical that as children engage in story reading--relying of necessity almost exclusively on meaning-centered cues such as interpretation of pictures, understanding of sentence structure, story structure and so forth--their reading should reflect strongly this attention to meaning. Then, as they begin to focus on print and attempt to wed graphophonic information with meaning without much graphophonic expertise, their errors by the same logic would reflect their combined, novice-level attention to both meaning and graphophonic accuracy. If I return to Biemiller's study, what appears interesting to me, rather than the reduction in errors suggesting contextual constraint at the juncture of new print focus, is the maintenance of contextual constraint for a majority (66 percent) of the errors.

If, further, Biemiller's data on contextual constraint were enhanced by examination of signs of attention to meaning beyond error analysis, as was the data in this study, then I would be even more ready to celebrate the maintenance of focus on meaning while

establishing focus on print. If on the other hand the data were not enhanced by signs of attention to meaning beyond the errors, I would, from the experience in the current study, question not the children's ability but the instructional context. It remains an open question whether signs of attention to meaning similar to those found in the current study would be found in the basal reading environment Biemiller studied.

Our data were not comparable in at least certain ways. An early search in this study for "phases" of development was abandoned as "style shunting" emerged as a pattern. Further, the "non-response" description for reading behavior, while it applied on occasion, could not in this study serve as a dominant descriptor. This may be simply because children in Biemiller's classrooms were given words when they paused (Levin and Mitchell, 1969); children in this study were more often than not encouraged to try other strategies--including use of print information--until they came up with the word in question, or a viable substitute. Similar differences in signs of attention to meaning might be found if the data from this study could be reviewed with comparable data from Biemiller's classrooms. For the moment, this remains as a direction for future research.

What is clear is that Biemiller's argument for providing "no context at all" to readers just beginning to focus on print is one I could not support from the data in this study, suggesting strong attention to context combined with early print focus for many readers in this environment, with the context guiding readers through unfamiliar textual territory. I would argue rather for strong context as readers begin to focus on print with encouragement from teachers to use a range of strategies including strategies to focus attention on print--pointing to words, looking at beginning sounds, for example--as well as strategies to focus attention on the context of a word--looking at the picture for ideas, thinking about repeated language patterns, for example. These strategies could then be allowed to develop into an interchangeable network in which the print and its meaning were kept in balance.

Leading up to print-focused reading, in what is often referred to as the "readiness phase," this balance between print and its meaning could also be encouraged, as it was in the kindergarten in this study by inviting children to focus on letters at the beginnings of signs, labels or names, or at the beginnings of individual words in messages they either receive or want to write, in titles of books, or in the words of familiar songs. This kind of

introduction to sound-symbol correspondence using language that communicates, helps convey to children that print carries a message and that through an understanding of its graphophonic system in combination with the syntactic and semantic systems of language, they can learn to send and receive written messages and to communicate through print.

Implications for diagnosis

Beyond their contribution to the theoretical discussion about the beginning reading process, and in this way, indirectly to instruction, the signs of attention to meaning identified in this study also contribute directly to reading diagnosis. Sensitivity to these signs--and openness to others--gives the classroom teacher observational tools that can be used in any oral reading situation. They give the teacher a means of strengthening her observations and in turn, her guidance for a reader.

The signs of attention to meaning add further to the teacher's diagnostic capacity in combination with miscue analysis. Specifically, they provide a means of further analysis for "loss" miscues--in many cases suggesting readers' concern for meaning even when they cannot achieve it, and in some cases--through paraphrase--their salvaging of meaning in a way unaccounted for by

miscue analysis alone. Reading professionals at times have had a "feeling" about a beginning reader whose miscue suggests "loss" of meaning, despite an intuitive sense that they know he understands. The signs of attention to meaning documented in this study provide some new ways of translating that "feeling" into diagnostic data.

The signs of attention to meaning described in this study can also be used in combination with miscue analysis as a means of examining reading that is error-free as well as reading containing errors. A reader's intonation patterns and references to pictures, for example, give clues to his attention to meaning in error-free reading as well as reading which contains miscues.

The Delineation of Differences

A second major finding of this study, beyond the signs of attention to meaning discussed in the foregoing section is the observed differences in children's reading, both among children and for a given child in varying reading contexts. The cumulative strength of these differences suggests at the outset the productiveness of in-depth, contextualized research and the insufficiency of a research paradigm focusing exclusively on central tendencies. The differences, individually, hold other implications as well.

Individual differences

The findings of this study and the larger three-year literacy study of which it is a part (per kindergarten report, Gourley et al., 1983) suggest strong individual differences among the children. Beatrix, for example, was unflinching in her commitment to meaning as she began to focus on print; Jack abandoned meaning with apparent ease. George brought confidence to his reading and took risks easily; Arnold brought fear and elaborate caution. Jane sought teacher assistance; Shel disregarded it. Most readers used text familiarity to guide their reading of known work; Arnold, on at least one occasion, appeared to make the familiar strange. George demonstrated an array of signs of attention to meaning; Jack, a narrow band. Beatrix verbalized many aspects of her reading process; Luke, few.

The strength and pervasiveness of these differences lend support to the value of research which delineates rather than obscures the individuality of readers. The differences observed among readers suggest also the importance of the teacher as diagnostician and as designer of instruction geared to the needs of each child. Teacher preparation should include training in observation. Prospective teachers should be introduced to behaviors known to be instructive about the beginning reading process,

such as the intonation shifts and picture references described in this study; they should also be encouraged to look beyond any catalog of behaviors, to use their eyes and ears with independence and courage, and in the last analysis, to value their own judgment about a particular child, and to tailor their instruction accordingly. For example, a child observed to attend only to pictures could be drawn toward focus on words; the child observed to attend only to words could be drawn toward pictures. A child who pauses before a difficult word and looks troubled and at a loss could be directed toward strategies including use of initial sound, pictures, and sense of the text, and to take a risk based on some combination of these. A child who reads something that is nonsensical in the context, and proclaims verbally or nonverbally his dissatisfaction with it, could be encouraged to value his expectation of sense and guided again to strategies he had has not tried.

The teacher can be important in his responsiveness to the individual child's reading patterns. Yet, regardless of his efforts, readers are unlikely to become a neat stack of xerox copies. The influences on a child's reading extend far beyond the classroom. Perhaps some educational outreach toward home and community are needed here. But beyond this, perhaps some humility is implied. The

identity of each child must be accepted, and built on. The child who tries on one word after another and finally exclaims a sensible choice may be allowed to do this; it works. The child who pauses and studies words, then comes to a sensible choice, may need time to process. Both children should be encouraged toward taking risks and toward meaning, but their routes may differ.

Contextual differences

Beyond differences that appeared to reside in the individuality of the readers, strong differences were also observed in given readers' approaches to different reading contexts.

Text familiarity. A child in this study might read her own published work in phrased reading style, but in the same reading session revert to hesitant, word-by-word, print-focused style or perhaps even to story reading for text that was new to her.

As comparison of children's end of year reading in their own writing and unfamiliar text suggested, children frequently read their own text in more advanced style than they read new text. This may have been particularly true for the more newly print-focused readers. More research is needed on this point.

Further, meaning-loss errors in children's own text

were rare, and certainly rare by comparison with those in unfamiliar text (a finding shared by Haussler, 1982, though hers was based largely on examples of familiar text). The majority of children in this study appeared to use pictures to aid them with unknown words in unfamiliar text, but not to use pictures when they met difficulty in their own work. Also, the intonation patterns were frequently different for familiar and unfamiliar text-- indicating struggle to gain meaning in unfamiliar text, interest in conveying meaning in familiar text.

This data suggests that familiar and unfamiliar texts may both serve important yet distinct functions for children beginning to read. Familiar text, and notably children's own writing, gives them an early chance to focus on print as they read, to work with familiar print patterns in familiar content. Unfamiliar text adds more opportunity to take risks and to develop a network of strategies incorporating use of both illustrations and text. The issue of familiarity appears to be a fruitful one for further exploration. Distinctions, for example, between types of familiar text--one's own writing and work "written by another man"--may provide instructive insights.

Setting. In this study, a child alone in the library might browse in a book, focusing predominantly on pictures; with a teacher, the same child might focus on

print, using teacher guidance to bolster his strategies; while the child confronting a similar text with an observer interested in his independent reading might revert easily to story reading, especially when in difficulty. Children in this study appeared to be excellent judges of the rules of a situation and to shift their reading style with their perception of these rules.

Textual issues. Factors of text "predictability," while not the focus of this study, appeared responsible for shifts in style for some readers. A number of children, for example, read the first, highly patterned pages of Homes with "phrased" fluency, but reverted to hesitant print-focused style for the last page which breaks with the, by then expected pattern. The data that exists in this study supports the earlier findings of Rhodes (1979) on text "predictability."

Other contextual factors. The contextual factors described above are by no means intended to stand as an exhaustive list. A child's personal agenda, the amount of sleep she has had, and countless other factors can also affect a child's style of reading.

Limitations of "stage" theories

It is impossible in the light of the "style shunting" observed in different contexts in this study to talk in

terms of discreet stages of reading acquisition. It is perhaps useful for teachers to understand the general progression that may be expected in this kind of classroom environment as readers move from story reading to print-focused reading, and on to phrased reading, and for teachers to try, for example, to guide children with some introductory understandings of sound-symbol correspondence toward print-focused reading. But such attempts should be tempered by the expectation that issues such as text familiarity, teacher presence, and the child's personal agenda may be as influential as any overt instructional guidance, and that a series of print-focused readings in a child's own writing, for example, will not guarantee print-focused reading in an unfamiliar text. A teacher would be ill-advised to view print focus, for example, as a milestone to be reached and recorded on the road to proficient reading; better to view it as a nomadic village to be observed with the understanding that it may be moved at the discretion of the reader.

The apparent absence of clearly bounded stages of reading acquisition found in this study offers instructional potential for the teacher. The data in this study would suggest that a child who is story reading everything at his disposal may be drawn first into print focus through

his own writing and known stories--in which the language and the meaning are already familiar, and that such materials should be at a reader's disposal in early reading instruction.

The data also suggest that since readers may use different sets of strategies in approaching familiar and unfamiliar text, that to give practice in effective strategies for unfamiliar text, it will be important to encourage children to attempt unfamiliar text, perhaps best in the supportive context of individualized reading with a teacher's guidance.

By eliminating the frame that exists around a "stage" of reading, a teacher is freed to focus on a given child's reading at a given moment, and to respond flexibly to that reading. With this flexibility, a reader's reversion to story reading in a difficult stretch of text in an otherwise print-focused reading may be viewed positively as a resourceful attempt to salvage meaning, and be left alone. Continual reversion to story reading for a reader who has demonstrated competence in print-focused reading for a specific type of text may, however, call for guidance to focus on print, in conjunction with the sense-making strategies that are in place.

In terms of measurement, the "style shunting" found in this study suggests a need to examine each reading in

its context, rather than to invest enormously in the power of a computer-processed, stage-related, grade-normed score that may be the average of very different responses to a range of texts, or may reflect the reader in a disinterested, frustrated, or fearful mode not typical of the classroom. If the point of measurement is to know a child's capabilities in a real context, it may be important again for teachers simply to observe intelligently a child reading in a real reading situation.

Finally, in terms of research on reading, it may be useful to reexamine "stage" determinations based on reading bound to a particular context or at least to limit the generalizations drawn from them.

Children's Statements: Eliciting the Insider's View

A full understanding of the reading process--if such is indeed possible--will include an understanding of the process for the reader. As mentioned earlier, this is a theme anthropologists (for example, Fraake, 1962) discuss in terms of understanding cognitive processes in general. While observations may serve as indicators of an internal process, they may by their outside nature fall short of describing "the insider's view." To gain this view, observational data may usefully be enriched by statements

from the reader.

Toward this goal, children's statements about their reading in this study were far more revealing than I had anticipated. Their statements are useful both in corroborating and augmenting observational data.

Benefits of exploratory interviewing

The exploratory nature of this investigation allowed me to probe beyond children's initial statements as the situation suggested. This kind of latitude may have been important to the kinds of statements obtained. Certainly children's follow-up responses were more telling often than their initial ones. And one child's unanticipated statements became questions for further observations and for further questions of others. The sentence probing technique evolved in this manner from the exploratory interview format following reading.

Sentence probing

The sentence probing technique which emerged from this study proved to be a productive means of soliciting children's statements about their reading, providing insights not obtained through other statements or observations--about words a child could read in unfamiliar text because she had written them earlier in her own,

information about use of graphemic cues, and about use of repeated language patterns, for example. The insights obtained by sentence probing can aid researchers, theoreticians, and teachers interested in the insider's view of the reading process.

For theorists, data obtained through sentence probing can provide data to fill in some of the cracks left by observation or other interview tools, to enrich the understanding of what is involved in the reading process.

For researchers, sentence probing can provide an additional tool for gathering data about the reading process. Sentence probing could be refined in further research, and perhaps be targeted to specific samples of text: text read with errors; text, without; text following repeated language patterns; text read with print focus; text that is story read; text read in phrased style; familiar text, both written by the reader and "by another man"; and unfamiliar text. Different samples of text are likely to elicit statements reflecting different reading strategies, and extending the range of samples will be likely to extend the range of data obtained.

For the classroom teacher, sentence probing can prove a useful--and extremely simple--vehicle for obtaining the child's view of his reading process. This information

can be useful as in this study for corroborating and augmenting the teacher's observational insights and for providing clues to the range of strategies a reader is using. The child who replies "sound it out" for every word, for example, may be a child who should be encouraged to increase his range of strategies. Sentence probing can also be useful for teachers whose introduction to literacy is largely through a writing program; it can give feedback not readily obtainable (and perhaps only inferrable) from observation about the connections children are making between reading and writing. This kind of feedback can provide encouragement and aid in legitimizing the program for administrators and parents.

Interplay of statements and observations

The data obtained in this study suggest an almost warp and weft relationship between observations and children's statements about their reading process(es). Statements add both strength and texture to observations, enriching and making more credible observational data.

I might note in response to questions I have received that this group of children was not selected for its exceptional language capacity. In fact, there was some preselection perhaps in an opposite direction by eliminating the children who entered kindergarten with

some print-focused reading. I was myself taken aback by their ability to tell me about their reading. In trying to account for it, I ruminates about two factors. First, the classroom environment was one in which children were constantly asked to think for themselves and express their thoughts. (The teacher's question, "What do you think?" could have been inscribed on a classroom coat of arms.) Second, the open-ended probing in fairly relaxed circumstances, in the context of reading with the child may have facilitated the children's expression. Stein and Glenn (1978) have noted in text recall research that children often give more and different types of information when probe questions supplement free recall. It may be important for researchers simply to help children structure responses and to follow up children's leads with probes.

A Final Note

Throughout the discussion of this study, two themes recur with regularity. In conclusion, I would like to underscore these themes.

First, the beginning reading process is not unitary. Important differences are found from reader to reader. Differences are also found for a given reader

in different contexts including types of text and setting. Differences are found too within a given text and setting, depending on factors such as difficulty of a particular section. Differences are found in the descriptions children give of their reading in varying types of text. Reading instruction, research, and theorizing should take these differences into account.

A second theme relates to the first. It is the importance of open-ended exploration of the reading process. Since existing tools for understanding the reading process remain rude instruments, exploratory research can assist in their refinement, and lead, further, to the development of new tools. If the reading field is to use its understanding of the reading process to inform reading instruction, it must try to understand this process as fully as possible. As this study suggests, it is not enough to dismiss or downplay an element such as children's attention to meaning from the reading process, simply because it cannot be seen. We must rather improve our vision.

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APPENDIX

Introduction

The profiles of readers in this Appendix are intended as sketches to assist in giving a general sense of chronology for each child. As noted in chapter III more detailed profiles of three of the children are also available in a report from the larger study (Gourley, Benedict, Gundersheim, and McClellan, 1983).

The charts which accompany the profiles are intended to give a sense of the kinds of materials children read, and the kinds of contexts in which they read them. The charts also serve to delineate the patterns of development of print-focused reading and to suggest some of the ways in which children showed attention to meaning during this process. The "attention to meaning" category is only a sketch, presenting only partial data. Children's statements have sometimes been included in this column, within brackets.

Since this was essentially a naturalistic study, the volume of data varies conspicuously from child to child. Also, the varied nature of the data sources--fieldnotes, tapes of reading sessions with teachers, authors' circle tapes, and combined notes and tapes of year-end sessions with me--lend variation in turn to the entries.

I have used at times in the "attention to meaning" category the term, "verbatim," and should clarify at the outset that its use does not necessarily imply attention to meaning. A child could well reproduce text verbatim from rote memory, much as children sometimes recite the "Pledge of Allegiance" without thought to its meaning. Verbatim reading, without other indicators of attention to comprehension, is not a sign of attention to meaning. In the absence of data on other signs of attention (or inattention) to meaning, I have used "verbatim" to at least give some characterization of the reading. If no characterization was possible, I have used "--."

I have included length of text because that may be helpful in characterizing the reading. Verbatim reading of a single sentence, for example, is a different task from verbatim reading of a lengthy story. "Short text" has been used on occasion to refer to texts of uncertain length, under ten sentences.

The order of the following profiles is alphabetical.

Arnold

Arnold brought to kindergarten rich knowledge of concepts about books and print, including some ability to use letter-sound correspondence to help him figure out words (Benedict, 1983).

During the fall, he enjoyed books, at the level of browsing and acting them out with peers. He did not actively seek out books, and appeared shy about sharing books with adults.

As Arnold began to focus on print, his reading became extremely hesitant, clearly accompanied by anxiety. Processing was internalized, marked, for example, by long pauses rather than by overt sounding or trying on predictions. Even his reading of familiar text became very hesitant, and after an initial foray into authors' circle reading, he rarely shared at authors' circle until the very end of the year.

Arnold did not see himself as a reader in the fall, and when asked again at the end of January, he just shrugged. By the end of the year he said he could read, but did not like to read books because he "didn't know the words."

Arnold by end year had numerous strategies for figuring out words--for examples, using syntax, repeated sentence patterns, pictures, initial sound and sense, and sight words. Intonation shifts suggested sensitivity to achieving sense. However, he could state few strategies and, in one instance, appeared to be giving lip service in his response, stating that he skipped and returned to unknown words, something not observed in his reading without teacher support.

Arnold, in short, was a reader with less confidence than competence and this made reading a chore.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Nov. 5	Star Wars picture book, in library with friends	looking at pictures, browsing	Discussion of characters in pictures, but not producing story line
Dec. 3	<u>Curious George Gets a Medal</u> , with friend	story reading, acting out from pictures	Focused on story line and dialogue.
Dec. 3	trade book about pirates, in library, with friend	print-focused for a single word	Focused on personally meaningful word, his name.
Dec. 9	own writing, new, invented spellings, in authors' circle	story reading, with 4 short pauses, but not after each word, no sounding	Verbatim reading, apparently drawing on memory of what he had written.
Jan. 2	<u>Over/Under</u> , his choice to read with teacher, familiar text	story reading gave way to print-focused reading after teacher encouragement to point to words	Produced coherent text, initially omitting words as he read. When encouraged to point, he corrected himself several times. Sometimes read words with appropriate emphasis and corrections with declarative intonation. Questioned predictions with intonation both when picture cues were ambiguous and when first letters did not match words he had predicted.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to Meaning</u>
Feb. 4	Star Wars picture book, in library	looking at pictures	--
Feb. 11	"The Red Apples," short text, with teacher, her choice	print-focused	Used pictures. Read with considerable hesitation (pauses up to 8 seconds), but with teacher encouragement, used intial sounds and sense to figure out words that gave difficulty. On his own, used pattern of one sentence to guide reading of next. With teacher encouragement, used context to predict word.
May 2	a friend's published book, teacher's choice for reading with her	print-focused, with pauses up to 12 seconds, unconfident	Mixed signals. Self-corrections. Intonation shifts included clear declarations about words of which he was certain. However, often labored and unsure with questioning intonation even about correct or meaningful word choices. Reminded to use pictures. Predictions sometimes lost sense.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to Meaning</u>
May 4	own writing, 2 sentences, with observer	print-focused with no pauses longer than 1 second, head following print	Verbatim, perhaps using memory and initial sounds or whole word memory. Editorial comment about the best part.
May 4	Homes, his choice from 3 unfamiliar texts offered by observer	print-focused, with numerous long pauses (up to 10 seconds)	Despite pauses, figured out text quite accurately up to last sentence, but this threw him. Referred to pictures. Self-corrected. Used predict- able patterns. Based predictions partly on initial sounds and sense.
May 4	own writing, 2 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused. with eyes following text	(Stated that he used words and pictures, skipping unknown words.) Verbatim reading.
May 13	own writing, 1 sentence, in authors' circle	print-focused, with 1 second pauses	Verbatim.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to Meaning</u>
May 20	own writing, in 3 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused, labored, with pauses longer than 1 second.	Produced coherent text, with teacher encouragement. On own, stopped when he came to a section "where I crossed it out," but could then tell what he had intended to write.
June 1	own writing, 1 sentence, during writing, with observer	print-focused	--
June 7	own writing, at observer's invitation	refused to read	(Stated that he didn't like to read books because he did not know the words.)
June 8	own writing, 2 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused, with several lengthy pauses in mid-sentence	Verbatim.
June 21	one sentence from <u>Titch</u> ("Pete had a big spade."), at observer's invitation	print-focused	Substituted "dog" for "big spade" which fit with prior text, but not with picture. Concern for accuracy of word, with rising intonation, pause, and statement, "I don't know what that word says." Meaning appeared subservient to accuracy. (Stated that he used sounding and sight words.)

Beatrix

Beatrix came to school with many strategies for contending with books and print--a reservoir of knowledge about book organization, the ability to tell a story from pictures, to invent dialogue, to match letters with sounds. Beatrix also came to school with the notion that reading involved a single strategy--sounding out words--and that she could not read. These notions persisted for some time, as did her story reading approach to text, which she dismissed as "just looking at the pictures." Through the winter months and into spring, Beatrix was reminded gently to point to words, to focus on print, as she read. Gradually she began independently to focus on print. However, she reverted readily to story reading when sounding did not work and she felt in trouble.

By the end of the year, she could muster an impressive array of strategies and use them effectively in combination to achieve reading that was very close to the spirit and the letter of the text. Many of these were strategies which she had developed to some degree when she came to school (sense of story, sounding, use

of pictures for examples--but it took time for her to acknowledge that they all had a place in reading and to combine them effectively. At no point in the year did Beatrix abandon her concern for sense in her reading.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Oct. 1	<u>Corduroy</u> , in library on own until observer asked about what she was doing	"looking at a book" (her words) but demonstrated ability to relate sound to letters when asked how to read. Sounding was labored, distorted.	-- (Stated that she could not read, only look at pictures. Reading involved saying what the print said.)
Nov. 19	<u>The Three Little Pigs</u> , listened to recorded book, invited observer to read to her. Observer began, omitting occasional words for Beatrix to predict. After several pages, Beatrix largely took over, as observer kept place with her hand.	story reading predominantly, with some signs of print-focused reading, for example, correcting "wood" to "sticks"; also appeared frustrated trying to use /t/ at beginning of "three."	Produced good gist of main plot, with lively and close reproduction of dialogue, drawing apparently on memory, sense of story, and pictures for many cues.
Jan. 5	own piece, 2 sentences, in authors' circle	--	--

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Feb. 4	own piece, several sentences, with observer, during writing	story reading predominantly	Produced coherent story. (When asked about reading preferences, said books were better than her own writing.)
Feb. 4	own piece, 2 sentences, with observer, during writing	story reading	Coherent paraphrase of text.
Feb. 4	book of poems, in library with other children nearby	looking at pictures	--
Feb. 4	"yellow," in discussion of color words in math class, volunteered to read	print-focused	-- (Stated, "I saw all of it," as explanation of how she read the word.)
Feb. 5	own piece, 2 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused	Produced coherent text, once grouping words into a phrase following a pause of several seconds.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Feb. 12	<u>Bees, Bees, Bees,</u> short text, with familiar, with adult	story reading with minimal print focus (mostly when encouraged, accompanied by overt sounding)	Used pictures and recall for gist. When in difficulty she appeared to revert to sounding --with only modest success. She read the text, "A bee is going to a flower to get some honey," as "A bee is going to a flower to get some collen (meaning pollen)." With questioning about what she meant by "collen" she corrected to "honey," using by her statement the "h" and the "n."
Feb. 23	own piece, short, in authors' circle	invention after one print-focused sentence (did not read what she had written)	Told a coherent story, though apparently reluctant to share the song she had written.
Mar. 2	own piece, 6 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused (omitting 2 lines of text that were difficult to decipher)	Read with clear enjoyment, close to text for majority of reading but with several meaningful substitutions. She was radiant as she read her punch line. Reversed order of 2 lines suggests that memory guided reading at least in places.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Mar. 11	own piece, 2 sentences, in authors' circle	phrased (with at pauses mostly at the ends of phrases)	Produced coherent text with omission of one, non-central phrase, after a pause (perhaps because not readily decipherable).
Mar. 16	own piece, 4 sentences, with observer, during writing	story reading predominantly; with print-focused to encouragement to point	When in difficulty reverted readily to story reading, preserving the story line. (Stated that she preferred reading books to journals because they gave her ideas for her writing.)
Apr. 1	own piece (published), 7 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused (with some finger pointing); phrased reading "about the author"	Storytelling intonation with pauses to show pictures.
Apr. 13	own piece, (published), same as on Apr. 1, her choice to read with observer	phrased, a little staccato, slower than speaking voice	Storytelling intonation.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Apr. 13	<u>I Was Walking Down the Road,</u> with observer 55 sentences	print-focused (with overt sounding and pointing); some story reading and omission of some sections of text	Beatrix attempted to correct numerous meaning-loss miscues, sometimes coming to successful paraphrase. Used pictures. Intonation shifts suggested questioning of meaning loss and celebration when sense achieved. Verbal commentary about meaning. Nonverbal commentary in form of signs when omissions lost meaning. While omitted sections of text, was careful to return to the ending of the story. Gist of story intact.
May 6	own piece, unfinished, in authors' circle	phrased, print- focused, and story reading	(Stated that for reading, "you gotta know what it's about." She also said she used words and pictures to guide her reading, skipping or sounding out unknown words.) Pauses sometimes appeared to be in meaning units. Beatrix completed her story for the audience before stopping.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
May 6	<u>Ten Little Bears</u> , 25 sentences, with aide	phrased	Self-corrected 8 times. Frequently used combination of picture and initial sound to predict word. Questioning intonation in places when lost sense. Storytelling intonation.
May 25	own piece, short, in authors' circle	phrased and story reading	Substituted meaningful words and phrases readily. Paused to show pictures. Sense of audience.
May 25	own piece, same read earlier in authors' circle, with observer	print-focused, with increasing reversion to story reading	Reverted to story reading when in difficulty. Overall coherent reading. (Stated, when in difficulty, "well, I'll just go on." Following story reading of final section, in response to question about how she had read it, said, "I just remembered it all.")
May 25	<u>Titch</u> , with observer, 19 sentences	print-focused, and phrased	Network of strategies, often in combination--using pictures, initial sound, questioning intonation on numerous first or second tries at words. Declarative intonation when came to meaning. Used skip and return strategy for contextual cues.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
May 25			(Stated that she used skipping, sense of the story, repeated language patterns, graphophonic information, words known from writing, and recall of names in "sentence probing" and other interview context)
June 1	own piece, 4 clauses, shared in group discussion of descriptions written to go with self- portraits	phrased (no overt sounding but two-second pause before word that appeared to give difficulty)	Storytelling intonation.
June 8	own piece, 2 sentences, in authors' circle	(?) story reading (no pointing, quick)	Produced coherent text at the expense of graphophonic accuracy.
June 17	own piece, 2 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused (but only slightly jointed style, most pauses less than a second)	Produced coherent text.
June 21	informal interview		(Stated that used sounding and skipping for unknown words in unfamiliar text; skipping, in her own. On own piece, "I can remember till I forget." Preferred books--"whole story.")

Charlotte

Charlotte's kindergarten fall included little observed reading, but considerable interest in writing. Her ability to recognize and write letters, like her knowledge of print organization in general, had been very limited on arrival in kindergarten (Benedict, 1981), but by the end of October her journal "squiggles" began to include some recognizable letters. By December she began to sound out words in writing and to attend to print in reading back her journal work.

Memory appeared to be an important tool for Charlotte as she began to read her own work. Sometimes she appeared to remember it whole, and sometimes, as she stated in a March authors' circle reading, she "forgot." She appeared to use memory of individual words both in reading her own work and unfamiliar text. She regularly read "the" with firm declarative intonation.

With teacher guidance, she began to use initial sounds as well as sight words to guide her reading, even in short, unfamiliar text. She began, as in a January 28 reading, to correct words using initial sounds, both at teacher suggestion, and on her own. As the teacher noted

she appeared to surprise herself with her ability to use print to guide her reading.

As she developed print focus, she largely sustained interest in meaning. She wanted to know what stories were about; she wanted to know what labels said--and used her knowledge of what they might say to guide her; she usually corrected her reading toward meaning, and left it in semantically and syntactically acceptable condition. When print focus appeared uncomfortable for her, as in an April 1 reading with me, she could revert to story reading with excellent sense of gist and detail. However, she may not have been satisfied with story reading at this juncture. On May 18, when she read with me again, she was not eager to try one of the unfamiliar texts, and after trying two lines in story reading style, she stopped, saying that she did not want to read; she did not "know how to read"; she could only read in her journal.

An April reading with the teacher in unfamiliar text had also demonstrated caution, a caution that was dispelled on rereading. Caution, then, may have been related to unfamiliar text at this point; it may also have been related to me, a possibility that is reinforced by looking at her reading in her own work.

Her journal reading, which had been inaudible in December authors' circle attempts, and absent from authors'

for several months following, became a more frequent and assured offering in authors' circle from the end of March on. Her only reading of her own work that appeared unconfident toward year's end, and which was abandoned without communicating its full message, was her May 18 reading with me. Charlotte had also maneuvered not to read her journal with me on April 1, bringing a Sesame Street Magazine issue instead. Her piece that day was highly personally charged, which may also have contributed to her reluctance to share with me--but she shared it with relish among her peers in authors' circle later that morning. Unlike some other children who appeared to relax with me, perhaps more than with teachers or peers, Charlotte, I suspect, was less relaxed with me. This may have colored her reading of her own work as well as of unfamiliar text.

However, I think it is fair to say that as Charlotte began in the last half of the year to establish focus on print, her confidence in reading was not strong. Yet, at no point was she ready to read nonsense. Rather, her approach was to bail out to the safety of "story reading" or the dry land of saying, "I don't want to read this."

She said she liked reading at year's end--but writing was preferable.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Nov. 11	own piece, 1 sentence, during writing	story reading	Apparently used recall for verbatim reading of three-word text.
Dec. 9	own piece, in short text, in authors' circle	inaudible	--
Dec. 17	own piece, in short text, in authors' circle	inaudible	--
Jan. 28	"The Horse," "The Boy," total 9 sentences, unfamiliar, her choice from several offered by teacher	print-focused with encouragement (apparent sight recognition of at least two words)	Initial response was to ask what the story was about. Verbal commentary related to pictures. Nonverbal commentary (laughing) responsive to pictures. Long pause after error, with self-correction. (When asked if she knew she could read, replied, "No.")
Mar. 9	label on bar of soap, during writing, with observer. Soap was part of beauty kit from home.	(?) story reading (following request that observer tell her the words)	Verbatim, perhaps sensible guess. (When asked how she figured out, said she didn't know, just looked.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Mar. 10	<u>The Bus Ride</u> , 30 sentences, familiar, with aide	story and print- focused reading to (after reminder to point)	Self-correction toward meaning. Used pictures. Substitutions semantically and syntactically acceptable. Verbal commentary to inform audience of ending. When "off track," long pauses.
Mar. 16	own piece, 3 words, during writing, with observer	print-focused	Would not tell observer what else she was going to write--- insisted it was a surprise. (Stated that she preferred reading books to her journal because they did not require her to draw pictures.)
Mar. 23	own piece, in 1 sentence, in authors' circle	print-focused	Verbatim.
April 1	<u>Sesame Street</u> <u>Magazine</u> , her choice to read with observer	browsing, label- ling illustrations	Reverted to appropriate label- ling when no story line in pictures. (On seeing a game in the magazine, presented at right angles to general text, stated, "The book's supposed to go this way. Why is this upside down?")

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Apr. 1	own piece, 1 sentence, in authors' circle	(?) phrased or story reading	Verbatim. Saved this for audience of peers; had avoided sharing earlier with observer. When peers responded, Charlotte elaborated on story orally.
Apr. 15	Riddles, familiar, with teacher	story and print-focused reading, cue'd by teacher who read beginnings of most riddles	Recalled meaning of riddles and could complete them when given their beginnings.
May 11	own piece, 3 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused (holding book in front of face)	Sentences syntactically and semantically appropriate.
May 18	own piece, same as May 11 with observer	print-focused	Negative data; left two sentences incomplete, saying, "I don't want to/can't read that page." (When asked if there was a way to figure out words if she did not know them, she replied, "No.")
May 18	<u>Titch</u> , 19 sentences, with observer	story reading, then abandoned	Sentences read were syntactically and semantically appropriate, fit with pictures. (In mid-text she stated, "I can't read it." When asked why, continued, "I don't know how to read... I only read in my journal." In a book she just looks at pictures.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
June 17	own piece, 4 sentences, with observer	phrased (jointed but short pauses) perhaps with invention on last two lines	First two sentences close to text with substitutions holding meaning.
June 21	<u>Homes</u> , 6 sentences, with observer	story reading	Sentences syntactically and semantically appropriate but not close to text. Using pictures. Verbal commentary about meaning: "Do they really have homes in shells?" (Stated, in sentence probing context, that she used pictures to cue at least some reading.)

Don

When Don entered kindergarten, he knew a handful of letters and the sounds that went with them, but his concepts about books and print were not well developed, nor were his strategies for dealing with written language (Benedict, 1981). He saw himself as a nonreader.

Don focused more on drawing than writing in his fall journal work, but did bring a one-sentence piece to share at the first authors' circle, story reading it without pauses. The next day, he brought a picture to share, but after this early flurry, shared little at authors' circle through the rest of the year.

His reading proceeded without attention to print through most of the winter. A March 9 authors' circle reading was the first, partially print-focused example in my data.

Text: The whale is killed

TH WHAL Z DA

and the whale

AT TH WAL

is eaten for

IN ZE DE

dinner.

DUR

Don: The/whale/is//I can't
read this part.

and the whale

is eaten for

dinner.

I'll read it all over
and see if I can
remember. The whale is
killed and the whale is
eaten for dinner.

Don's reading here was careful, beginning in word by word style. He did not take a risk on "DA" (which he intended to be killed) in his initial reading, but did reread, retrieving the full text through stated use of memory and implied use of syntactic and semantic cues.

As Don began to focus on print, he appeared to use memory and sight words as his dominant tools for figuring out the print. He sometimes used initial sounds in combination with pictures. When uncertain about a word, however, he usually just stopped, seeking assistance, not risking a guess. When he was right, his declarative intonation showed that he knew it.

When asked about reading strategies at the end of the year, Don credited sounding (a tool he did not regularly use) and, once, in teacher company, "skipping," a strategy she noted he did not use. However, when asked about how he learned to read (June 7), Don talked about writing as his entree:

Writing, that kind of learns me how to read . . .
because if I write and I know what it says because
I knew from the time that I was writing what it was.

While Don gained sight word knowledge and beginning sense of graphophonic match in his kindergarten year, he did not appear to gain (or at least, to internalize) strong risking, predicting strategies that would help him chart his way through difficult or unfamiliar text. At year's end,

his limited strategies limited his independence in reading. He was not for this reason among the children I invited to read in unfamiliar text at the end of the year.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Nov. 5	sentence written by aide, describing his activity	(?)	Verbatim reading. Carried the sentence strip around with him.
Nov. 5	one sentence, in directed writing activity with aide	(?) less independent on own printing than aide's	--
Dec. 1	own piece, 1 sentence, in authors' circle	story reading	Coherent sentence.
Dec. 3	a Curious George book, assigned reading with a friend	focus on individual letters	Interest in naming letters with no apparent interest in text (or meaning).
Dec. 3	own journal work, a dot-to-dot drawing, in authors' circle	described process of drawing	(no text)
Jan. 13	<u>The Bus Ride</u> , 30 sentences, familiar, his choice to read with a teacher	story reading	Used pictures and apparent memory of story to read fluently. (In mid-text, stated, "I'm reading too fast for my finger.")

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Jan. 26	<u>Brown Bear</u> , with assistance from student teacher	story reading when encouraged	--
Feb. 10	"The Horse," 4 sentences, unfamiliar, with aide	(?) "ersatz" print-focused (cautious, labored but not much of apparent use of text)	Used pictures and sentence patterns.
Feb. 12	valentines from classmates, opened with observer and peers	print-focused only with direction	Recognized some but not all names of children. Proffered teacher's name when given Mrs.---
Feb. 24	<u>I Fly</u> , short patterned text, with aide	--	Aide noted "poor picture strategies."
Mar. 2	own piece, 1 incomplete sentence, during writing, with observer	print-focused with direction	Completed sentence as read. (Stated that he liked reading books with teachers because he learned to read from them.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Mar. 9	own piece, 1 compound sentence, in authors' circle	print-focused	Skipped difficult section at teacher suggestion, then reread, correcting. Verbal commentary addressed attention to textual context, "I'll read it all over and see if I can remember."
May 6	"The Red Apples," short text, with unfamiliar, with aide, her choice	print-focused (with requests for teacher assistance)	Declarative intonation on some accurate reading. Ignored teacher suggestions to skip words and use pictures. Used repeated language patterns.
May 11	own piece, 1 incomplete sentence, in authors' circle	phrased, with pauses around last word written (student teacher helped keep place)	Completed sentence for audience.
June 3	own piece, several sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused and phrased	Reserved long pauses for ends of sentences.
June 7	own piece, 1 incomplete sentence, with observer	print-focused	Completed text for audience.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
June 7	own piece, same read in authors' circle on June 3, with observer	print-focused and phrased	<p>Verbatim. When, midstream, I thought he was finished and asked a question, he directed me to next sentence, "It says right here." He knew what was coming ahead.</p> <p>(Stated, "I just sound out the words and then make the words together and I read it." Also, "Writing, that kind of learns me how to read . . . because if I write and I know what it says because I knew from the time that I was writing what it was.")</p>
June 18	own piece, in 1 sentence, in authors' circle	phrased	<p>Verbatim. (He had more story to tell than he had written.)</p>

Emily

Emily brought to kindergarten a general awareness of the functions of print but little specific knowledge of how books and print were organized, recognizing only a few letters of the alphabet, for example, and scoring correctly on only 8 of 34 items on a print awareness survey, one of the lowest scores in the kindergarten (Benedict, 1983).

During the fall her most conspicuous involvement with print from her environment was her regular borrowing from the school library, a habit she continued through the year.

Her journal work in the fall comprised pictures, letters of the alphabet, and squiggles that may have been early attempts to write letters. She brought this journal work to the first authors' circle on December 2, starting by saying, "I don't have any words, just the ABC's."

Her attention to "words" in reading was perhaps first observable in late January. In a short, simple story she corrected "puppy" to "dog" for example, when reminded to look at the beginning letter. Also, on her own, she repeatedly read the word "the" with firm, falling declarative intonation, suggesting to some degree at least

her willingness to focus on print independently, and suggesting specifically that she claimed sight words among her reading tools.

Despite numerous beginning strategies for matching her reading to print, Emily continued to give "story reading" performances for some time. By mid-April she showed increasing attention to print, with reminders from the teacher to point to words. However, her attention to print was not a full commitment--and she was not secure in it even at the end of the year.

Because of her continually tenuous focus on print, she was not included among the children I invited to read with me, unassisted. But Emily invited herself to read with me, and not once, but twice. She was even eager, the first time, though not the second, to tackle an unfamiliar story I had brought in. She tried valiantly and with clear discomfort to focus on print on the first page. Then, realizing she was on her own, fluently story read the rest, with full sense of gist. She considered this easy.

When I asked Emily in these sessions with me about how she read, what she looked at when she read, she responded "pictures," and then, with a probe, "the writing," though for her own work, she looked only at

the writing, because, in her words, "I can still see 'em (the pictures) when I look at the writing."

Emily, while focusing only uncertainly on print at the end of her kindergarten year, had come a good distance from the fall. She had developed numerous strategies for reading, among them, use of semantic and syntactic cues, use of initial sounds, recall of whole words, use of repeated sentence patterns and pictures. But, when all failed her, Emily still reverted to "story reading," preserving meaning as her last resort.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to Meaning</u>
Oct. 1	sign for "Drama Area," illustrated with big blocks, read for observer	story reading	Used pictures to read "big block area." Had understanding that sign could answer question about name of area.
Dec. 3	own, random letters with picture, in authors' circle	described drawing, then with peer response, invented text	Used picture. Sense of telling story to audience.
Dec. 22	own piece, 1 sentence, in authors' circle	print-focused with reminder to point	Gave gist.
Jan. 26	"The Horse," and "The Puppy," short texts, with teacher	print-focused with assistance, cautious	Syntactically and semantically acceptable sentences. Used pictures.
Jan 28	own, full page of letters, random, during writing	story reading	When asked what it said, used text language to describe picture, "This is a bee."
Mar. 3	own piece, short, in authors' circle	story reading	Apparently drew on memory initially, then, with response from audience, on invention.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to Meaning</u>
Mar. 9	own piece, during writing time, with observer	(?) story reading or print-focused (eyes followed print all over page--perhaps as written)	Syntactically and semantically acceptable sentences in text structure similar to texts available in class. (Stated preference for own work which "others can't read.")
Mar. 10	<u>The Bus Ride</u> , 30 sentences, familiar, with aide	story and print-focused	Used pictures. Verbal commentary included questions about content of pictures. Declarative intonation when making meaning. On 22 unassisted sentences, no miscues with meaningful substitutions.
Mar. 23	own piece, 2 sentences, circle in authors' circle	story, barely audible	Produced coherent text, elaborating on original. Apparently using memory.
Apr. 15	<u>Catch that Frog</u> , 22 sentences, unfamiliar, with teacher	largely print-focused, with reminders to point to words	Questioning intonation on 1 of 2 "loss" miscues. Of 9 unassisted sentences, none involved "loss" miscues. Used pictures. Self-corrected toward meaning.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to Meaning</u>
May 4	own piece, 2 sentences, circle in authors'	print-focused	--
May 11	own piece, partially written, during writing, with teacher	print-focused (underlining words as read)	--
May 15	"The Boy," 5 sentences, with aide	print-focused	Used pictures. Self-corrected when lost meaning, following a pause and a cough. Declarative intonation on achieving sense. Used language patterns.
May 18	own piece, 5 sentences, with observer, self-initiated	print-focused	Self-corrections. Substitutions and insertions not affecting meaning. Declarative intonation on words that achieve meaning after effort.
May 18	<u>Titch</u> , 19 sentences, with observer following reading own piece	unsuccessful print focus yielded to story reading	Produced good gist. Used pictures. (Stated that in books looks at both words and pictures, but in journal, only at words, "because I can still see them (pictures).")

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to Meaning</u>
May 18	own piece, 5 sentences, same read with observer, in authors' circle	print-focused, hesitant, with low voice	Nonverbal commentary in form of looking to audience with happy expression on resolution of story. Also shook head on misreading, then corrected, rereading full sentence.
June 7	own piece, an expansion of piece read May 18, with observer, self-initiated	largely story reading	Storytelling intonation. However, in section that gave difficulty, abandoned sentence in middle, asking for assistance by directing observer to the teacher's notations which she perhaps knew were more legible to observer than her own writing.
June 7	given choice of unfamiliar text, with observer	chose not to read	-- (Perhaps did not want to story read.)
June 21	single sentence from Homes, during interview with observer	chose not to read	--

George

George brought to kindergarten rich concepts about books and general print organization, as well as considerable specific knowledge about letters and their corresponding sounds (Benedict, 1981). From the beginning of the year, it was apparent that George delighted in stories and took an active interest in print. Initially, he sought adult support for reading and writing but during the fall, became more self-sufficient in his writing and subsequently, more self-sufficient in his reading. He did not see himself as a reader in the fall, telling his friend Jack, for example that he could not read on December 3, as they "story read" a familiar text together. Two days earlier, however, George had brought to the first authors' circle what was to become the year's first published book, an in-progress piece that was already eleven sentences long. He had sustained work on this for a week, even with the intrusion of Thanksgiving weekend. He read it with attention to the print, marked by overt sounding and self-correction. He apparently found this text more difficult as it progressed, with increasingly longer pauses. He finally finished it with teacher assistance, suggesting that memory was a factor in this reading. Despite his difficulties in

reading, however, George retained the pose of story teller, interjecting for his audience at one point, "You know why it is a friendly bear?"

George's first tape-recorded reading with a teacher on January 13 was print focused in unfamiliar text. He appeared to attend to the words, using initial sounds for clues or overtly sounding out entire words. His attempts at words included nonsense--but in no cases did he tolerate this nonsense, for example:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Transcript</u>
Then I'll let you go.	Then/I///elf you go. /?
	(Teacher: Then I'll elf you go?)
	!
	Then I'll let you go.

By the end of April when George first read with me, I was struck by his sense-dominated reading and his articulated network of strategies, including use of pictures, sounding, skipping words and returning, his sense of sentence, and sense of story.

George's reading to the end of the year would continue to reflect a strong network of strategies, and though he had meaning-loss errors--a few--he articulated his dissatisfaction with them. George began and ended kindergarten with comparative strength in reading. He developed a connected network of strategies through the

year, honing his sounding skills first in writing (and in spelling with his mother at home), then using these along with his strong sense of story to guide his reading. He took risks. He settled sometimes for sense even if it did not match the text, or he tried--but did not settle for--nonsense. Even in his most hesitant, soundbound reading, he retained his sense of sense.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Dec. 1	own piece, 11 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused (with overt sounding, and assistance)	Self-corrections. All sentences semantically and syntactically acceptable. Verbal commentary to convey extra meaning to audience.
Dec. 3	own piece, expanded from Dec. 1, with observer, during writing	print-focused and phrased (would read only current writing; told about remainder)	Read current writing verbatim. For remainder, described picture content. Bursting to share unwritten resolution, "I've got something great to tell you . . . the ear got out."
Dec. 3	own piece, same as earlier, in authors' circle	print-focused with assistance	Left text syntactically and semantically accurate, not exact.
Dec. 3	<u>The Little Knight</u> and <u>The Three</u> <u>Little Pigs</u> , assigned to read with a friend	story reading, browsing with through pictures	On the unfamiliar <u>Knigh</u> t story, browsed through pictures, commenting on things that were silly. On familiar <u>Pigs</u> story, talked out dialogue and sang. (Stated to his friend that he could not read.)
Jan. 5	own piece, short text, in authors' circle	--	--

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Jan. 13	<u>The Pot of Gold</u> , 30 sentences, with unfamiliar, with teacher	story reading and print-focused (includes overt sounding)	Verbal commentary; asks questions about meaning of word; offers, "that makes sense." Intonation shifts in response to achievement of meaning. Self-corrected. Used pictures. Repeated attempts when not making sense. Substit- utions syntactically appropriate.
Jan. 26	<u>The Little Knight</u> , not completed, unfamiliar text (though pictures were familiar, with student teacher	print-focused	Abandoned story because "I can't read such big words."
Feb. 10	<u>Victor Makes a TV</u> , 14 sentences, unfamiliar, with teacher	print-focused (overt sounding, apparently impatient)	Substitutions held sense. Verbal commentary; "That's not the kind of TV I watch." Intonation shifts reflect attention to sense. Used pictures when encouraged especial- ly.
Mar. 2	own piece, in-process, during writing, with observer	initial story reading changed to print-focused after prompt	Verbatim. (Stated that he could only read stories that he wrote.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Mar. 2	own piece, 2 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused	Verbatim.
Mar. 16	own piece, several sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused	Close to text.
Apr. 1	own piece, 2 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused and phrased (head following text without overt sounding)	Verbatim. Self-correction. Verbal commentary to share caption with audience.
Apr. 27	own pieces, 3 short ones, (all written weeks earlier), with observer	print-focused and phrased	Verbatim. (Stated about one of his pieces not read, "This one I can't read because the letters are too scrunched up . . .")
Apr. 27	<u>I Was Walking Down the Road</u> , 55 sentences, with observer	print-focused, story, and phrased reading	Verbal commentary, "Hmm, it makes no sense." Nonverbal commentary included responsive laughter. Used combination of pictures and meaningful guess. Skipped and returned to words to use context. Intonation shifts with meaning. Self-corrections and meaningful substitutions.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
May 4	own piece, several pages, in authors' circle	print-focused, ending in phrased reading	Verbal commentary to explain additional detail to audience. Syntactically and semantically acceptable throughout.
May 6	<u>Ten Little Bears</u> , 25 sentences, unfamiliar, with aide	print-focused and phrased on repeated phrases	Used pictures. Verbal and non- verbal commentary, responsive to audience. Declarative intonation when got words that had been working on. Few miscues, including meaningful substitutions.
May 25	<u>Titch</u> , 19 sentences, with observer	print-focused and phrased	Intonation shifts. "Doesn't Verbal commentary, "Doesn't make any sense." Used pictures. Repeated attempts at words, ending with meaning.
May 25	own piece, 5 sentences, with observer	print-focused, with some phrased reading	Took liberties with text, but gave coherent story.
June 1	own piece, during writing	print-focused	--
June 3	own piece, in 7 sentences, in authors' circle	(inaudible tape)	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
June 10	own piece, short, in authors' circle	phrased	Verbatim, with strong emphasis on appropriate words. Verbal commentary to explain incomplete writing (a story beginning), "That's all I got to write today." today."
June 17	own piece, 3 sentences, circle in authors' circle talk)	phrased (but notably slower paced than normal talk)	Verbatim, with emphasis.

Jack

Jack entered kindergarten with knowledge of the ABC's and general book organization, but little knowledge of how print was arranged to make text (Benedict, 1983).

During the fall, he happily "shared" familiar texts with peers, drawing on memory and pictures, without print focus. He did not consider this reading.

By January, as he began to focus on print (notably in reading his own writing, and in familiar text), he was ready to agree that he was reading. This shift to print focus corresponded to an explosion in Jack's writing from one or two sentences at a time, to sustained text. He sounded out most of the words he wrote, and he sounded out as he read. For months, sounding was a dominant strategy.

During these months he read unfamiliar--and even familiar--text with considerable hesitation, and stronger regard for graphophonic than for semantic accuracy. His reading included rare examples of meaning-loss miscues in his own text. During this period, Jack was, by comparison with other children in the class what I call a highly "soundbound" reader, that is, a reader

dependent on the single strategy of sounding out words.

It is interesting to me in looking back over his year's reading that in February, when print focus was quite new, there was a glimmer of an emerging skip and return strategy for unknown words (February 4). And earlier, Jack had used pictures quite capably for story gist. It was not that he did not have the potential strategies but rather that he did not, for whatever reason, use them. I suspect the reason had something to do with his own concept of acceptable reading behavior.

At the end of the year, however, Jack appeared to gain confidence in his reading and to integrate use of pictures and sense with graphophonic information, even in unfamiliar text.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Nov. 5	<u>The Ghost Story</u> , a familiar story shared with a friend and observer at Jack's invitation	made ghost sounds as friend story read	Enjoying the story. (Stated that he could not read, that reading was looking at letters.)
Nov. 5	<u>The Gingerbread Man</u> , familiar story line, read with observer	predicted words from context read by observer	Capable of predicting sensible words.
Dec. 1	own piece, 6 words, in authors' circle	--	--
Dec. 3	<u>The Three Little Pigs</u> , familiar, assigned reading with friend	story reading	Abundant signs in use of theatrical voices for dialogue, laughter, maintaining gist of story. (When friend announced that he could not read, Jack did not reply.)
Dec. 3	pirate book, friend shared with in library, following reading by student teacher	print-focused for one word	Focused on the name of the friend with enthusiasm--this was a meaningful word for them to search.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Dec. 3	<u>How the Sun was Brought Back to the Sky</u> , in library, looking at books with observer, at her invitation, familiar text	story reading	Good gist. (When asked if he could read this--no; when asked if he could tell the story--no; when asked what the pictures told--told with good gist. With probing it appeared that for Jack "telling a story" was the same as "reading"; "looking at the pictures and telling about them" he called "sharing.")
Dec. 3	choice of pre-primer texts, in library, at observer's initiation	refused to read	--
Dec. 8	own piece (a dictated piece), 4 sentences, in authors' circle	--	--
Jan. 5	own piece, 1 sentence, in authors' circle	print-focused	Produced coherent sentence, apparently drawing on memory to assist print focus.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Jan. 13	<u>Ten Little Bears,</u> familiar, with teacher, 25 sentences	story reading; some print-focused with encourage- ment; and phrased style on some repeated phrases	Used pictures. Satisfied if reading made sense yet lacked graphic match.
Jan. 21	--	--	(Stated that he could read, in response to observer's question.)
Feb. 4	"blue," a color word on chalkboard during math class, volunteered to read	print-focused	(Stated that he used the beginning letter to figure out the word. When the teacher responded that the word might also be "brown," he fell back to, "I just knew. I knew that word up in my mind.")
Feb. 4	a group-published book about Curious George, not recent, with observer, at her invitation	print-focused	Until a friend's intrusion scuttled this reading, Jack appeared to read with some use of comprehension. He was able to skip an adjective that gave him difficulty and return to insert it in the final reading.
Feb. 11	<u>Pat's New Puppy,</u> 16 sentences, with teacher	print-focused with encouragement combined with story reading	Mixed signals in predictions-- both words that fit syntactically and not graphophonically, and vice versa. Exclamatory intonation on occasion when figured out word after struggle.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Mar. 2	own piece, 1 sentence, with observer at end of writing	print-focused	--
Mar. 11	own piece, 1 sentence (20 words), in authors' circle	print-focused	Mixed signals. Produced one coherent clause and left a second incomplete.
Apr. 27	own piece, published, 6 sentences, with observer	print-focused, with finger pointing and head bobbing	Limited observed attention to meaning. Two meaning-loss miscues accompanied by labored pauses, and one, by a request for help. Predictions usually fit syntactically with prior text and with initial sound. Used picture when in difficulty on one occasion.
Apr. 27	<u>I Was Walking</u> <u>Down the Road,</u> 20 of 55 sentences read	print-focused with some overt sounding	Mixed signals. Predictions both sensible and not sensible. Left unknown words unresolved rather than revert to story reading. Intonation tentative regardless of text match.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Apr. 27	--	--	(Stated that my selection of books was hard, ones he could not read. He credited sounding and thinking as his strategies in reading, and home as his source of learning.)
May 2	Over/Under, short text, familiar, when asked by aide to read a book he thought he could read	print-focused	Produced coherent text, close to original. Self-corrected after pause and initial prediction of /y/ at beginning of "umbrella," reading correction with declarative intonation.
May 6	own piece, 3 sentences, circle in authors' circle	print-focused and phrased	Verbatim.
May 11	own writing, first journal written in fall, during writing, shared with friend and observer at Jack's initiation	picture skimming (once, for text in adult hand, asked observer to read)	Jack's relish in remembering his writing experiences with his friend was clear. "Remember this one, remember the ball . . . hey lookit. Oh, I like that one."
May 20	own piece, 7 sentences, circle in authors' circle	predominantly print-focused with some phrased reading	Produced coherent text with perhaps one lapse in syntax.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
June 1	own piece, 6 sentences, with observer	print-focused	Verbatim.
June 1	Homes, 6 sentences, with observer	print-focused (some story reading)	Numerous meaningful substitutions and reversion to story reading on final difficult sentence which breaks pattern of text. (Jack credited sounding as his strategy for all 9 words in sentence probing, and when asked if pictures ever helped, said sometimes they did and sometimes, not.)
June 6	own piece, 1 sentence, group sharing of statements about themselves	print-focused	Verbatim.
June 15	own piece, 4 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused	Produced coherent text with one self-correction.
June 18	<u>Titch</u> , 19 sentences, with observer.	print-focused and story reading to (with glance to observer, almost as if asking if story reading was acceptable)	Produced coherent text. Miscues predominantly maintained meaning. Approached words frequently by pausing, looking at pictures and producing word or meaningful substitution.

Jane

Jane did not think of herself as a reader when she began kindergarten. In November she still appeared confused about distinctions between "words" and "sentences."

In the fall, Jane spent much of her time watching others, appearing to have difficulty at times beginning activities. She appeared most engaged when she was involved in art activities.

First note of print-focused reading was in a two-sentence piece of her own that she read in a January authors' circle. At this point she stated that her own work was easier to read "because it's my own," but attempted unfamiliar reading text in an "assisted reading" situation.

Jane looked to adults for cues--which she applied--and for reassurance--which she was skillful at obtaining. The learning process for her was in a sense a weaning process, helping her build self-assurance which allowed her to apply the range of strategies she had amassed in the year. She was capable of making logical guesses, skipping words and returning to correct, using multiple graphic cues within a word, pictures, repeated language patterns--but she tended to stop and look to adults when she had difficulty. As the year closed, the self-assurance was developing and Jane was capable of both successfully

applying and articulating her reading strategies.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Dec. 2	own piece, 1 sentence, in authors' circle	--	--
Dec. 8	own piece, 1 sentence, in authors' circle	--	--
Jan. 13	<u>The Circus Book</u> , assisted reading with aide	--	Used pictures. Took risks.
Jan. 28	<u>The Pot of Gold</u> , 30 sentences, unfamiliar, assisted reading with teacher	at least some print-focus (perhaps on sight words)	Used context with teacher assistance in rereading words leading up to word in question.
Jan. 28	own piece, 2 sentences, with observer	print-focused	Produced coherent sentences, close to original. (Stated that journals were easier to read than books, "because they're my own.")
Feb. 4	a color word, on chalkboard, in math class	print-focused	Volunteers appropriate word. (Stated, "I saw all of the letters.")
Mar. 9	own piece, 3 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused	Verbatim.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Mar. 24	<u>The Lion</u> , 7 sentences, with student teacher (a re- reading of this text)	print-focused and phrased (hesitant to read unless sure)	Corrected to meaning. Made logical guesses that fit with picture. Offered theme statement.
Apr. 13	own piece, 3 sentences, with observer	phrased (with pauses before difficult words) and print-focused	(Stated, when asked what "greedy" mean, "that someone wants everything. So that's what it's all about.") Verbatim. Looked at picture with 3 second pause after first sentence. (Stated, "If I forget the words I just pass it . . . and read the rest of it and then it helps me find out what word goes in it.")
Apr. 13	<u>I Was Walking Down the Road</u> , 55 sentences, with observer	print-focused (included word pointing and glances to observer)	Produced excellent gist. Self- corrected. Used pictures. Used repeated language (flipping back in text to look for word). Substitutions and omissions both held and lost meaning. When meaning lost, behaviors such as puzzled looks, head shaking. (Stated, "I look at the pictures and they give me an idea of what it says." Also claimed sounding.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
May 4	group-published story, shared by herself in authors' circle	print-focused (included 5 glances to student teacher for assistance)	--
May 6	<u>Henrietta Chicken, Circus Star</u> , her choice to read with aide	print-focused (hesitant, overt sounding, asked for help)	Corrected to sense after initial guess made no sense. Intonation shifts with meaning lost and achieved. (Stated strategy for unknown word, "Skip it.")
May 6	own piece, 4 sentences completed, in authors' circle	phrased	Verbatim.
May 18	<u>Homes</u> , 6 sentences with observer	print-focused and phrased (pointing to words)	Used pictures. Declarative intonation following pause to figure out a word. Used language patterns. (Stated, in a book, "I sound out the sounds of the letters," and also credited looking at prior text and pictures.)

Attention to meaning
 Storytelling intonation.
 Declarative intonation on
 self-corrections. Acceptable
 omissions and substitutions.
 Omitted three words which gave
 meaning loss but in each case
 only after pause and glance at
 picture.
 (Stated that used sight
 vocabulary, pictures, and
 sounding.)

Reading style
 phrased and
 print-focused
 (finger sweeping
 left to right,
 some long pauses
 followed by omis-
 sions)

Text, Context
Titch,
 19 sentences,
 with observer

Date
 June 15

Leo

Leo did not consider himself a reader or writer as he entered school, though by November (Benedict, 1981) he showed developing book knowledge and knowledge of the alphabet. He did not seek out reading or writing. He appeared to learn by observing and overhearing--and he actively attended to others' lessons.

He took care in his work and was proud of his accomplishments. His pride in turn may have made it hard for him to do things (including reading) until he was competent. For example, he was not recorded as sharing in authors' circle until March.

For his first tape-recorded reading session with a teacher, he brought a well-known text, Over/Under, and read it with ease, largely using the pictures to story read, but with occasional self-corrections suggesting some attention to print. In new text at this time, Leo also story read except when urged to focus on print and given cues to use. He clearly recognized sense when he had it, celebrating it with declarative intonation.

Increasingly in the next few months, Leo began to sound out words in his reading and his reading was sometimes barely audible, accompanied by long pauses and

worried expression.

When encouraged to read accurately, as in an April 8 reading of new text with a student teacher, he became extremely hesitant and lost sense (here taking fifteen minutes to read thirty-one words). Again, in a May 10 reading with the aide, he appeared to focus on sounding as his initial strategy and abandon or lack confidence in sense. However, when encouraged to read as if on his own (May 4) by someone who may have appeared not much of an authority (me), he largely story read (combined with some print-focused reading), fluently, using pictures and graphophonic information, interjecting commentary to show dissatisfaction, "that doesn't make sense," and engagement in story line. In a June 18 reading with me, of the shortest text in my collection, he read with sense, using sounds, pictures, known words, and repeated language to guide him. When he had difficulty on the last sentence, he reverted to sense.

My sense was that Leo operated with an elaborate set of rules about what reading was, with whom, and under what conditions. His reading and his confidence varied from situation to situation. By choice, he appeared to prefer situations in which he could show competence--or did not feel he had to prove himself.

Toward the end of the year, Leo wrote, "I like atari. I like to write published books. I like puns."

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Dec. 3	a pirate book, with peers and student teacher, in library	observing carefully as another read	--
Jan. 19	<u>Over/Under</u> , short text, familiar, his choice to read with teacher	story reading (though reminded to point to words)	Declarative intonation on meaningful reading. Used pictures. Laughed in response to one of the pictures which combined with the text to make a joke. Self-correction. (Stated that he used picture to guide correction.)
Jan. 19	<u>Catch That Frog</u> , 22 sentences, unfamiliar, with teacher	story reading with some print focus when encouraged	Declarative intonation after struggle for correction or paraphrase. Used pictures. Applied story pattern from <u>Over/Under</u> . Substitutions sometimes in combination with print focus.
Feb. 4	group-published story, in library while friend read with observer	(?) interrupted friend's reading with guesses at words which may have reflected to some attention to print	--

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Feb. 12	<u>The Little Knight</u> , in library, initially alone	browsing slowly until friend arrived; then flipped rapidly, returning book to shelf	--
Feb. 23	own piece, 1 sentence, in process of writing, with aide	print-focused	Verbatim. (Stated that he preferred to read own writing because it was in his own words, to observer, later during writing time.)
Feb. 23	<u>The Little Knight</u> , in library, with observer, when asked if he had a favorite book	focused on a single letter, "k;" to find book title (cover not illustrated)	Recalled ending of story from prior browsing. Predicted words as observer read text, using sense more than graphics.
Feb. 24	<u>Firemen</u> , short text, unfamiliar, with aide	story reading with some print- focused reading following reminder to point	Declarative intonation when sense achieved after struggle. Predictions usually fit syntax and sense; some lost sense, but teacher intervention did not allow for unassisted correction.
Mar. 2	own piece, short, in authors' circle	print-focused	Barely audible, difficult to tell.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Mar. 9	<u>Mouse Tales</u> , time, during story with another student reading to class	--	Directed reader's attention to table of contents to find page number for story.
Mar. 16	own piece, 2 sentences--second, incomplete, in authors' circle	print-focused	Self-corrected. Not word perfect, but syntactically and semantically acceptable. Aware as read that had forgotten to finish sentence, and proceeded to tell the rest--sense of audience.
Apr. 1	own piece, approximately 10 sentences (connected by "and"), in authors' circle	print-focused and phrased (eyes moving along page, finger pointing)	Self-corrected. Meaningful substitutions. Coherent, close to text. Smiled as read humorous line.
Apr. 8	<u>The Pot of Gold</u> , not completed, with student teacher	print-focused (with extensive overt sounding, and encouragement --at least 10 times--to sound out words)	Predictions sometimes made sense with preceding text, but riddled with meaning-loss miscues. At one point offered, "I know there's something wrong."

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
May 4	<u>I Was Walking Down the Road</u> , his choice to read with observer	story reading of with patches of print focus.	Used pictures. Declarative intonation on some meaningful predictions (not necessarily graphically accurate). Verbal commentary, "That doesn't make sense." Shared illustrations with observer as his audience. All sentences syntactically and semantically acceptable.
May 6	own piece, published, 10 sentences, circle in authors' circle (read also on Apr. 1)	print-focused and phrased	Self-corrected. After pausing, skipping word, returned and read with declarative intonation. Verbal commentary, "No," before correction. All sentences syntactically and semantically acceptable.
May 10	<u>Happy Faces</u> , not completed, unfamiliar, with aide	initially story reading, then print-focused	Used pictures. Some corrections and intonation shifts suggested attention to sense. However, most sentences left syntactically and semantically unacceptable when print-focused.
June 1	own piece, 13 sentences, with observer	print-focused (with difficulty on disorganized text)	Struggled for accuracy and acknowledged it with declarative intonation. Substitutions few but meaningful. Verbal commentary, "No," followed by correction. Following disorganized reading, wanted to reread for audience to "know."

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
June 1	<u>Titch</u> , 19 sentences, with observer	story and print- focused reading	Used pictures. Put sections that were story read in first person. Good gist.
June 18	own piece, same read Apr. 1 and May 6, with observer	phrased (with finger pointing)	Declarative intonation with correction. Shared meaning of pictures, enthusiastically. Verbal commentary to share meaning. Declarative intonation on whole sentences.
June 18	<u>Homes</u> , 6 sentences, with observer	phrased, print- focused, and story reading	Frequent use of pictures. All sentences syntactically and semantically acceptable. Used repeated language patterns. Declarative intonation on words achieving meaning of text. No meaning-loss miscues.
June 18	<u>Go On!</u> , text with 4 repeated words, familiar, with observer at Leo's initiation	phrased	(Stated on sentence probing that used sounds, repeated language patterns.) Verbatim. Alerted observer, "Here's the funny part." (Stated that he liked this book because it was easy and because it was familiar.)

Luke

Luke entered kindergarten with basic concepts about books, including sense of story and general book organization, but lacking many of the skills required to deal with print per se--left-right organization, recognition of the whole alphabet, sense of word boundaries, ability to locate beginning letters, for examples (Benedict, 1981).

Early observation in the kindergarten suggested that Luke enjoyed begin read to in the library area or sitting with a friend listening to tape-recorded books. However, he did not seek out reading activities. In fact, he spent much of his kindergarten year avoiding text--either reading it or writing it.

Luke shared infrequently at authors' circle, about once a month from January to June, except twice during March and April, concurrent with his one writing spurt of the year. His authors' circle reading settled into print-focused style on only a few occasions. Even at the end of the year, when apparently troubled by lack of memory of specific words in reading his own work, he reverted easily to story reading, relying on memory for gist.

In reading text with teachers, Luke gravitated, throughout the year, toward familiar text. When, at

teacher request, he read unfamiliar text, his style was, with encouragement, print-focused in examples from late February on--until he met difficulty. Then, he regularly reverted to story reading. In an April reading, for example, he made repeated attempts to match his reading to the text only at teacher behest; his inclination was to story read, to maintain the thread of the story.

Since Luke was not independently working for print focus in unfamiliar text by the beginning of April, he was not on my original list of children to invite to read, unassisted. However, Luke invited himself to read with me, and story read the unfamiliar text I proffered fluently, looking at pictures, seeking my assistance (not given), and using his well-developed sense of story to carry him along.

In mid-June, Luke again pursued me for a chance to read. When I agreed, he "read" me invented text from his journal, from the plain back side of his page. He did not want to read one of "my" books this time, but since I was by this date quite curious about his print-focus capability in unfamiliar text, I asked him to try my simplest choice, Homes. He read it with considerable attention to the print, frequently making initial predictions using picture cues and beginning sounds (for example, "web" for "what," "branch" for "back"), sometimes correcting predictions to match the print (for example, "lives in" to "has,"

"caterpillar" to "worm"), and proffering predictions that did not match the text with uncertainty either expressed by intonation or by words. His concern for the print was inclusive of sense.

By the end of the year, Luke had demonstrated his capacity to employ a range of strategies in reading--use of pictures, use of initial sounds, knowledge of sight words, requests for teacher assistance, checks on the "truth" value of what he read, use of syntax and sense, and above all, his abiding sense of story.

His concern for sense and syntax had held firm through the year, though his approaches to print had progressed, in general, from rollicking disregard to rather careful focus. "In general" is a necessary qualification about Luke's reading, since it would vary markedly, depending in part I suspect on whether or not he could successfully tackle the print at hand.

Luke appeared to want competence and if he could not achieve it, often avoided the task. By his own admission, he liked things that were easy.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Oct. 22	"tone, volume," copied from tape recorder into journal, during writing	story reading	Read as "tape recorder."
Oct. 22	note about a favorite movie from other observer, found in his mailbox	avoided looking (held on his lap for a long time)	--
Jan. 4	a ghost story, familiar, sought out during children's choice time	browsing, flipping pages	Perhaps attending to pictures. Ended up asking student teacher to read it to him.
Jan. 5	own piece, 1 sentence, in authors' circle	--	--
Jan. 11	<u>Over/Under, Ghost Story, Firefighters</u> , familiar, with teacher	story reading	Used pictures and recall.
Jan. 21	sentence written by aide during directed writing activity	print-focused	Verbatim. Admant that text read, "A tugboat," not, " <u>the</u> tugboat."

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Jan. 21	<u>Ten Little Bears</u> , 25 sentences, familiar, with teacher	story reading with limited print focus (numerous reminders to point)	Used pictures. All sentences left syntactically and semantically acceptable. Self-corrected at least 6 sentences for syntax. Omissions not affecting meaning. Retold story to observer following reading, with basic gist.
Feb. 4	book of Sendak illustrations, with friend in library, at teacher suggestion	browsing	--
Feb. 23	loose page of journal, during writing time, with observer and peers	invention	Pretended that this page was a newspaper. When asked if he could read it, launched into baby talk.
Feb. 23	own piece, circle in authors' circle	invention	Invented a complete story that did not relate to what he had written. (Earlier, during writing, he told observer his piece was about a different topic.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Feb. 24	A Day at the Circus, unfamiliar text, with teacher	story reading and print-focused when encouraged	Self-correction. Used pictures. Meaningful substitutions. Intonation shifts with achievement and loss of meaning. Reversion to story reading for unknown words. Verbal commentary suggested interest beyond story about author and illustrator.
Mar. 9	own piece, 1 sentence written, with title, during writing	print-focused (sounded as wrote, had difficulty rereading)	-- (Stated that he had difficulty remembering his story. Preference for comics rather than own writing or books to read. Said everything was easy to read.)
Mar. 9	own piece, 2 sentences, same as earlier, in authors' circle	story reading (giggling)	Read coherent story. (Stated, "I keep on forgetting what I was going to say so I keep on writing two things.")
Mar. 23	own piece, 1 sentence, in authors' circle	print-focused	Verbatim.
Apr. 1	own piece, 4 sentences, in authors' circle	story reading	Not verbatim but syntactically and semantically acceptable. In discussion, told of his plans for resolution of story.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Apr. 8	<u>Catch That Frog</u> , 22 sentences, with aide	story reading and print-focused	Few meaning-loss miscues; these accompanied by repeated attempts, picture use, and declarative intonation on correction. Intonation shifts also questioned meaning loss. Verbal commentary about meaning, asking if it was true that the frog was the girl's pet. Made syntax his own on occasion. When unsuccessful with print focus, reverted to story reading.
Apr. 13	own piece, published, 8 sentences, circle in authors'	print-focused and story/phrased reading (?)	--
May 4	own piece, 6 sentences, with observer (piece begun in mid-Apr.)	print-focused	Declarative and exclamatory intonation on meaningful predictions. Few miscues on 4 sentences read. However, abandoned second sentence, saying he "never knew this one," and omitted last two sentences, asking observer what they said.
May 4	<u>Titch</u> , 19 sentences, initial choice to read with observer	After one print- focused sentence, remainder was story reading	Easy reversion to story reading. Good gist, all sentences appropriate to story line. Used pictures extensively. Asked questions about meaning.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
May 4	following reading of <u>Titch</u>	--	(Stated that he read this by looking at the pictures; his own writing, by sounding out.)
May 10	"The Boy," short text, with aide	largely print-focused	Reverted to story reading when met difficulty. Intonation shifts reflected achievement of meaning. On single "loss" miscue, questioning intonation, pause, use of picture with story reading when encouraged to skip, and final reading of sentence with sentence-final intonation. Verbal commentary when solicited about meaning of story.
May 13	own piece, old, 4 sentences, in authors' circle	story reading	All sentences syntactically and semantically appropriate. (Talked about forgetting.)
June 15	non-existent, with observer	invention	Told two well-formed stories with storytelling intonation. (Stated that he "read it on the other side (of the paper).")

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
June 15	<u>Homes,</u> 6 sentences, with observer	story and print- focused reading	Reverted to story reading when difficulty with graphic information. Verbal interjec- tions included 3 questions about meaning. Used pictures. Intonation shifts with meaning. Self-corrected. Two loss miscues of 15 total, accompanied by questioning intonation, repeated attempts, question about content.
June 15	<u>Go On!</u> , 6 sentences of 4 words, familiar, with observer, self-initiated	phrased	Regularly substituted "in" for "on," without change in meaning. Storytelling intonation.

Sarah

Sarah is a child who arrived in school able to write her name but few additional letters, and able to recognize most but not all letters when presented to her (Benedict, 1981). She had a good sense of story and enjoyed "story reading" books she knew with an audience.

When authors' circle was initiated in December, she was among the first children to share, bringing two pieces in quick succession, but after this initial flurry, there was a hiatus in her recorded sharing until February, and infrequent sharing after that.

Competence in reading and writing appeared for much of the year to be an issue for her, and while she covered skillfully on many occasions, she appeared to become tense about her "performance." Yawns punctuated difficult sections of reading with teachers, and physical complaints were common. She brought to school toward the end of the year books like Charlie and the Chocolate Factory, clearly well beyond her abilities, insisting that she was reading them.

With few exceptions, once she began to use

graphophonic information, her reading was marked by lack of confidence, with lengthy pauses (sometimes upwards of twenty seconds) even in reading her own writing. While Sarah showed the capacity to make sensible predictions, she often did not take the risk, pausing, perhaps vocalizing an initial sound and stopping-- unless she was sure both in terms of making sense and in terms of graphophonic fit. Then, she would pronounce the text that had given her pause with conviction. While many of the children reverted easily to "story reading" when they were stuck in trying to match their reading to the print, Sarah appeared loathe to do this, appearing to want nothing short of an exact match. Readings from February through June demonstrate this pattern. Exceptions include her reading of her own piece, "Cinderella" (March 4, April 1) which she worked on for an extended period in March and published. She read this with comparable assurance, reverting to story reading on several sections. Another exception was her reading of Homes with me; she immediately caught onto the pattern of this short text and used the pattern and pictures easily throughout-- apparently undisturbed that she had no graphophonic match on the last sentence. It also appeared that she became

increasingly ready to take risks in reading with teachers after the story pattern or story line was well established.

While in the last half of the kindergarten year Sarah could call on pictures, syntax, visual association, memory, initial sounds (and by May and June, full sounding out of words), story pattern, and sense of story to guide her reading, and did so, some of the time, she often appeared unable to make them effective for her--and was very uncomfortable in the process.

While it is tempting to fit Sarah into the mold of the child who begins to focus on graphophonic match and temporarily reduces attention to contextual clues, I think this is at most part of the picture for Sarah. She clearly wanted graphophonic accuracy and was not to be satisfied with less. But, she did not often make guesses that were syntactically or semantically inappropriate. And she clearly recognized--and celebrated with her intonation--predictions that fit both graphophonically and in terms of sense. Sarah just had a hard time risking being wrong.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to Meaning</u>
Dec. 9	own piece, 2 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused	Verbatim following one correction.
Dec. 17	own piece, 1 sentence, in authors' circle		
Jan. 14	note from observer read with observer during writing	print-focused	Verbatim after being given gist.
Jan. 28	<u>Over/Under</u> , her choice to read with teacher, familiar	story reading (with print focus when encouraged)	Declarative intonation after labor to correct. Omissions leave sentences syntactically and semantically acceptable.
Jan. 28	<u>Bees, Bees, Bees</u> , with teacher, new	print-focused with teacher encouragement to point to words	Mixture: makes sensible guesses that defy graphophonics and guesses matching initial sounds but defying sense. Uses skip and return strategy to gain meaning. Uses pictures.
Feb. 5	own piece, partial sentence in authors' circle	print-focused	Incomplete sentence gave difficulties. Long pauses. Did not readily revert to giving sense of sentence.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to Meaning</u>
Mar. 2	own piece, newly written, during writing, at observer invitation	print-focused	Not observable. Readily distracted by peer paying attention to reading.
Mar. 2	own piece, 6 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused and story	All sentences semantically appropriate in context of story though not accurate sentence by sentence.
Mar. 2	<u>A Day at the Circus</u> , short text, with teacher	print-focused and story	Intonation shifts question prediction not confirmed by picture and declare firmly meaningful reading achieved after labor. Uses pictures. Self-corrections.
Mar. 4	own piece, 2 sentences, in authors' circle	print-focused	Verbatim.
Apr. 1	own piece, published, 12 sentences, with observer	print-focused and story	In 8 sentences analyzed for miscues, 10 miscues, none with complete loss of meaning. Takes liberties with text to preserve meaning on these sentences. On remainder reverts to story reading, preserving meaning. (Note: several sentences read exactly as read on Mar. 2-- neither time, exactly as written. Implied use of memory.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to Meaning</u>
Apr. 1	<u>Homes</u> , short text, with observer (unassisted)	print-focused for 3 pages; reverted to story reading	All sentences syntactically and semantically acceptable. Reversion to story reading when text apparently difficult. Uses combination initial sound and picture for "gravel" as substitution for "ground."
Apr. 10	<u>Catch that Frog</u> , 22 sentences, unfamiliar, with teacher	print-focused with some 15 second pauses	Self-corrections. Declarative intonation shifts when certain of meaning. Uses pictures, sometimes with reminders. Meaningful substitutions. Of 3 complete loss miscues, all corrected with teacher guidance, 1 of them after hesitant pronunciation and verbal commentary, "I don't know." (Recognizes nonsense but cannot always resolve.)
Apr. 13	<u>Charlie and the Chocolate Factory</u> , long and difficult text	carried around room all day; print-focused on title only	--
May 12	<u>Leo the Late Bloomer</u> , familiar but difficult, her choice to read with aide	story reading and print-focused with overt sounding, labored	Declarative intonation on meaningful choices. However, despite familiarity with gist, did not revert readily to story reading.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
May 13	<u>Follow the Leader</u> , first 7 sentences were read, with aide	print-focused (labored, with overt sounding)	Dissatisfaction with lost meaning (repetition, rehearsal under breath, verbal commentary) and declarative intonation with achievement of meaning after effort. Apparently more guided by sense as reading progressed.
May 25	invited by observer to read during writing time	refused invitation	--
June 7	own piece, 14 sentences, with observer	(?) story or phrased reading	All sentences syntactically and semantically acceptable. Self- correction. Elaborated on text and added verbal commentary to explain text to observer.
June 7	<u>Titch</u> , 19 sentences, with observer. Not eager to read and read only two sentences before observer suggested just looking at pictures.	print-focused (cautious, long pauses)	Substituted meaningful word. Declarative intonation on correction.
June 8	own piece, 4 sentences, circle in authors'	print-focused and phrased	Verbatim.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
June 21	<u>Homes,</u> read 1 sentence for sentence probing data after observer read introduc- tory sentence	phrased	Verbatim. (Stated use of pictures.)

Shel

Shel brought knowledge of letters and some of their sounds with him to kindergarten. He had been exposed to sight words in pre-school and told me in mid-year that he had taught himself to read when he was four. He also told me at the end of the year (as he experienced difficulty in reading the book he had chosen from my selection) that while he was not able to read this book, he could read fifth grade books. I took such statements with a grain of salt. Shel wanted very much to appear competent, but appeared to have difficulty relying on adults to help him build competence. At the end of the year, when I asked where he had learned to read he yawned, "I learned to read by myself." He liked to set his own agenda, but when he began to work on something, he worked intently. This was seen as his writing took hold, notably in January. He did not appear to bring the same concentration to his reading.

As Shel began to read with print focus, he had difficulty using non-print cues at the same time. He wanted his reading to be right--and might make a lengthy pause, perhaps trying to draw on memory, or he might backtrack

some distance in the text to get his bearings, like the child taking piano lessons who makes a mistake and goes back to the beginning of the piece.

At the end of the year Shel appeared confident and skillful in reading his own work--and especially delighted by his own published work--but still, he was hesitant in approaching text that was new to him, or to use his distinction, text "written by another man."

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading Style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Nov. 5	a Star Wars book, with friends, in library	browsing	Gave commentary on pictures.
Dec. 3	student teacher suggested that Shel might read with observer, but discouraged his choice of wordless book	did not read	--
Dec. 3	own piece, 2 sentences, circle in authors' circle	--	--
Dec. 3	<u>Over/Under</u> , short, highly predictable text, assisted reading with student teacher	story reading, print focused toward end, with encouragement	--
Dec. 3	a Curious George book, with friend	focused on naming individual letters	No observed interest in whole text.
Dec. 8	own piece, 2 sentences, circle in authors' circle	--	--
Dec. 17	own piece, written at home, in authors' circle	story reading	Produced coherent text. Storytelling intonation.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Dec. 22	own piece, 3 sentences, circle in authors' circle	story reading	Produced coherent text with some paraphrase of original.
Jan. 12	<u>Ten Little Bears</u> , 25 sentences, with teacher	--	--
Jan. 19	The Lion's Tail, familiar, 24 sentences, his choice to read with teacher	initially story reading, then predominantly print-focused with teacher encouragement	Intonation shifts for achieve- ment and loss of meaning. Repeated attempts at times when nonsense. Used pictures but not consistently. Meaningful substitutions.
Jan. 21	own piece, from early Jan., with teacher, during writing	print-focused	(Stated, I read it before . . . I forgot some of the words.)
Jan. 21	own pieces, reread to peers during writing	story reading devolving into running commentary on pictures	Stopped by textual difficulties but reading overall acceptable and close to original.
Jan. 21	own piece, 5 sentences, with title, in authors' circle	print-focused	(When asked if he could read now, he said that he had been reading since he was four, taught self.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
Jan. 26	<u>Brown Bear</u> , short text, with teacher	--	--
Feb. 23	own piece, 2 sentences, during writing, reading aloud immediately after writing	print-focused	Verbatim. Sense of audience to extent that asked "how does it sound" after reading, and before launching into more writing.
Feb. 24	<u>The Yellow Box</u> , short, with aide	print-focused (with reminders to point and to use pictures)	Increased use of context as text progressed. Eager to reread and did so quite fluently. Declarative intonation on some accurate reading. (Said felt good about his reading in response to question.)
Apr. 29	own piece (published) 12 sentences in body of text, in authors' circle	phrased reading (with one long pause at beginning of one sentence)	Almost verbatim.
May 4	own piece (published) same as in authors' circle Apr. 29, with observer	phrased (slightly staccato and "robotic" in places)	Almost verbatim. Three diversions from text which were similar to April 29. Hesitant intonation as attempted one word. Elsewhere storytelling intonation.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
May 4	<u>Homes</u> , 6 sentences, with observer	print-focused, almost phrased (with pointing)	Repeated attempts at words with declarative intonation on final sensible reading. Verbal commentary on last, unresolved sentence, "I know those words but I can't figure out what the "w" word is." Later, noted that there was one thing that wasn't in there--a home for people. (Volunteered that his own writing was easy to read because he wrote it. Talked about using words, pictures, sounding--"I just whisper them to myself and then I read.")
May 4	<u>I Was Walking Down the Road, 55</u> sentences, his first choice to read with observer, but abandoned in favor of <u>Homes</u>	print-focused	Produced mostly coherent text. Declarative intonation on meaning. Verbal commentary re sense of pictures. (Stated, "I can't read too well well out loud, mostly better at silence.")
May 6	<u>Over/Under</u> . short, familiar, with aide when asked to read something that he knew how to read	phrased	Few (and meaningful) miscues. Verbal commentary. Storytelling intonation. Declarative intonation on firm reading.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
May 6	<u>Pat's New Puppy</u> , 16 sentences, with teacher	print-focused	Used combination of initial sound and sense in places. Declarative intonation on sensible or near sensible predictions. But, some predictions not sensible. Corrected a loss miscue with declarative intonation following pause, looking at picture, repeating.
June 1	own piece, 2 sentences, description to accompany self- portrait	almost phrased (segmented but quick)	Verbatim.
June 3	own piece, 6 sentences, in authors' circle	phrased	
June 7	own piece, 4 sentences, in authors' circle	phrased	Coherent, close to text.
June 7	<u>Titch</u> , 19 sentences, with observer	print-focused, reverted to story	Coherent but not close to text. (Stated that for unknown words, he "went on to the next word and read it to (him)self." In sentence probe, talked about knowing how to spell words, using title for name and inventing text.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Text, Context</u>	<u>Reading style</u>	<u>Attention to meaning</u>
June 10	own piece, Feb., written in authors' circle	phrased, with pauses, then fluent, invention of additional text	Ad libbed his way out of a mid-sentence difficulty, with dramatic flair, maintaining syntax.

