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An Ethnographic Study of Process of Response of a Six-year-old to Repeated Readings of a Picture Book

Michiko SEKI

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to describe the changes of responses of a 6-year-old boy to a picture book over time on a one-to-one basis in a school setting. A qualitative approach was used for identifying the nature of repeated readings. The boy was read aloud the same picture book ten times and read it by himself ten times over a period of five weeks. The reading sessions were both video and audio recorded for transcription. Findings suggest that during the course of subsequent sessions, his responses changed both quantitatively and qualitatively. His amount of responses increased from the first session to the fifth session and decreased dramatically in the sixth session. The content of his responses changed from simple identification to a more complex in-depth probing of the story as it became familiar to him. The process of telling the text from memory is also described. The findings suggest the importance of one-to-one repeated readings in the classroom.

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Chapter 1 Introduction to the Study

General Background

Many scholars, researchers, teachers, and librarians have emphasized the importance of reading aloud to children (Cullinan, 1989 ; Huck, Helper & Hickman, 1987 ; Jensen, Olsn, 1983 ; Teale, 1988 ; Trelease, 1985) and suggested that children should have a chance to hear their favorite stories over and over again (Beaver, 1982 ; Huck, et al., 1987 ; Teale & Martinez, 1988). Reading to children increases vocabulary, oral language abilities, reading comprehension, and story awareness. It helps them learn to predict and generates further interest in story. Children who are read to regularly will also independently reread familiar books to themselves or others before they have learned to read in the conventional sense (Sulzby, 1985).

Applebee (1978) has shown the need for studying response over time rather than at a single moment in time : "There is ample evidence to suggest that the giving meaning is a slow contemplative process involving significant changes over a relatively long period of time" (p. 91).

Few studies, however, have been conducted to show systematically how young children's responses change as they listened to a story over and over again.

One of the few studies, Crago & Crago (1983) recorded their daughter Anna's reactions to the books from age 1 to 5. They presented full and accurate samples of what one child said in response to certain books over a period of time.

Martinez and Roser (1985) conducted case studies focused on the value of repeated readings to four 4- to 5-year-old preschool children in the home setting and in the school setting. They discovered that at least four changes signalled the difference between children's responses as they listened to unfamiliar and familiar texts :

- (1) Children in both settings (home and school) talked *more* when they were familiar with the story,
- (2) the children's talk changed *form* when they were familiar with the story,
- (3) the children's story talk tended to *focus* on different aspects of the story as the story was read again,
- and (4) when the story was read repeatedly, the children's responses indicated *greater depth* of understanding. (p. 783)

Sulzby (1985) reserved many children from ages 2 1/2 to 6 1/2 to see if she could describe patterns in children's storybook reading. She asked the children to read to her their favorite books. Her goal was to characterize the various developmental stages of emergent reading; "Emergent reading is a term used to describe the early stages in a child's growth toward literacy, it precedes the conventional reading of print" (Cullinan, 1989, p. 100). Sulzby (1985) identified five stages of reading behavior that precede independent conventional reading of print. Children progress from the earliest stages of storybook reading, labeling, commenting, following the action to a form of dialogue storytelling, and the final stage of independent reading.

Kiefer (1982) conducted an ethnographic study in a first/second grade combination classroom where some of the children were independent readers, and observed how children and teachers dealt with picture books and suggested the importance of time in developing response.

What do children in the stage of early independent reading stage perceive about the picture

books? How do they interact with a story?

Current theories in developmental psychology, language acquisition, and response to literature see children as active participants and constructors of their own learning, in the context of their own world. Theories from the fields of cognitive psychology and linguistics have led many educators to propose that children learn in active participation with their environment, collecting data, and hypothesizing about that data to form a construct of their world and of their language.

In the late 1930's literature educators viewed the reading process merely as sender-message-receiver. They began to move toward this view with Rosenblatt's (1938, 1976) insistence that the work of literature did not exist until a reader took hold of it. She stated:

The literary work exists in a live circuit set up between reader and text; the reader infuses intellectual and emotional meaning into the pattern of verbal symbols and those symbols channel his thoughts and feelings. Out of this process emerges a more or less organized imaginative experience. (p. 25)

Presently, this assumption lies at the heart of many theories of response to literature. It has led researchers to ask what children bring to the aesthetic experience and what their responses tell us about aesthetic processes. In their review of research in response to literature, Purves and Bearch (1972) state:

Response consists of cognition, perception, and some emotional or attitudinal reaction; it involves predispositions; it changes during the course of reading; it persists and modification of concepts, attitudes, or feelings. The research indicates that there may be some common processes, some sort of 'kernels' from which the wide range of response is generated. (p. 178)

Few studies in the field of response to literature have actually focused on picture books, perhaps because the interaction of pictures and words may compound an already complex process.

Kiefer (1982) reviewed studies of response to picture books and stated a failing of many studies which do not consider the importance of time in developing response. She also claimed, when she looked at the preference studies from 1960 to 1982, that "researchers continue to ask the same questions today as they did fifty years ago with much the same results.....results which still have little to do with how children look at real books in the real world" (p. 62).

The consequence of repeated reading to children is well known empirically, but less is known about the process of how they become familiar with a certain book. Although some studies have been done on children's response to picture books using ethnographic methodology since the early 80's (Crago & Crago, 1983; Driessen, 1984; Kiefer, 1982), more evidence is needed. The precise description of a single beginning reader's changing pattern of response on a one-to-one basis in the school setting will illuminate the process of meaning acquisition.

Through qualitative research, the process is identified. The understanding of the process of acquisition will inform the theory and practice of parents, teachers, and librarians.

The purpose of this study is to examine and describe the changes of responses when 6-year-old Jared is read a picture book repeatedly in an individual reading setting. Qualitative research techniques are used to clarify the process of development of the child's understanding of the content.

The book selected was *Fox's Dream* by Tejima (1987). The researcher read to Jared a total of

10 times over a period of 4 weeks.

Reading sessions were simultaneously video taped and audio taped in order to formulate a word-for-word transcription of Jared's verbal responses.

Statement of the Problem

In what ways do the responses of a child change when a picture book is read over time? How does a child at the late Piagetian pre-operational stage interact with a picture book? What does a child perceive in the illustrations and the text?

Scope

The purpose of this study was to describe how Jared, age 6 year and 1 month, who had just begun to read, interacted with a book on a one-to-one basis over a period of time. The book selected was *Fox's Dream*, a big format picture book by Tejima (1987). Picture books include ABC books, counting books, concept books, wordless picture books, poetry, folk tales, and picture story books. *Fox's Dream* is categorized as one of the picture story books.

The result of this study can not be generalized. Children's interaction with picture books differs depending on the materials, children's experience, motivation, and persons who read to them. The interaction between Jared and the picture book was not recursive either between Jared and other picture books or another child and the same book.

Definition of Terms

For purposes of clarity and consistency, the following terms will have these meanings in the context of this study:

1. Picture story books: A book which tells a story through a combination of text and illustration. Usually it has an uncomplicated plot and character development. The illustrations interpret and extend the story.

2. Response to picture books: The interaction between reader and book that involves a variety of spontaneous verbal and nonverbal reactions.

3. Pre-operational stage: According to Piaget, children from approximately 18 months to 7 years old have not mastered those concrete operations that appear around age 7 and constitute the third stage of intellectual development. Children at the pre-operational stage use symbolism (images and languages) to represent and understand various aspects of the environment. They respond to objects and events according to the way things appear to be. Thought is egocentric, meaning that children think everyone sees the world in much the same way that they do.

4. Qualitative research: This is a comprehensive term for the variety of ethnographic strategies derived from anthropology. Ethnograph literally means a portrait of a people. This is not a hypothesis testing approach. Ethnographers obtain data through participant observation, interviewing, extensive note taking, transcription, tape recording, photographing, and so on. A key to the ethnographic inquiry is not to impose a researcher's perspective on the people under inquiry, but to investigate how the people perceive their own culture.

Overview

Chapter I presents the background of the study and statement of this study. In Chapter II a critical review of research related to children's response to picture books is presented. Chapter III describes the methods and procedures used. Chapter IV presents descriptive data. In Chapter V, summary, conclusions of findings, and recommendations are presented.

Chapter II Review of the Related Literature

Introduction

As Driessen (1984) says, "picture books are the source of reading material for many children who are on their journey to becoming independent readers" (p. 2). Picture books and nursery and primary school children have been studied from many disciplines, including language learning, developmental psychology, cognitive psychology, aesthetics, literature, and education (Huck, Hepler & Hickman, 1987).

Although a picture book consists of text and illustrations, many researchers in the past separated the illustrations from the text, and vice versa, to investigate their focused matter. They limited variables to the least amount possible and exposed many children to their experimental conditions in a relatively short period of time. Their data have been treated statistically to generalize their findings. However, these studies have failed to reveal how each child interacts with real picture books in daily life. A new methodology derived from anthropology has enabled us to illustrate how the child interacts with picture books in home and school settings (Crago & Crago, 1983; Driessen, 1984; Kiefer, 1982; Taylor, 1983).

Many scholars, researchers, educators, and librarians have suggested the importance of reading aloud to children for their literacy development from their early days of life (Cullinan, 1989; Huck, et al., 1987; Trelease, 1985). They have also suggested that children should have a chance to hear their favorite stories over and over again (Beaver, 1982; Huck et. al., 1987; Teale & Martinez, 1988). However, as stated before, few studies have been conducted systematically to show the importance of repeated reading and children's changes of responses to picture books over time (Martinez & Roser, 1985; Morrow, 1988; Sulzby, 1985).

Children's responses to picture books and understanding of the stories might be related to their cognitive development. Piaget's theories of cognitive development have had major impact on the child studies. He identified four distinct stages in cognitive development: the sensori-motor stage, the pre-operational stage, the concrete-operational stage, and the formal-operational stage. Applebee (1978) found that before adolescence there are at least two distinct stages whose characteristics correspond to Piaget's descriptions of pre-operational and concrete operational thought.

Ethnographic Research

In reviewing the recent trend in the study of literacy, Bloome (1987) states that one of the most important developments has been "the movement of reading and writing out of the laboratory and into the real world" (p. XIII). According to Bloome, this movement involves researchers from many disciplines such as experimental psycholinguistics, experimental cognitive psychology, administration

and policy studies, anthropology, sociology, and literary theory. In each of these fields, a means for exploring everyday events has been sought either theoretically or methodologically. "Although each field brings a different set of definitions and history, within each field, the everyday activities of people.....and how people view these activities.....have become a central focus of research and theory-building" (p. VIX).

The new research methodology emphasizes description, classification, and explanation of what is observed in natural settings. Ethnographic research, or according to Bogdan & Biklen (1982), qualitative research, is an umbrella term to refer to several strategies that share certain characteristics. They explain qualitative research as follows :

The data is rich in description of people, places, and conversations, and not easily handled by statistical procedures. Research questions are not framed by operationalizing variables ; rather, they are formulated to investigate in all their complexity, in context. While people conducting qualitative research may develop a focus as they collect data, they do not approach the research with specific questions to answer or hypotheses to test. They are concerned as well with understanding behavior from the subject's own frame of reference. External causes are of secondary importance. They tend to collect their data through sustained contact with people in settings where subjects normally spend their time. (p. 2)

Ethnographic studies on children's response to picture books

The movement out of the laboratory and into the real world has been seen in the studies of response to picture books since the early 1980s.

As Huck, Hepler, and Hickman (1987) point out, the picture book "conveys its message through two media, the art of illustrating and the art of writing. In a well-designed book in which the total format reflects the meaning of the story, both the illustrations and text must bear the burden of narration" (p. 197). Therefore, text and illustrations cannot be separated when we study how children respond to picture books.

The need for studying children's responses to whole picture books in natural settings has been realized by the researchers in the field of response to literature.

Kiefer (1982) reviewed thoroughly the previous research into children's reactions to picture books and found that most of the studies were devoted to determining the kinds of illustrations that children prefer. She argues that most of the studies have removed illustrations from the context of the book in the "interests of scientific rigor" (p. 170). Moreover, Kiefer (1982) claims that "Artificial testing situations reflect children's reactions at a single moment in time" (p. 170). As a result, the researchers have provided a very limited view of how the child reacts to picture books on a continuing basis in a natural context.

To solve these problems, Kiefer chose methods of ethnographic research to conduct her study. She observed, as a participant observer, two combination first and second grade classrooms where picture books played a major role. Through a ten-week period of the pilot study, to seek questions which would serve as a basis for gathering data, she took on-site field notes of children's behaviors in the course of their interactions with picture books. In the twelve-week data collecting period, she took field notes on teacher-child interaction relating to picture books, as well as child-child interaction

with picture books, and conducted open-ended interviews which were tape-recorded to transcribe.

Kiefer found variations and changes over time in children's variety of factors. Regardless of the style of illustration, such as full color or black and white, realistic or abstract, children tended to choose books that "an adult (a teacher or librarian) had read to them, talked about, or displayed cover forward in an attractive manner" (p. 176). Peers also influenced children's choices. Children's verbal responses were often tied to themselves. According to Kiefer, these children "seemed intent on making their own meaning, taking instruction from the teacher or adult *only* when it fit in with an already established schema" (p. 178). The children's comments often concerned what they perceived in pictures.....the content and the style of illustration. They often mentioned tiny details which adults might have overlooked. Kiefer speculates that this phenomenon is a part of the child's search for meaning. They did not talk about aesthetic qualities of the illustrations in adult terms, but were nevertheless aware of style in their own terms. Boys responded more physically to books than girls. They created sound effects, pantomimed many actions in a story, or bounced. She also found that there were changes between initial responses and later ones. For example, *Jumanji* by Van Allsburg (1981) was least popular when she first presented it, but a week and a half later, it received a majority of the children's votes for a favorite story.

Driessen (1984) conducted ethnographic research focused on the responses to picture books by six fifth-grade students, three boys and three girls in a school setting. She conducted informal, open-ended interviews which were cassette recorded individually and in small groups over a period of one month. These conversations were transcribed word-for-word for an accurate record of the subjects' verbal responses. She also took notes describing the subjects' approach to the picture books as well as notes about the conversation that took place. Five picture book sets (four books in each set) were rotated among the six subjects in two of the individual sessions. The subjects were asked to talk about the group of picture books which represented a range in artistic and literary styles. The fourth week, the subjects selected their favorite picture books to discuss with her. She found that fifth-grade students respond to picture books in many of the same ways that were described by Kiefer (1982). One notable difference was the focus on realism by fifth-grade subjects.

Crago & Crago (1983) described how their daughter Anna experienced and responded to the picture books and stories she had been read at home between the ages of twelve months and five years. They, like Kiefer, claimed that an academic behavioral psychological approach under controlled conditions is not relevant to investigate picture books because "a picture book is a stimulus far too complex to be investigated under such conditions" (p. xxx). Instead, they recorded Anna's verbal responses to picture books, keeping entries about Anna's book-related behavior: including her play, her conversations with them, and her drawing. Adding to this, beginning when she was three years of age, they tape recorded and transcribed every reading session. They described Anna's response to six books, either short time span or over longer periods of time (one of the books, *Where The Wild Things Are* by Maurice Sendak, 1963, covers six months). Through exhaustive analysis, they extracted patterns of Anna's learning to read pictures, her picture preferences, her perception of humor and the fantastic, her emotional impact, and her perception of narrative conventions with numerous examples of her verbal responses.

The response to picture books is not governed by a single stimulus but by multiple stimuli in a simultaneous way. A reader responds either to illustrations, text, or both. His former experience and his environmental factors affect directly or indirectly his responses when he interacts with picture books. The ethnographic methodology thus illustrates complex and dynamic phases of response to picture books and serves to generate "new empirical generalizations (and perhaps concepts and propositions as well) based on these data." (McCall & Simmons, 1969, p. 3)

Situations where stories are read to young children have also been observed in the light of literacy development using ethnographic methodology, indicating that literacy is deeply embedded in the culture of the family and community, rather than a set of isolated skills (Teale, 1987).

Ethnographic studies on literacy development

Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith (1984) conducted an ethnographic research on literacy as a social and cultural phenomenon. In order to raise questions concerning their assumptions about literacy and what literacy means to the individuals involved, they examined three different cultural groups : a tribe in Kaluli, PaPua New Guinea that is just moving into a literate world ; a community of middle-class people in Philadelphia where literacy is long-standing and is an integral part of many activities ; and some Chinese immigrant children who are newly arrived in the Philadelphia from Vietnam and who are responsible for bringing a new culture as well as a different literacy to older members of their families. They found that the concept of literacy has many different meanings and has many implications. The Kaluli do not see their children's acquisition of literacy as particularly desirable. They even discourage the children's interest in books. For the Kaluli, "the purposes of literacy are restricted to limited context and users" (p. 21). Children in the Philadelphia nursery school learn a broad kind of literacy through their every day social transactions with peers and adults. For this group, the children's acquisition of literacy is desirable and assumed. The Sino-Vietnamese see the acquisition of functional literacy in English as a priority. From these findings, Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith emphasize that literacy is closely related to the culture, and that the form, function, and meaning of literacy events should not be equated across cultures, communities, or social groups.

Taylor (1983) investigated six families in the New York area to see how the family serves to support the development of literacy in children. She took working notes and analytic memos of her observations, and also audio-taped and transcribed interviews relating to literacy. She first focused on family literacy and conversation and change in the transmission of literacy styles and values. Then she observed how the children actively constructed the functions of written language as they used print in their every day lives. She reviewed the data from the new perspective of how they came to learn the form of written language. She also mentioned the families' belief that just as their children had learned to talk, they would learn to read and write. From her observations and interpretations, she raised the questions of "Whether we can seriously expect children who have never experienced, or have limited experience of, reading and writing as complex cultural activities to successfully learn to read and write from the narrowly defined pedagogical practices of our schools" (p. 114).

Effects of reading aloud

It is a common experience in a highly literate society that children who learn to read easily in

school are those who have been read to by parents or adults at home from early years of life. Many correlational researchers have found the relationship between the experience of being read aloud to and success with beginning reading in school (for reviews see W. H. Teale, 1984). Anna, in Crago & Crago's study (1982), and some children in Taylor's study (1983) support this evidence.

Specific effects of reading aloud to children have been described in many ways. As mentioned above, it stimulates language development. Children learn new vocabularies and sentence structures through story readings. It enhances background information, familiarity with written language, and story awareness (Jensen, 1985; Olson, 1983; Teal, 1981).

The more recent research on the how and why of picture book reading development can be divided into two major categories. The first category is interactional research focusing on parent-child interactions (Bloome, 1985; Snow, 1983; Taylor, 1983), or teacher-children interactions (Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith, 1984; Kiefer, 1982) with picture book readings. These studies indicate that picture book reading is a socially creative activity in nature. The second category focuses on children's independent functioning, such as reading attempts and re-enactments of a favorite book.

Sulzby's study (1985), mentioned in the first chapter, belongs to the second category. Schickelanz (1978) also emphasizes a cognitive explanation for the effects of story reading. According to her, several explanations are based on a learning theory model of learning. For example, through the reading episodes, children adopt behaviors of the parents, receive many reinforcements (attention, physical contact, verbal praise, etc.) and gain emotional security and confidence. Instead, she focuses on the story reading episode itself "as a source of data from which children construct knowledge about rules that govern the reading process" (p. 50). She explains the development of letter-sound associations from scheme I: memorized story line, through scheme II: locating print in books, to scheme III: matching letters and sounds. In scheme I, the reader makes the story line accessible to the child. Children learn it by heart when it is read repeatedly. Learning stories by heart can be viewed as a cognitive scheme in which the learner has the general idea that story lines can be remembered, and knows general strategies for doing this. In scheme II, children learn location of print in books either through pointing out words from parents or observing which words appear on particular pages when they listen to the text. Scheme III is an understanding of letter-sound correspondence.

Payton (1982) referred to her daughter Cecilia as a hypothesis tester. She provided examples of instances of error, overgeneralization, and confusion of Cecilia in oral language encounters, in encounters with situational print, in story-reading settings, and in her early attempts at written communication. Donaldson & Reid (1982) also suggest that children are hypothesis-testers and rule-users by nature and describe them as having a strong drive to make sense of what they encounter.

As stated earlier, studies which focus on the repeated readings are surprisingly few. Martinez and Roser (1985) examined the nature of repeated readings to four 4- to 5-year-olds through case studies both in the home and the school settings. They found that children talked more, their forms of talk shifted from questions to comments, and the responses to the story increased in-depth processing when the story was familiar.

Morrow (1988) conducted an experimental research focused on the effects of one-to-one story

readings in the classroom setting, using 10 picture books. Her subjects were four-year-old children from lower socio-economic homes who in many cases had not been read to at home. The purpose of her study was to identify the value of repeated reading as well as reading aloud to children. She divided 88 children into three groups randomly, two experimental groups and one control group. Children in the first experimental group heard a different book each week for 10 weeks. In the second experimental group children heard the same three stories three times in 10 weeks. The control group was guided through traditional reading readiness activities. She found that one-to-one story readings did increase the number and complexity of questions and comments made by children in both experimental groups. Repeated readings were found to result in more interpretive responses and more responses focusing on print and story structure, and were most effective with children of low ability.

From the teacher's stance, Beaver (1982) described how her twenty-two first graders' responses to *Say It!* by Charlotte Zolotow (1980) changed after several readings. It took time for children to increase in their attention and to appreciate the book. After several readings, they used the book language in the writing about their paintings, and many activities stemmed from the book.

Child's Cognitive Development

Overview of Piagetian theory

Infants are often defined not by what they can do but by absence of the qualities adults possess, especially language, intention, appreciation of right and wrong, symbolism, planfulness, guilt, empathy, and self-consciousness (Kagan, 1984). John Locke believed that the mind of an infant is a "tabula rasa", or blank slate, and children have no inborn tendencies. How they turn out will depend entirely on their worldly experiences.

Jean Piaget had a different conceptualization of the psychology of the infant, focused on the actions that aid the child's cognitive adaptation to the external environment. He believed that children are naturally curious explorers who try to understand their surroundings. According to Piaget, neonates enter the world without any cognitive structures, although they do come equipped with a number of inborn reflexes, such as sucking or grasping, that help them adapt to the environment. But aside from their adaptive significance, these innate reflexes serve another important function: they are soon modified by experience to become the child's first true schemata.

The schema is the first form of the infant's knowledge. It is a cognitive structure, which is an organized pattern of thought or action that is used to interpret some aspect of one's experience. Infants create schematic representations that originate in what they see, hear, smell, taste, and touch. Actions with objects are an important origin of new cognitive structures.

Piaget believed that human beings inherit two important intellectual functions that he called "organization" and "adaptation". Piaget (1952) wrote:

Organization is inseparable from adaptation: they are two complementary processes of a single mechanism, the first being the internal aspect of the cycle of which adaptation constitutes the external aspect.....These two aspects of thought are indissoluble: it is by adapting to things that thought organizes itself and it is by organizing itself that it structures things (pp. 47-48).

Organization refers to the child's tendency to arrange available schemata into coherent systems, or bodies of knowledge. For example, a boy may initially believe that many things that are not birds can also fly. He may organize this new knowledge into a new, more complex mental structure such as a flying thing may be a bird, a plane, or superman. Children are constantly rearranging their existing knowledge to produce new and more complex mental structures. The goal of organization is to further the process of adaptation. The adaptive function is the child's tendency to adjust to the demands of the environment.

Piaget (1950) defined adaptation as "an equilibrium between assimilation and accommodation, which amounts to the same as an equilibrium of interaction between assimilation and accommodation, which amounts to the same as an equilibrium of interaction between subject and object" (p. 8). Assimilation is "the action of the organism on surrounding objects, in so far as this action depends on previous behavior involving the same or similar objects" (p. 7). It is a process in which children seek to incorporate some new experience into schemata that they already have. By itself, assimilation would rarely allow one to adapt successfully to new experiences. Piaget (1952) believed that persons who assimilate novel aspects of the environment will also accommodate to that experience — that is, alter their existing schemata in response to environmental demands. For example, the infant may have to alter his grasping structure by using two hands instead of one in order to assimilate a beach ball in that particular schema. Assimilation and accommodation are complementary aspects of all adaptive acts. They are inborn processes that come into play whenever the child encounters new and interesting objects, events, or situations. Assimilations bring about new accommodations, which stimulate reorganizations, which, in turn, allow further assimilations, and so on. According to Piaget (1950), "intelligence is thus only a generic term to indicate the superior forms of organization or equilibrium of cognitive structurings" (p. 7). In the long run, children's cognitive abilities will eventually mature to an extent that they become capable of thinking about old issues in a completely new way and will pass from one stage of intellectual development to the next.

Piaget divided intellectual development into four major periods: the sensori-motor stage (birth to age two); the pre-operational stage (ages two to seven); the concrete-operational stage (age seven to eleven); and the formal-operational stage (eleven or twelve and beyond). These stages are increasingly complex. They form what Piaget called an invariant developmental sequence — that is, children progress through the stages in exactly the order in which they are listed. There is no skipping of stages, because each successive stage builds on previous ones.

Sensori-motor stage: Infants use sensory and motor capabilities to explore and gain a basic understanding of the environment. At birth, they have only innate reflexes with which to engage the world, but at the end of the sensori-motor period, they are capable of complex sensori-motor coordinations.

Pre-operational stage: Children use symbolism (images and languages) to represent and understand various aspects of the environment. The development of language is the cornerstone. They respond to objects and events according to the way things appear to be. Thought is egocentric, meaning that children think everyone sees the world in much the same way that they do.

Concrete operational stage: Children acquire and use cognitive operations (mental activities that

are components of logical thought).

Formal operational stage : Children's cognitive operations are recognized in a way that permits them to operate on operation (think about thinking). Thought is now systematic and abstract.

Piaget was the first major developmental theorist to stress that children are active, adaptive creatures whose thought processes are very different from those of adults.

Characteristics of pre-operational thought

Scarr and Weinberg (1986) summarize the characteristics of the pre-operational thought as follows. Pre-operational thinking is characterized by :

- a) intuition, or the ability to imagine solutions to problems without resorting to physical trial and error ;
- b) egocentrism, or difficulty understanding that other people see things from different angles ;
- c) magical thinking, or the belief that inanimate objects are motivated, and dreams are real ;
- d) centering, or the inclination to focus on one dimension or feature, ignoring others, and to concentrate on present states rather than on transformations ;
- e) the tendency to be seduced by appearances ;
- f) dependence on concrete mental images. (p. 256)

Piaget's work has been criticized by many researchers who emphasize that preschoolers are not as intellectually limited as this portrait implies. When tested about familiar characters or their own memory of every day events, they demonstrate more advanced capacities. Nevertheless they do not employ these skills in a regular, systematic way (Donaldson, 1978 ; Kagan, 1984 ; Scarr & Weinberg, 1986 ; Sternberg & Powell, 1983).

Chapter III Procedures of the Study

Preliminary Planning

Rationale for selecting a book

Kiefer (1982) concluded that children regardless of age or small differences between the sexes prefer large, realistic, colorful illustrations with large centers of interest and eventful themes.

Abrahamson and Shannon (1983) analyzed the plot structures of the 61 most popular books on the 1982 Children's Choices list. Children's Choices is a reading preference project that focuses each year on new children's books and reports the responses of a U. S. national sampling of 10,000 youngsters from kindergarten through grade eight. The yearly list of books chosen by the children, sponsored by the International Reading Association and the Children's Book Council, is published every October in *The reading teacher*. Using plot structure categorization systems developed and revised by Abrahamson, they found that juvenile readers in 1982 liked three major story types : confrontation with a problem, contrast between or among characters, and episodic stories. Most popular books in the study featured nonhumans as main characters. The books included examples of high quality artwork, such as *Jumanji* (Van Allsburg, 1981), a Caldecott Award winner, and *The Catalog* (Tompkins, 1981) which won the 1981 graphic excellence award at the Bologna Children's Book Fair.

In selecting a suitable book for this study, which must be initially unfamiliar to the subject, the researcher looked through all the books on the 1988 Children's Choices list and found that preschool-

ers and young readers did not seem to select aesthetically sound picture books. Hutt, Forest and Newton (1976) compared the length of time five- and seven-year-olds spent looking at pictures, with the children's preferences for the pictures. Children's eye movements were monitored as they looked at a set of pictures containing a neutral design, a "nice" picture, and a "frightening" picture. The children were asked to give the order of preference for each set of pictures. Children of both ages looked longer at the "nice" pictures than at the "nasty" pictures (a devil dancer, a leper, etc.). Both ages gaze first to the "nice" pictures, but younger children preferred "nasty" pictures over neutral designs. The researchers concluded that preference in young children depended on the attention value of the picture rather than its aesthetic value (cited in Kiefer, 1982).

Fox's Dream was awarded Special Mention in the Bologna Graphic Prize and the 1986 Children's Book Fair in Bologna. Author and illustrator Keizaburo Tejima was born in 1935 in Hokkaido, the northernmost island of Japan. As a member of the Japanese Woodcut Society, he creates spectacular illustrations in multicolored woodcuts. The book jacket states the following ;

Bold and gripping, they bring the moonlit woodland setting vividly to life. His spellbinding story, while remaining true to the facts of nature, is as enchanting as a fairy or fantasy tale. The gentle, poetic text subtly underscores the continual flow of the seasons and the regeneration of life, while telling a simple and reassuring story of a lonely animal who finds comfort in companionship (from the book jacket).

Synopsis of *Fox's Dream* :

A fox walks alone in a silent winter's night. Cold and hungry, he suddenly finds himself in a strange forest of ice where the trees glitter in the moonlight and ice animals nestle in the branches. As the fox watches the mysterious world, he is reminded of a springtime when his mother was near and a summertime when he played with his brother and sister in a field of wildflowers. As the sun rises, this vision fades, but in its place the fox discovers what he had been searching for all along, a vixen.

The text is rather short, but it conveys a good story and profound meaning. The plot has flash backs. Events do not occur in chronological order. This technique is considered to be very hard for younger children to understand (Cullinan, 1989 ; Huck et al, 1987).

Rationale for selecting an informant

As Rosenblatt (1982) describes, reading is "a two-way process involving a reader and a text at a particular time under particular circumstances" (p. 28). Moreover, especially for young children, a person who reads aloud to them may also be an important factor. A positive relationship between the adult who reads aloud and the children might be one of the basic elements for the naturalistic setting of the young children's response study. The child chosen for this study should have such a positive relationship with the researcher. The child should be very verbally explicit when being read to, and have a long attention span for the literary work.

Pilot observation

The informant was selected from the Gloria Dei Montessori School. The principal of the school, Mrs. Virginia Varga, works in the three- to six-year-old class with an assistant and a student teacher in the morning. In the afternoon, a few younger children go home while the remaining three

and four year olds take a nap as required by state law, and the 14 older children remain in the class. The researcher observed from 12:30 to 2:30 for two weeks.

After lunch and recess, children usually come back to the classroom around one o'clock. In the afternoon, instead of Mrs. Varga, another teacher comes to the class. The student teacher teaches the class all day. She reads a book aloud to the children every day after recess circle time, and at the end of the class the children are read another book aloud or play games. They are read aloud at least one book in the morning, too.

Each child chooses his or her own work from a variety of occupations using the occupation-specific materials, such as the cylinders, the rods and lengths, the pink tower, brown stairs, practical life activity materials, and so on. In the afternoon class, older children like to choose maps of the continent, cultural activity, and art activities, and reading materials or writing materials. There is a reading corner for one or two children where some easy to read books are placed.

Two days before the researcher's first visit, "Big Bird Going to Japan" was on television. Some of the children had seen the program. They were very interested in Japan and the researcher who was a Japanese. She wanted to observe the children, but could not, instead they observed her with many questions. Her presence seemed to disturb the children's independent work.

The next day, on January 17th, one boy asked her to write down his name in Japanese in her notebook. His name was Jared. Then he asked her "How do you write hut in Japanese?" She wrote down "hut" in English, and next to it she wrote down the word in Japanese. He copied the Japanese word next to her writing. He seemed to be getting very excited, and kept asking her, "How about ham?.....How about bus?.....How about bug?.....How about sun?.....How about mug?" They continued doing the same thing until seven pages of her notebook were full of English words and Japanese words. They wrote down more than 50 words and several sentences and spent more than one hour. He eagerly sought words which he wanted to write in Japanese. He never got bored.

There were two girls who often occupied the researcher. They tried to show off what they could do from one thing to another that prevented her from interacting with other children. The next day the researcher brought some Origami paper, and told the class that she was going to work with two or three children at one time. Again, the girls chose Origami work at once. But the researcher managed to talk with other children saying that after they finished two Origami works, they had to leave. She talked with all children in the afternoon class through the Origami work by the end of the week.

Jared liked Origami work which requires close observation of the procedure, fine motor skills, motivation to follow step by step instruction, and imagination. When the researcher met Jared's mother for the first time on Thursday, she said, "I know who you are, for Jared talks about you every day."

The next week, the researcher sat at the reading corner where easy-to-read books were put on the shelves and observed how the children interact with those books.

Through two weeks' observation and Mrs. Varga's recommendation, the researcher decided to choose Jared as her informant. Preceding the reading sessions with Jared, the researcher read the

book to eight other children individually as a pilot study. In the first reading session, Jared responded to the book most frequently of all the children.

Jared was 6 years and one month old when the two began the first reading session. He has a three-year-old younger sister who goes to the same school. His mother has a part time job occasionally, but she picks them up around three o'clock. His father is a lawyer. The researcher negotiated with his mother to use her son in this project.

Procedure

The data was collected from February 8th to March 10th, 1989. For planning the time frame of this study, a time schedule was set with a total of ten times, three times a week (one at a time), Monday and Wednesday afternoons and Friday mornings. Two Mondays and one Friday were missing, because of the President's Day, conference, and weather related school cancelation. Eventually, data collection took five weeks. Mrs. Varga offered the use of her office which was next to Jared's classroom. Both video tape and audio tape recordings were employed as methods to collect the data. Jared and the researcher sat side by side on the couch in the office. The video camera was set on the desk in front of the couch. There was a coffee table in between, and the book was placed on it before Jared came into the room. A microphone was clipped to the researcher's left shoulder (which was used for monitoring Jared's speech through the earphones). From the third session, the microphone was put on Jared's collar in order to hear him clearly. Word-for-word transcription was made after each reading session was over.

Throughout the ten reading sessions, Jared read the book by himself, either before or after hearing the story. The researcher did not expect him to read, but when asked to tell the story, instead of summarizing or telling the story, he spontaneously began to read the book and read it through with great effort. After this, he read the whole book in each session.

From the fifth session, Jared initiated who read first. The researcher followed his initiation, because it seemed to be a more natural situation when reading aloud with a child.

Chapter IV Descriptive Data

Record of the Data

Conventions for transcripts

In reproducing and editing the transcripts, the researcher has followed these conventions:

1. Details have been added to the transcripts where necessary for fuller comprehension.
2. Where Jared revised as he was going along, dashes have been employed.
3. *Fox's Dream* is not paginated. Accordingly, the researcher has referred to pages, numbering them from the first page that contains actual text, page 1 and page 2 are one double page spread, page 3 and page 4 make another, and so on. The number in the parentheses indicate a page without any text. An abbreviation Op. stands for opening.
4. Italics represent the text. Bold font represents Jared's speech which follows after C (Child's speech). Plain text font represents the researcher's speech which follows after A (Adult's speech). Bold italics represent Jared's text reading and plain italics represent the researcher's text

reading. Jared's non-verbal behavior is represented in bold font in parentheses, the researcher's in plain font in parentheses.

5. Underlined words with bold italic font represent ones which Jared could not decode and underlined words with bold font represent his version of text.

Description of the characteristics of each session

First Session : Feb 8, 1:15-1:35 p. m.

The researcher presented *Fox's Dream* to Jared. The book was new to him. The two looked at the cover and she asked him what he noticed. He answered, "I notice a fox looking at me." He was puzzled by the author's name, Tejima, and he asked, "He's from New York?" This is because New York was written as a publishing place on the title page.

While he listened to the text and looked at the illustrations attentively, he identified the objects and predicted what happened next using auditory and / or visual cues.

Reading Aloud 1

Op. 3 : p. 2 [identification]

A reads text*except for the faint sound of footsteps.*

C speaks C : That's fox's.

Op. 6 : p. 11 [identification and reasoning]

A reads text *And in the distance he sees a flash of white.*

C speaks C : That's still snowing. No! It's a rabbit.
Because the ears are sticking up.

Op. 19 : p. 37 [identification]

A reads text *In a faraway forest, near a faraway mountain,*

C speaks C : That is a far away mountain (points to the mountain).

Op. 19 : p. 38 [prediction and reasoning]

A reads text *Soon it will be spring.*

C speaks C : Then, they will be asleep again.

A speaks A : Asleep again ?

C speaks C : Yeah, because they were awake all winter.

Jared asked the researcher, "Which one is the father? They look all the same." On Op. 15, three cubs are leaping against the bright sun. There are no indications of the father either through the illustration or the text. He inferred, "The father jumps higher. So, I think this one is the father." "They look like the same. But I think it's the father because father jumps first."

Jared's other questions were mainly literal ones. He asked the meaning of the words such as ice, foxes, wildflowers, and vixen.

The researcher asked him to tell the story, which led him to read the book through. He read the book through in a great effort moving his finger under each line. As he has been taught to decode by phonetic approach, he read a word breaking it into several parts, such as /b/ /t/ /an/ /ch/ /s/ for the word *branches*. Excluding those words he read in this way, he could not decode 68 words. For example, he could not decode the following underlined word in one phrase.

Op.3 : p. 5

C reads textexcept for the faint sound of an animal's footsteps.

Second Session : Feb. 10, 11:10–11:35 a. m.

The researcher asked Jared to tell the story again, in order to examine his understanding of “tell”. He immediately began to read the book. His reading had improved in spite of no exposure to the text for two days. The words which he could not decode were 50. He put his finger under each word for the first session. In the second session he put his finger under the lines intermittently.

Jared discovered that this book was not paginated when he read Op. 9 where the text was written at the bottom of the book :

C speaks C: Hey, this part's not supposed to have any numbers ? Why ? I will read it anyway.

Jared began to predict upcoming words.

Op. 6 : p. 11

C speaks C : I thought it was “and”.

C reads text *And in the distance he sees a flash of white.*

His attention focused on different parts other than the characters. He noticed that the left upper part of the p. 21 looked the same as that of p. 23 except for the moon. So the two leafed through the book to find which page had the moon. At the Op. 9 where the fox was standing on the top of the hill under the moonlight, he noticed that this illustration looked the same as the cover illustration except the cover had no moon. He also noticed that the word *suddenly* looked and sounded like *Sunday*. He wanted the researcher to translate the text on the Op. 9 and Op. 10 into Japanese.

Jared argued about the father fox again when the two came up to Op. 14. Here the illustration depicts three baby cubs drinking milk from the mother fox in the spring, and the text says, “He remembers his family and the nearness of his mother.” He insisted that the adult fox was the father.

C speaks C : But this must be the father (points to the mother fox).

A speaks A : Must be the father ? Oh, then, what are they doing ?

C speaks C : Being under the father's.

A speaks A : Uh-huh, under the fathers. Where's the mother ?

C speaks C : No. No ! I mean this is the father of children.

Let's see which one is the father. Because you can tell by the same ears. This one is, isn't it ?

A speaks A : Why ?

C speaks C : This one looks the same as this (compares the mother fox's ears on page 27 to the left of page 29).

A speaks A : From ears ?

C speaks C : Yes.

Jared mentioned about the fox's emotion for the first time in this session :

C speaks C : I noticed the fox walks sadly in this parts (Op. 3).

A speaks A : Sadly, oh, yes.

C speaks C : Yeah.

Third Session : Feb. 13, 1:15-1:45 p. m.

The researcher put a microphone on Jared's collar so that she could listen to his speech more clearly. She asked him what the story was "about." He immediately replied, "Fox's Dream."

Jared wondered about the relationship between Tejima and New York again. When the researcher explained that book was made in New York, he said, "But you said he was made in Japan. I don't get it."

The researcher read the book first today. Jared's prediction of the beginning phrases of the sentences increased, and he said some parts of the text in accordance with her.

Op. 16 : p. 31

C predicts C : *But when he opens his eyes.....*

A reads text *But when he opens his eyes.....*

Op. 17 : p. 33, p. 34

C with A *with one last look at trees, the fox walks on.*

The words which Jared could not decode decreased to 31 words. Until now he had used his finger as a guide line, but he read most of the text without putting his finger under the lines. Accordingly, he lost his place several times.

On p. 35, the fox is looking down a snowy field from the hill. There is a small fox-like figure depicted on the next page. From the text, it is quite obvious for an adult to recognize it as a vixen. But Jared did not understand which one was the vixen, because "I don't know from which way he came." He turned back to the previous opening and looked carefully at the illustration :

C speaks C : Here's the last one. And so.....

A speaks A : This is he.

C speaks C : He is in the wood, stood, (comparing the fox on p. 33 and one on p. 35). This is him.

A speaks A : This is he and this is vixen? Oh. O. K.

C speaks C : The trees are still there where he is.

A speaks A : Uh-huh. And the mountain.....?

C speaks C : Yeah. The mountains are next to the vixen, too.

He reached his conclusion that the left hand one was the fox, and the right one was the vixen. He also wondered if the fox on p. 7 was a fox or a vixen. He inferred, "This is a boy. It's a boy. A fox. Because it doesn't say 'It's a vixen'."

Fourth Session : Feb. 15, 2:00-2:25 p.m.

On entering the office, Jared showed the researcher some cookies he had saved for a snack. He tried to read without looking at the text. He covered his face with his hands. But he peeked through his fingers. This and his memorization prevented him from reading accurately word for word.

The researcher and Jared talked more about the book and other things, and their conversation was getting longer, including the Tejima and New York issue.

On the wordless openings, Jared asked her what she perceived in the pictures. In the Reading Aloud Session 2, he described one of the two openings as follows :

Op. 11 :

C speaks C : That looks like the trees that are racing through the moonlight, except there is no moon.

He emphasized that the animals are frozen this time.

C speaks C : What do you think this could be ?

A speaks A : Well, I think

C speaks C : Frozen.....

A speaks A : Frozen deers.

C speaks C : No, it couldn't be it. Because deers don't have feathers.

A speaks A : Don't have feathers?

Oh, what do you think?

C speaks C : I think they are big horses. And they've been frozen and have feathers.

A speaks A : Oh.

Jared asked the researcher to read the book next. During her reading aloud on Op. 4, he asked her, "How do you know a vixen a vixen?" He showed her on p. 36 that the fox and the vixen look alike, and he concluded they are both vixens. Back to Op. 4, she asked him to feed the fox, because the fox looked hungry. He said, "You can't. He is not eating it. It's out of paper. That's why." Nevertheless he put his cookies onto the fox's mouth on Op. 9 and Op. 10.

Jared wanted the researcher to translate Op. 6 and Op. 7 into Japanese.

He noticed that when the researcher whispered, she sounded like his father when he whispered. He asked her to tone down and tone up when she read.

Fifth Session : Feb. 22, 1:25-1:45 p.m.

Jared asked the researcher to read first. He asked her to translate Op. 7 into Japanese again. This time, he seemed to check her translation.

Op. 7 : P. 13

A reads text *Silent as his shadow,*

C speaks C : Say it in Japanese.

A speaks A : Kage on yohni shizukani.

C speaks C : Slower, please.

A speaks A : Kage on yohni shizuka ni.

C speaks C : Yeah. O. K.

When the researcher misread the text on p. 34, Jared corrected her.

Op. 17 : p. 34

A reads text *.....the fox walks alone.*

C speaks C : What's walks alone mean?

A speaks A : Oh, the fox walks on.

C speaks C : Yeah.

Jared broached the father fox issue again when he listened to the text on Op. 14. He said, "Usually, fox fathers jump the highest, so this is he." The text says, "He remembers leaping with

Op. 5 p. 10

C reads text *Suddenly he finds animal's footsteps.*

C speaks C : Am I right ?

A speaks A : Close.

C speaks C : What ?

A reads text *Suddenly he finds a trail of footprints in the snow.*

C speaks C : He races alone with the animal's footsteps.

From the opening 16, he concentrated on reading. His undecodable words from the Op. 16 to the Op. 19 were only the following four : p. 31, forest ; p. 35, brighter ; p. 36, Her ; and p. 37, sunshine.

When he listened to the text, he did not look at the book. He sometimes asked the researcher, "Where am I ?" because the text of the next page was already in his mind, but the illustration was still that of the previous page.

Op. 15 : p. 30

A reads text A : *He remembers leaping with his brother and sister in the warmth of a gentle sun.*

C speaks C : But when he opens his eyes the snow was.....Where am I ?

Jared still wondered which one was the father on Op. 15. He said, "Unless the father had already jumped over the sun."

Seventh Session : Feb. 27, 1:15 1:35 p.m.

Jared read first today. His question about Tejima and New York became almost a ritual. He asked the researcher every time he saw the title page from this session to the tenth session.

Jared started to tell the story without opening the book again. He told the first opening accurately. His mistakes were minor ones for the first half of the story. From the opening 13 to the end, Jared read the text by putting his finger under each line. He made no mistakes.

When Jared listened to the text, he created sound effects for every opening using the microphone. He made the sound of wind by blowing into the microphone, footsteps with his teeth, racing sounds by scratching the microphone, and so on. He imitated the sounds of birds and foxes.

Op. 13 : p. 25

A reads text *And in a tree near the very end of the forest, the fox sees a family of ice foxes.*

C speaks C : Oh well, I guess foxes sound like coyotes and dogs. Aaoooh, aaoooh.

He was puzzled about how to make a nestling sound. On the whole, he created sound effects for every opening.

The researcher asked Jared whether he wondered which one the father was. He said, "Yes." She asked him if the fox on Op. 14 was the father.

C speaks C : No. No. That one could be the mother, has to be the mother.

A speaks A : Why ?

C speaks C : Because the mother always has the babies.

Eighth Session : Mar. 1. 1:25-1:40 p.m.

Jared wanted to start reading from the end, and asked the researcher to read from the front. He said, "Then you'll see what I said." He started from the end :

OP. 19: p. 38.

C recites text *Soon it will be spring.*

C speaks C : Oh, It's goin' to get funny already.

As he misread "forest" as "frosty" on p. 37, he gave up reading from the end. He said, "I'll start from the beginning." because "It'll sound better."

Jared told text correctly without reading on pages 2, 7, 17, and 38. He read many sentences without his finger guide, but he did not get confused anymore. The only exception was p. 9. On page 9, he skipped one phrase, *and as he wanders*, in between the text.

Jared added sound effects to the text again. But he focused on more abstract aspects than the previous session.

Op. 2 : p. 3, p. 4

A reads text *Snow covered trees glisten in the moonlight.
Their shadows stretch across the frozen snow.*

C gestures C : (blows into the microphone)

A speaks A : Is it frozen snow ?

C speaks C : Well, that's coldness.

A speaks A : Coldness !

Op. 9 : p. 17, p. 18

A reads text *Once again the fox is alone.*

A reads text *But he is in a place he has never seen before.*

C speaks C : Before.....I don't know how to make this one either.

After the reading aloud session, Jared said, "I still wonder which one is, you know what?" The researcher replied, "Which one is the father ?" He went back to the first opening, and leafed through the pages very carefully. "Same fox, same fox, until the warmness of the mother." When the two came up to the Op. 9, the researcher said, "And he went up to the hill and he saw....."

C speaks C : What ?

A speaks A : He saw something. What did he see ?

C speaks C : He saw what ?

A reads text *He was in a place he has never seen before.*

C speaks C : He saw me.

A speaks A : What ? He saw you ?

C speaks C : Yeah.

On the op. 15 where the cubs are leaping across the sun, he said, "Hmmm. That's I'm not quite sure of. I know which one is the brother and sister. But which one is the fox ? Foxes all look alike. I think it's this one (points to the left cub)."

Ninth Session : Mar. 3. 1:05-11:30 a.m.

Jared asked the researcher to read first. He again created sound effects. He focused on abstract words so he could not create sound effects for every opening.

Op. 14 : p. 28
 A reads text *He remembers his family and the nearness of his mother.*
 C speaks C : And the nearness.....
 How do you make that ?

After the researcher read the text on the Op. 16, Jared broached the father issue again, turning back to the Op. 15. "The size is all the same." He measured the left fox, moving his finger gradually upward from the rear foot to the head as if he were counting imaginary numbers. "Thirty-three inches." He measured the right cub in the same way, and said, "Thirty-four inches." Then he measured the middle one from the tail to the head. "Thirty-one inches." Then he asked the researcher to add thirty-three and thirty-one. She answered, "Sixty-four." "O. K. This one I guess sixty-four inches. He continued to ask her to add thirty-four and thirty-one. "Sixty-five," she answered. "I guess," he said, "this one weighs sixty-five." She asked him why he added those numbers.

C speaks C : Because I guess which one was.....I guesss this one is the father.
 Because usually the fox father weighs the most.

A speaks A : Oh, weighs the most !

Jared tried to tell the story from the end again, but he gave up soon, "Because I don't know where I was." He told pages 2, 4, 5, 11, 17, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 38 from memory correctly. Even though he made some mistakes when he tried to tell the story, his errors were becoming minor ones. He skipped one phrase in the text on Op. 9 again.

Tenth Session : Mar. 7. 11:50-2:10 p.m.

Jared read first. Before he read the text, he talked about the father again. At first, he said that the father was the middle fox because the father usually jumped further.

C speaks C : But hold it.
 There are only three over here, so, that has to be the two sons and a sister.

Jared told the text on pages 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 15, 33, 34, and 38 from memory correctly. He again skipped the same phrase on p. 9.

He covered the text on p. 15, p. 17, and p. 18 when the researcher read it.

Op. 8 : p. 15

A recites text *A snow hare soars across the frosty hill and disappears.*

C speaks C : I think you caught me on that.
 I covered it and you just said it.

A speaks A : Yeah.

The researcher told the text on page 15 and 17 from memory, but she could not tell p. 18. Jared told her what sentence came next.

When the researcher read the text on Op. 15, she asked again, "This is the father, and this is ? He answered the left one is the brother.

A speaks A : This is his brother ? And this is his sister ?
 C speaks C : You can't. There's two brothers, you remember ?

In the sixth session, his comments decreased dramatically, so did his questions. From the sixth session to the ninth session, his comments increased again. His questions decreased from the sixth session to the eighth session, but increased again in the ninth session, and decreased in the tenth session.

From these results, if we look at the effects of repeated readings only by comparing the amount of responses session to session, might we conclude that, for Jared, ten reading sessions were too long. He did not respond fully to the book after the sixth session. Perhaps the researcher should have stopped after the fifth session. In Martinez and Roser's (1985) study and in Morrow's (1988) study, these researchers described changes of quantity and quality of children's responses after the same books were read three times. In their studies, repeated readings increased the number and complexity of questions and comments. Jared's comments also increased the number until the fifth session.

Why did Jared's comments decrease in the sixth session? Qualitative analysis of the changes of Jared's responses would explain what was occurring in the sixth session.

Qualitative changes of Jared's responses

In the initial reading session, Jared looked at the text and listened to the story attentively. His comments can be categorized as identification, prediction of the characters, and reasoning. Questions were mainly literal ones. The comments and questions were simple and short. One of the three big issues which led the researcher and Jared to long discussions in later sessions was not asked by Jared in the first session. He asked only, "He is from New York?" and "Which one is the father?" It was not until the third session that he asked, "Which one is the vixen?"

From the second session, Jared's attention focused on the different parts of the story other than the characters, such as in which pages the moon was depicted, or why one illustration looked like the cover page.

As for the wordless openings, his comments also became longer and more complex from the first session to the fourth session.

From the third session to the fifth session, his utterances increased greatly. He predicted phrases and sentences, echoes, and told some of the sentences in unison with the researcher. Trying to memorize, his questions became more like confirmation, or questions about where he was, such as, "Am I right?.....What dose it say?.....Am I on this page?.....Where am I?"

In the fifth session, he asked many questions which led to long conversations during the reading aloud session. He claimed that the researcher skipped a page because he saw the reflection of the next page. He also corrected her misreading. He asked her to translate into Japanese. He made a lot of predictions of the text. His utterances in his reading session also increased in the fifth session. He tried to recite the text without looking at it. He mixed up the sentences and phrases of other pages when he tried to tell the text from memory. He told one sentence and corrected himself several times. At this point his confusion reached a peak. The researcher reread the sentences when Jared deviated from the text.

At the sixth session, however, when his telling the story from memory became closer to the text, he appeared to listen to the text more attentively. His comments decreased dramatically dur-

ing the reading aloud session.

In the seventh session, quite interestingly, he created sound effects for every opening. He acted the story out when he almost learned the text from memory. Most of his comments during the reading aloud session were explanations of his sound effects. He continued to create sound effects for the next three sessions.

In the tenth session, he covered up the text with his hand when the researcher was reading. He told the story for her when she could not tell it from memory. His comments again decreased in number during this session.

Jared asked consistently the same questions when the two came up to the same pages or right after each reading session was over. Jared tried to solve the problems with all his ability. He tried to find out which one of the three foxes was the father, inferring and stating many different types of reasoning. He turned the pages back and forth in order to find which one was the vixen, or which one was the father. He used text cues, for example, "It is a fox, because the text does not say a vixen", or visual cues, "See, they look alike." He even measured the weight of the foxes, counting imaginary numbers from the rear foot or tail to the head of each fox (ninth session).

Jared's responses reflected, so called, pre-operational thinking. Sometimes he made decisions, focusing on only one aspect, forgetting totally about other aspects or the sequence of the story. When the researcher asked him what did the fox see (from the fox's perspective), he answered, "He (the fox) saw me," forgetting that the fox saw the frozen animals. This example is explained by both centering and egocentrism because he only saw the matter from his own perspective. One example of his animistic thought is found in his poetic expression, "The moon is carrying his fox." He was lost when the fox and the vixen were depicted as the same size. For Jared, frozen animals were real animals which had climbed up the trees and froze.

Above all, he could not understand the flash backs. All his questions about the "father fox" stemmed from this fact. He had been referring to the protagonist fox as "the father" since the first session. From his interpretation, the adult fox is the protagonist fox on the first flash back opening, because the color and the shape of the adult fox is very much like the protagonist fox. On the subsequent flash back opening, three foxes with the same color and shape as the protagonist fox are leaping against the sun. That is why he asked, "Which one is the father?" The researcher did not realize his interpretation about the fox until the fifth session when he pointed to the fox and said, "This is the father." As an adult, the researcher instantly judged the situation in the first flash back opening, knowing this scene was flash back, and interpreted that the adult fox was the protagonist's mother and one of the little cubs was the protagonist himself. Whereas Jared focused only on the color and shape of the protagonist fox, he interpreted the adult fox as the father, because the color and the shape were the same. Jared's interpretation and the researcher's interpretation of the same story were quite different from the beginning. It took time for the researcher to understand what he really meant by "the father". Then how did he perceive the story from the beginning? Then the researcher looked through the data again but from Jared's perspective.

At first, Jared assimilated the flash back openings identifying the protagonist fox by color and shape. He denied that the fox with the babies was the mother because the ears were the same as

the protagonist fox. In the second session, by the researcher's question of what the babies were doing, his attention moved toward the babies. The adult fox with the babies should be a mother fox. The protagonist fox was male. With his schema of identifying the protagonist fox by color and shape, he faced a contradiction. The babies were drinking milk from the mother fox. Then, where was the protagonist fox?

In the fifth session, Jared changed his strategy, or he accommodated his existing schema into a new schema in order to solve the new problem. He tried to find out which one was the father by looking at the size of the foxes. He turned back to the one opening before the flashback began. There were four foxes of the same size, including the protagonist fox. He found only three babies on the next page. He said, "It doesn't make sense because on the other side, there might be one more." He pointed to the mother fox's belly. There were only three foxes on the second flashback opening, too. In the sixth session, he thought that "the father" had already jumped over the sun. In the eighth session, he said, "There are only three over here, so that has to be two sons and a sister." Now he included the text among his clues.

In the ninth session, he measured the size of the foxes in his own way. He guessed the left fox was the father because, "usually, fox's father weighs most." The problem was solved, but he faced another contradiction. From the text, he knew that three foxes had to be two sons and a sister. Then, there was no room for the father. If he counted one of them as the father, the rest should be two brothers. Where was the sister? Maybe she was not born yet. This was his new question in the tenth session. He had to seek a new strategy again to solve this problem. These types of questions may continue until he acquires a new schema to cope with the flashbacks.

A beginning reader's responses to the picture book

Jared responded verbally and/or physically to the print of the text as a beginning reader. As he could not read "Tejima," and knowing Tejima was from Japan, he wondered about the relationship between Tejima and New York, where the publisher was located. He noticed that this book was not paginated when he was reading the text which was written at the bottom of the page. Reading the text, he sometimes mentioned, "On your left," or, "No words." He also noticed that the word "suddenly" looked and sounded like Sunday. He put his finger under the lines when the text was not familiar to him, but the more he got used to the text, the less he put his finger under the lines. From the fifth session on, he tried to read the book from the back to the front.

Toward telling the story from memory

It was not the researcher's intention to have Jared read the text or memorize all the sentences. He did that spontaneously. For a six-year-old, "tell a story" might imply "tell a story from memory." Applebee (1978) asked six-year-old subjects to tell their favorite story. Fifty percent of children retold the story and "another 27 percent refused to answer because they were worried that they might not remember it well enough" (p. 92). Jared's willingness and struggle to tell *Fox's Dream* from memory is in accordance with Applebee's finding, or, as Schickedanz (1978) implicated, he has already had a schema for telling a text from memory, which is the general idea that the text can be remembered, and general strategies for doing this.

By the tenth reading session, he learned one third of the sentences from memory accurately.

Figure 1 shows Jared's pattern of how he came to tell the text from memory, which was very difficult for him to read at the beginning.

In earlier sessions, phase 1, Jared listened to the text attentively identifying the characters and/or objects and predicting what happened next. He also read each word very carefully, putting his finger under the lines.

In the subsequent sessions, phase 2, Jared repeated or echoed final phrases of the sentences right after the researcher's reading. He also predicted first phrases of sentences.

Then, phase 3, Jared said the beginning and/or end of the sentences, and after a while, the mid-

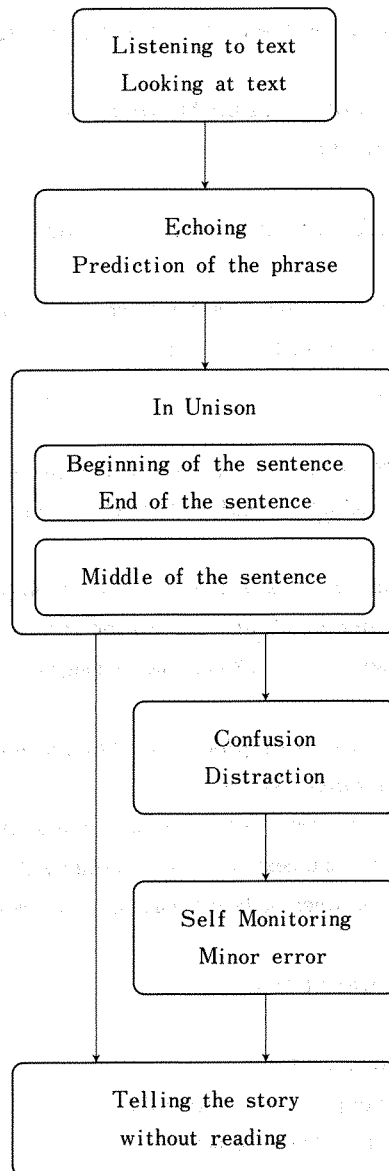


Figure 1. Jared's changes of responses to the text over time.

dle of the sentences in unison with the researcher.

The shift from phase to phase is dependent on the sentences. Jared memorized sentences which had fewer undecodable words faster than those having many difficult words. Example 1 shows one of the easiest sentences for Jared, which consisted of only one undecodable word. He memorized the sentence by the fifth session.

Example 1 [Op. 1 : p. 2]

Reading 1

C reads text *The bears and the chipmunks are asleep for the winter.*

Reading 2

C reads text *The bears and the chipmunks are asleep for the winter.*

Reading Aloud 4

C with A *The bears and the chipmunks are asleep for the winter.*

C echoes *for the winter.*

Reading 5

C tells text *The bears and the chipmunks are asleep for the winter.*

from memory

Example 2 shows one of the most difficult openings for Jared, which has two sentences. During phase 1, he had a hard time just decoding the sentences.

Example 2 [Op. 2 : p. 3]

Reading 1

C reads text *Snow covered trees glisten in the moonlight.
Their shadows stretch across the frozen snow.*

Reading 2

C reads text *Snow covered trees glisten in the moonlight.
Their shadows stretch across the frozen snow.*

Jared did not shift from phase 1 to phase 2 until the reading aloud session 4.

Reading Aloud 4

C with A *Snow covered trees glisten in the moonlight. Their shadows stretch across the frozen snow.*

Jared's trial for telling the story from memory began at the fourth reading session. He shifted into phase 4. He mixed the text in the next page, which began with "except for" with "in the moonlight" of this page, but remembered when he heard "glisten" and finished up by himself.

Reading 4

C tells text *Snow covered trees.....*

C speaks C : I can't.

C reads text *Snow covered trees*

C speaks C :except for the moonlight.

A speaks A : Except for the moonlight ?

C speaks C : No, what does this say ?

C with A *Snow covered trees glisten glisten in the moonlight.*

Jared's confusion reached a peak in the fifth session. He skipped most of the sentences and moved to the next sentence.

Reading 5

C reads text *Snow covered.....*

C speaks C :the ice and snow. How can it be snow covered the ice and snow ?

A reads text *Snow covered trees*

C speaks C : Yes. Snow covered trees and snow. It's silent. I read. I read all of it.

A reads text *Snow covered trees glisten in the moonlight.*

C speaks C : Snow covered the moonlight.

A reads text *Their shadows.....*

C speaks C : It is silent. It is glitter, silent. It is still.

A reads text *Their shadows.....*

C speaks C : Their shadows what ?

A reads text *Stretch across the frozen snow.*

C speaks C : It's silent.

A reads text *It is still.*

C speaks C : I can't remember.

From the sixth session, his errors became very few (phase 5) and he corrected himself. He put "the" in between "covered" and "trees" and this miscue remained until the tenth session. He read the second sentence accurately.

Reading 6

C tells text *Snow covered /the/ trees /glittering/ in the moonlight.*

Reading 7

C tells text *Snow covered /the/ trees /glitter/ in the moonlight.*

Reading 8 and Reading 9

C tells text *Snow covered /the/ trees glisten in the moonlight.*

Reading 10

C tells text *Snow covered /the/ trees glitter — glisten in the moonlight.*

Chaper V Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Summary

Background of the study

Reading aloud to children has been encouraged by many educators, researchers, and librarians (Cullinan, 1989; Huck, Hepler, & Hickman, 1987; Trelease, 1985). They also suggest that children should hear their favorite stories over and over again (Beaver, 1982; Huck et al., 1987; Morrow, 1988; Teale & Martinez, 1988). Reading to children increases vocabulary, oral language abilities, reading comprehension, and story awareness. It also helps them to predict and generates further interest in the story.

Previous studies dealing with children and picture books have been done in laboratory settings using removed illustrations or text from the context of the book.

Qualitative studies of picture book reading grew out of a dissatisfaction with the limitations of the quantitative, or correlational, approach to picture book reading research (Crago & Crago, 1983 ; Driessen, 1984 ; Kiefer, 1982). These qualitative studies enable us to depict what actually occurs in picture book reading in either home or school settings.

Few studies, however, have been conducted to show systematically how young children's responses change as they listened to a story over and over again (Martinez & Roser, 1985 ; Morrow, 1988 ; Sulzby, 1985).

This study examined the responses to a picture book by six-year-old boy over a period of time on a *one-to-one* basis in the school setting.

Procedures

The purpose of this study was to describe a six-year-old boy's change of responses to a picture book as he listened to the same story over and over again. The informant was selected from a Montessori school. The researcher negotiated with his mother to use her son in this project. The book selected was *Fox's Dream* by Tejima (1987). It was a big format picture book with multicolored woodcut illustrations and was awarded Special Mention in the Bologna Graphic Prize in 1986.

The data were collected over a period of five weeks from February 8th to March 10th, 1989 in the principal's office, which was next door to the informant's classroom. A time schedule was set with a total of ten times, three times a week (one at a time), Monday and Wednesday afternoons and Friday mornings. Each session was both video and audio taped. The boy and the researcher sat side by side on the couch. The video camera was set on the desk in front of the couch. A microphone was used for monitoring his speech through earphones. Throughout the ten reading sessions, he voluntarily read the book. Accordingly, he listened to the story ten times and read it ten times. Each session lasted approximately twenty minutes. Word-for-word transcription of the sessions was made with audio tapes, and where necessary, the boy's non-verbal behaviors were added by watching the video tapes.

Findings

Throughout the ten reading aloud sessions and reading sessions, on a one-to-one basis, the following four characteristics of responses were observed :

1. The quantity of Jared's responses changed over time,
2. The quality of Jared's responses changed over time,
3. Jared's responses focused on print and book convention, and
4. Jared tried to memorize the text.

Changes in quantity of responses

Jared's comments increased rapidly from the first session to the fifth session. In the fifth session, he commented three times more than in the first session. On the other hand, his questions decreased from the first session to the third session and increased from the fourth session to the fifth session. In the sixth session, his comments decreased dramatically; so did his questions. From the sixth session to the ninth session, his comments increased again. His questions decreased from

the sixth session to the eighth session, but increased again in the ninth session, and decreased in the tenth session.

Changes in quality of responses

In the initial reading session, Jared identified, predicted what would happen, and gave reasons for his statements. His questions were mostly literal. His comments and questions were simple and short.

From the second session to the fifth session, Jared's attention focused on the different parts of the illustrations other than the characters. His comments became longer and more complex for the wordless openings from the first session to the fourth session. His utterances included prediction of the words, phrases, sentences, and echoing of the final sentences. He also said some of the sentences in unison with the researcher. He corrected the researcher's misreading in the fifth session. As he tried to read the story without looking at the text, he mixed up the sentences and phrases of other pages. His questions became like confirmation, or questions about where he was as he tried to memorize the sentences in the fourth and fifth sessions.

In the sixth session, his telling the story from memory became closer to the text. In the seventh session, he created sound effects for every opening. In the tenth session, he covered up the text with his hand when the researcher was reading. He told the story for her when she could not tell it from memory.

Jared asked consistently the same questions at certain points of the book. His questions led to longer conversations as the sessions progressed. He tried to solve problems using different strategies. His comments and questions reflected pre-operational thought.

Responses focused on print and book convention

Jared responded verbally and/or physically to the print of the text. He read the story word by word at the beginning. He put his finger under each line when the book was not familiar to him. He noticed the word *suddenly* looked and sounded like Sunday. He mentioned the location of the text on the pages. He noticed the book was not paginated. He wondered about the relationship between the author and the city where the publisher was located. When the book became familiar to him, he tried to read it from the back to front.

Memorizing the text

Jared's responses were analyzed in the light of his learning the text from memory. By the tenth session, he learned one third of the sentences from memory accurately. Jared's changes of responses were divided into six phases. In phase 1, he looked at the text, listened to it and read it very attentively. In phase 2, he echoed the final parts of the sentences, and he predicted some of the words, phrases, and sentences. In phase 3, he said some parts of the sentences, synchronizing with the researcher. He memorized easy sentences after phase 3. In phase 4, he got confused by other text language, by conventional usage, and by his own grammatical rules. In phase 5, he monitored himself and errors became minor. In phase 6, he told the sentences from memory without deviating from the text.

Conclusions

The descriptions of the changes of Jared's responses over time revealed several implications about the nature of repeated readings. Quantity and quality of Jared's responses to the picture book changed over time. During the initial reading, he appeared to be intent on listening to the story and looking at the pictures. He put his finger under each line as a guide. This practice decreased in subsequent sessions. As the reading sessions progressed, and as the story became more familiar, he often did not look at the book because he engaged in memorizing the story.

Fox's Dream was difficult for Jared at that cognitive developmental level. He could not really understand the flashbacks. Nevertheless, he developed his own ideas and constructed the meaning of the story. Many characteristics of the pre-operational thought described by Piaget were observed throughout the ten sessions. Jared went back to the same questions again and again at the certain openings. He asked many times about the author and the publishing place, if the fox was a vixen or not, and where the father fox was in subsequent sessions. He did not merely repeat the same questions but asked questions from different perspectives or answered questions by himself with various reasonings. He was confused by the color, shape, and size of the foxes. He focused on one dimension, and ignored others. It took time for Jared to solve his problems, and also it took time for the researcher to understand what had been puzzling him. He changed his strategies when his existing strategy did not fit to solve his questions. His comments lessened when he got in a new phase of mental operation. When he almost accomplished his assimilation of the story his comments lessened dramatically, even became fewer than those in the initial reading session. As Teale (1987) states, repeated picture storybook readings are "both repetitive and innovative.....", they provide, "a facilitative framework within which the child can operate" (pp. 61-62).

The stability of text and illustrations played an important role in his cognitive development. It helped him think and rethink about the same problems. The stability of the book also served as a hypothesis testing device. He predicted up-coming events, words, phrases, and sentences. His hypothesis was either confirmed or denied when the page was turned. This mental operation might bring him enjoyment and drive him to learn the text from memory. As a matter of fact, Jared's student teacher said, "Every time he came back to the classroom after the reading session was over, he looked very happy. So I asked him every time, 'Did you do anything different today?' He answered, 'No, we did the same thing.' I don't believe he was so happy with the same book."

If the book had been read only once to Jared, and in a group reading setting, these responses reflecting his mental operations and how he developed his thinking could not have been observed. He needed to turn pages back and forth in order to seek answers to his questions. The one-to-one repeated readings enabled him to examine the illustrations and the story meaning closely.

According to Morrow (1988), repeated readings led low socio-economic children to focus on print and story structure and were most effective with lower ability children. In the classroom group reading, usually children are seated far from the book. This situation limits both physical and visual contact with the book. Jared turned the pages back and forth again and again, and looked closely at the illustrations in order to find the answers to the questions he raised. Many of Jared's behaviors relating to print were also seen after the book was read several times. Again, the one-to-

one repeated readings allowed him to examine the book closely and to have contact with the book, which led him to focus on print and book conventions.

During the course of learning the story from memory, Jared deviated greatly from the actual text. His deviation from the text came mainly from the following three reasons : distracted by other parts of the text ; distracted by conventional usage ; reorganization of the text into his own grammatical rules. Example two (see p. 298) shows both his distraction by other parts of the text (in this example, he is distracted by the first phrase of the next opening) and his reorganization of the text into his own grammatical rules. In "Snow covered trees glisten in the moonlight," "snow covered" modifies "trees" which is the subject, and "glisten" is the verb of this sentence. Whereas, when Jared took "snow" as the subject and "covered" as the verb, he needed the object of the sentence. At first he said, "Snow covered ice and snow." Then from the sixth session, he added "the" after "covered" and he consistently said, "Snow covered the trees....." Jared also consistently said, "But he is in a place where he had never been before," instead of saying, "But he is in a place he had never seen before." This illustrates his distraction by the conventional usage.

Jared's deviation from the text became narrower toward the last phase. Although he added some words to several sentences, or changed some words into different words, the meaning of the sentences did not change. Furthermore, Jared took most of those substitute words from the text. In the following are some of the examples. Underlined words are his additions and substitutions. The words in the parentheses show those used in the text.

Once again the fox is all alone.

Suddenly he finds a trail of footprints lying in the snow.

It is silent (still).

A fox wanders (walks) alone in the moonlight.

A snow hare leaps (soars) across the frosty hill.....

Goodman & Burke (1972) state that "All readers do deviate from the text" (p. 5). They call the deviations in oral reading *miscues* which suggest that they are not random errors but are cued by the thought and language of the reader in his encounter with the written materials. Jared's miscues reflected his experience of the language of the text. He assimilated the meanings of the words and used them in the appropriate situations.

At the initial reading session, he learned several new words. In repeated readings, he started to decode difficult sentences very fast, and, furthermore, he learned to use some words in the different situations. Above all, through the confusion, he assimilated the text grammar and accommodated his grammar to it or even he changed the text grammar into his own grammatical rules. Repeated readings thus helped Jared's language development. He will be able to use his acquired words, phrases, and sentences from the text language both in his oral and written language.

Recommendations

It is very difficult to generalize the findings to other contexts because of the nature of qualitative studies. However, the findings regarding the changes of responses over time suggest that repeated readings on a one-to-one basis in the school setting play an important role both in the child's cognitive development and in his/her literacy development. Suggestions might be made for classroom practice

and for future study from these findings.

Recommendations for teaching

In order to stimulate and enhance the child's cognitive development as well as literacy development, teachers should :

1. Read the same story many times to the child. It takes a long time for him/her to appreciate a whole picture because of the constraints of his/her cognition. Repeated readings are necessary for him/her to understand construct the meaning of a story. It also takes time for the adult to understand his/her perception of the story or interpretations.

The amount of repetition necessary for the individual child to construct the story lines of a particular book would be expected to vary. At least the teacher should continue reading the same story until the child learns it from memory.

2. Make the print accessible to the child. Reading stories to large groups of children, or even to relatively small groups (six to eight children), may not give the child access to print needed to learn words by sight. A one-to-one reading situation generates awareness of print, story structure, and book convention. Especially for a beginning reader, learning to decode needs to be assisted by a patient and supportive adult reader.

3. Read a book with a child or with a very small group of children. The child constructs the meaning of the story through interaction with the adult. Each child has different experiences and different needs. It may be difficult for a classroom teacher to put one-to-one story readings in school into practice, because it can be time-consuming. The teacher should ask aides, volunteers, and other children to read to youngsters.

Future research

From the findings of this study, future studies should clarify the following aspects.

1. Whether or not the same characteristics of the changes of responses are found in other children using the same book? Do similar quantitative changes occur over time? Do similar qualitative changes occur over time? Do other children repeat the same questions over time? Does similar confusion occur during the course of learning a story from memory? Descriptions of several children's changes of responses over time need to be obtained from above perspectives.

2. Do repeated readings affect other children's literacy development?

3. Does the result of repeated readings of the same storybook transfer to new books which they have never heard before?

4. What is the adult role in the repeated readings?

5. An ethnographic approach to repeated readings using *Fox's Dream* enables the researcher to describe Jared's changes of strategies when he encountered cognitive challenges. The book appeared to be a suitable book to explore how young children think. Many of the previous developmental psychological findings were based on the short term testing settings. Most of the materials and situations were unfamiliar to the child. As this study describes, Jared's responses were different from the initial ones as the book became familiar to him. A close examination of the data focusing on the child's cognition might reveal a new insight in understanding children's cognitive development.

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