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THESIS APPROVAL

The abstract and thesis of Alice Goldstein for the Master of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages were presented July 10, 1995, and accepted by the thesis committee and the department.

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ABSTRACT

An abstract of the thesis of Alice Goldstein for the Master of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages presented July 10, 1995.

Title: English-Speaking Three-Year-Olds in a Spanish Language Immersion Program

Foreign language immersion programs, wherein the regular school curriculum is taught through the foreign language, have become increasingly widespread in recent years. Although there have been a plethora of studies reporting on second language immersion programs involving school-age programs, there is a dearth of information describing such programs for preschoolers. The purpose of this study was to observe and describe an immersion program for three-year-olds, particularly with respect to specific features of early stages of the language acquisition process.

The primary area of interest was to determine the existence of and features of a silent period for these children. Secondary goals included analyzing the kinds of speech that emerged in the early stages of language acquisition, to whom it was directed, and the circumstances under which it was produced; discovering when and how the children manifest bilingual awareness; and ascertaining what strategies were used by them for comprehension.

Using a qualitative case study approach, eight monolingual three-year-olds attending a Spanish-language immersion school were observed using participant observation methodology for a total of 98.35 hours between September 6, 1994 and March 17, 1995. Classroom observation was supplemented by questionnaires completed by the children's parents, and by interviews of parents.

The data generated revealed that although there is wide variation in the amount of speech produced by the children and when it was produced, there was no silent period for most children. These results are inconsistent with the literature which generally assumes that such a period exists. The study also revealed that although language mixing occurred, it appeared to be a function of language dominance and did not reflect mixing in the input. Children used a variety of strategies to make sense of the Spanish surrounding them, the most important of which was attending to context clues. Finally, all the children manifested bilingual awareness at the same time they began to produce Spanish utterances.

ENGLISH-SPEAKING THREE-YEAR-OLDS IN A SPANISH LANGUAGE IMMERSION PROGRAM

by

ALICE GOLDSTEIN

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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in
TEACHING ENGLISH TO
SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

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1995

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Finally, I want to acknowledge the role my family played in tolerating me through this protracted process: to my husband Don for taking our children away on weekends and not complaining while I sequestered myself in my office with my notes, books, and computer; to my older son Reed for attending a French language immersion program for many years, which stimulated my curiosity about how it

worked, and for his many hours babysitting his three-year-old younger brother; and finally, to my three--year-old son Dario, for learning not to press the DELETE key on the computer, and for learning many of the Spanish songs I brought home from my observation sessions. His willingness to sing along served as inspiration to keep me going.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	vii
I INTRODUCTION	1
The Purpose	2
The Problem	3
Guiding Questions	4
Definition of Terms	5
Summary	7
II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	9
Immersion Programs	11
The"Silent" Period	17
Language Mixing and Code Switching	24
Input	27
Strategies for Comprehension	30
Summary	32
III RESEARCH METHODS	35
Research Design	35
Data Collection Procedures	44
Data Analysis and Conventions of Transcription	50
Summary	51
IV SAMPLE CASE STUDIES	52
Linda	52
David	66

V RESULTS AND DISCUSSION. 78

Children's Spanish Utterances. 78
Children's Bilingual Language Awareness. 89
Input to the Children 93
Children's Comprehension Strategies. 96
Summary. 103

VI ANALYSIS, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS. 104

Discussion of Research Questions. 105
Significance of the Study 117
Strengths, Weaknesses and Limitations. 118
Implications for Teaching. 122
Recommendations for Future Research. 123
Summary. 125

REFERENCES. 128

APPENDICES

A LETTER OF INTRODUCTION. 136

B CONSENT FORMS. 140

C OBSERVATION LOG. 143

D SAMPLE FIELD NOTES. 145

E QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS. 148

F INTERVIEW GUIDE. 151

G ADDITIONAL CASE STUDIES. 153

Amy. 154
Ann. 170
James. 176
Mary. 187
Susan. 190
Tom. 197

H LYRICS TO SONGS. 202

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
I	Children's Schedules.	41
II	Children's New, In-Class, Spanish Utterances, by Week.	80
III	Dates Children Began Singing.	84
IV	Categories of New Utterances, By Week.	85
V	Language Mixing, By Week (Children).	87
VI	Awareness of Equivalence of Speech.	92
VII	Code Mixing By Week (Input).	95

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A major question in child second language acquisition research is whether, and to what extent, second language acquisition is similar to first language acquisition. In attempting to shed light on this question, researchers have looked at the existence and duration of a silent period for second language acquisition, and at what forms speech takes as children begin to produce utterances in the second language. The child's private speech, use of routines and patterns, language mixing and code switching have all been subjects of research. Other studies have sought to establish an association between personality type and/or learning strategies and successful second language acquisition. How and when language differentiation occurs is also a topic of some concern.

Second language immersion programs have also been the focus of much study in recent years. For example, the French immersion programs in Canada have been evaluated with respect to questions regarding their effectiveness for second language learning, the age group for which they are most effective, and their effects on first language development, cognitive development, and academic success in other subjects (Allen, Swain, Harley, & Cummins, 1990; Collier, 1989; Cummins, 1990; Genesee, 1984, 1987; Hakuta, & Gould, 1987; Porter, 1990; Shapson, 1984; Stein, 1980). Not surprisingly, these

second language immersion studies focus on school age children, since that is the age group which most immersion programs serve. However, in the Portland, Oregon area, there are a number of second language immersion programs which enroll preschoolers as young as two and a half years of age.

THE PURPOSE

There is a gap in the literature regarding second language acquisition. Although many studies report on aspects of second language immersion programs for school age children, those studies do not address preschoolers in such programs. There are, however, a number of studies examining bilingual language acquisition of small children growing up in bilingual households (see, for example, Fantini, 1985; Lanza, 1992), or of small children learning a second language while living in the country where that language is spoken (see, for example, Ervin-Tripp, 1974; Hakuta, 1974; Karniol, 1990; Valette, 1964; Vihman, 1985). Other studies have looked at minority language children in bilingual preschool programs (see, for example, Chesterfield, R., Hayes-Latimer, K., Chesterfield, K.B., & Chavez, R., 1983; Strong, 1983).

What is missing, however, is any kind of study reporting on majority language preschool children learning a second language in a school-based immersion program. It is this gap that this study hopes to begin to fill.

THE PROBLEM

My experiences with several children enrolled in immersion programs made me curious about several aspects of successive language acquisition in young children.

I wondered how long it would take children to start talking, what kinds of speech they would produce at the outset, and whether this was different for children in immersion programs compared with children living in the country where the target language was spoken. I was curious about how children handle the fact that they have different vocabulary for different domains, and how they deal with gaps in their vocabulary knowledge in one or the other language. The rapidity with which a six-year-old friend learned Spanish after having spent a year in a French immersion program raised questions about whether, and how, the learning curve is somehow attenuated with prior exposure to a second language. I questioned whether English-speaking children would speak the second language with each other, when there was no communication need to do so, or whether they would simply continue to use their first language with one another. More generally, the issue of with whom they would use Spanish, and when, became an area of interest for me.

It was my hope that detailed observation of what actually occurred with three-year-old children during their first few months of exposure to the second language in an immersion program would shed some light on some of these areas of concern. To try to answer all of these questions would be impossible in a three to six month

observation period, as many of these questions could only be addressed with a study extending over a period of years. Rather, the focus of this study is to attempt to gather data and reach conclusions about some perplexing questions about successive second language acquisition in the early stages.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

Initial Questions

At the outset of this study, I proposed to investigate the following questions:

1. Is there a silent period during the initial stages of second language acquisition for three-year-olds in an immersion program?
    a. If so, what is its duration?
    b. How should "silent" be defined? What speech should be included within the definition of "silent period?"
    c. What speech, if any, occurs during the silent period?
2. What evidence of comprehension is there during the early months in the immersion program?
3. When children begin talking the second language, what kinds of language do they produce?
4. In what situations do they speak the second language?
    a. Is the choice of language systematic vis a vis interlocutors or setting?
5. What kind of language mixing or code switching occurs?

a. Is such mixing or switching related to language input they receive?

b. What forms does language mixing take (i.e., lexical, morphological, or syntactic)?

Emerging Questions

In this type of qualitative research, it is not unusual for hypotheses to emerge as the study proceeds in the setting selected for observation (Spindler, 1982, p. 6; see also Nunan, 1992, p. 57). As the period of observation continued and data analysis commenced, additional questions and refinements to the original questions thus emerged:

1. What strategies did the children use to make sense of what was going on around them?

   a. How did the classroom rituals and teacher practices promote children's comprehension?

2. How did the children manifest bilingual awareness?

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Affective filter: the psychological and attitudinal factors that negatively influence language acquisition, such as anxiety and lack of self-confidence, that keep comprehensible input from being processed (Krashen, 1981, 1982, 1985).

Bilingual awareness: knowledge of when it is appropriate to keep both languages separate and when it is appropriate to mix them (Lanza, 1992, p. 653).

Bilingual development/acquisition: simultaneous acquisition of more than one language during the period of primary language development.

Code switching: the alternation or mixing of languages within discourse; involves the mixing of languages within and across utterances or sentences (Lanza, 1992, pp. 633, 636).

Dilingual discourse: refers to use of two mutually unintelligible languages by interlocutors who do not comprehend one another (Saville-Troike, 1987; 1988, p. 574).

First language development/acquisition: refers to acquisition of one language from birth.

Formulas: refers to speech memorized by rote and produced in an unanalyzed fashion when the context is deemed appropriate (Karniol, 1990).

Immersion program: method of foreign language instruction in which the regular school curriculum is taught through the medium of the foreign language (Met, 1993).

Language mixing: co-occurrence of elements from two or more languages in a single utterance. Involves interaction between the bilingual child's developing language systems (Genesee, 1989).

Paralanguage: refers to those aspects of speech communication that do not pertain to linguistic structure or context, including voice, intonation and body language (Pennycock, 1985).

Private speech: speech which occurs without eye contact and without any apparent expectation of response. It frequently involves immediate repetition of what was said by another, and with the youngest children, generally involves repetition of the final word or phrase at the end of the utterance, including the final intonation contour (Saville-Troike, 1987).

Successive language acquisition: where a child is introduced to a second language after the period of primary language development. McLaughlin (1985) maintains that successive language acquisition occurs when introduction of the second language begins at age 3; De Houwer (1990) deems it consecutive or successive if the child is exposed to the second language more than a week after exposure to the first language, and if exposure to both languages is not fairly regular.

Utterance: word or group of words with a single intonation contour. A mixed utterance consists of a co-occurrence of both languages either within one word or a group of words (Lanza, 1992, p. 638).

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study is two-fold: 1) to provide some heretofore nonexistent documentation about majority language three-

year-olds enrolled in a school-based immersion program; and 2) to address specific questions regarding early language production and comprehension strategies of such children.

The succeeding chapters in this thesis are composed of a review of the pertinent literature regarding immersion programs, the silent period, language mixing and code switching, input, and comprehension strategies (Chapter II). Chapter III outlines research methods used, including the research design, data collection procedures, and conventions of transcription. The classroom and its participants are also described. Selected case studies of two of the eight children are presented in Chapter IV, with the remainder of the case studies appearing in Appendix G. Chapter V contains results, while the final chapter (Chapter VI) concludes this thesis with an analysis of the results as well as conclusions and implications, strengths and limitations, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Much discussion has appeared over recent years with respect to whether or not children are better second language learners than adults. Some authors have posited that there is a critical or optimal age for learning second languages (for example, Magiste, 1987). Others divide up the areas of superiority, holding, for instance, that children can pronounce better (see, for example, Asher & Garcia, 1969; Fathman, 1975), but that adults are better at listening comprehension. (But cf., Yamada, Takatsuka, Kotake, & Kurusu, 1980, criticizing Asher & Garcia, and Fathman, and finding that the younger children, i.e., the seven-year-olds, have better rote memory and better motor ability than the older ones (the ten-year-olds)).

Krashen, and others, conclude that although children are ultimately more successful than adults, adults seem to progress faster, at least in the areas of morphology and syntax (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982; Fathman, 1975; Krashen, Scarcella & Long, 1982; Snow & Hoefnagel-Hoele, 1982). There is even a difference between older and younger children, the former progressing more rapidly than the latter (Krashen, Scarcella & Long, 1982). Long's 1990 analysis of maturational constraints confirms earlier studies, concluding more particularly that age-related loss in ability is cumulative rather than a

sudden, one-time event, affecting first one linguistic domain and then another (e.g., phonology, morphology, syntax, aural abilities) (Long, 1990).

Reasons posited for the differences in child and adult language acquisition are biological (their brains are different), cognitive (adolescents are capable of formal operations), affective (children, being less inhibited, filter out less of the available language input than adults) and because of differences in the language environment (children receive more "here and now" input) (Krashen, Scarcella, & Long, 1982; Scarcella & Higa, 1982). Long (1990), however, rejects affective and input factors as the reason for the decline, positing rather that the reason is biological, i.e., due to loss of neural plasticity.

Whatever the truth is about children's superiority as second language learners, the belief that it is better to learn a second language in childhood has engendered educational programs whose object is to give children extensive exposure to another language while they are still young. The biggest, longest running, and most scrutinized are the French immersion programs in Canada.

This review of the literature will be comprised of a discussion of critical research addressing the research questions set forth in Chapter I of this Thesis. Research on other immersion programs, principally the French immersion programs will be discussed first, followed by a discussion of the so-called "silent" period, the role of input, language

mixing and code switching, and comprehension strategies employed by children in second language environments.

THE IMMERSION PROGRAMS

Beginning in the mid-1960's, native English-speaking students were placed into French language immersion programs in Canada. Generally, these programs began with kindergarten age children. The goal of such programs was not solely to teach them French. Rather, the goal was for students to learn a second language without sacrificing native language skills or academic performance (Swain, 1987). The premise of these programs is that people learn second languages the same way they learn their first--that is, in contexts where they are exposed to language in its natural form and where they are socially motivated to communicate. Learning of the language *per se* is made incidental to content learning (Trueba, 1989).

According to the literature, the Canadian immersion programs have basically achieved their goals. Generally speaking, students are not harmed in cognitive or native language development; they master content subjects at a level equivalent to their unilingually educated peers; and they develop high levels of proficiency in French, equaling native French speakers in receptive language skills such as reading, listening, and comprehension but still showing non-native characteristics in productive language skills (speaking and writing). They achieve much higher levels of performance in French than do

students in traditional foreign language programs (Genesee, 1984, 1987; Shapson, 1984).

The immersion programs in Canada have taken a variety of forms. There is early total immersion, in which children kindergarten age or lower are placed in immersion classes, receiving all subject matter instruction in French. English instruction is then introduced into the curriculum in second or third grade, first for an hour a day, and gradually increasing in each successive grade. Other forms include partial immersion (in which the English and French instruction each take place for some 50% of the time), delayed immersion, and late immersion (Genesee, 1984, 1987).

In delayed or late immersion programs, French is postponed as the main medium of instruction until the end of elementary school or the beginning of secondary school (grade 7 or 8), respectively. In this sense, the delayed or late immersion programs are much like bilingual education programs in this country in which English instruction is characteristically postponed until third grade or later (Collier, 1989; Hakuta & Gould, 1987; Porter, 1990; Stein, 1980). The actual period of immersion may be one or two years in duration, and may be preceded by traditional or core French instruction during the elementary grades or by special preparatory courses in French one to two years immediately before the immersion.

The French Canadian results demonstrate that, at least with respect to members of the dominant linguistic group learning a second language, very good results can be obtained by delayed or late

immersion, and not just by early immersion (Genesee, 1987). Just as with early immersion students, French comprehension is virtually equivalent to that of French students attending French medium schools. However, late immersion students' scores on oral evaluation and written compositions are significantly lower. Academic achievement is at equivalent levels with those in early total immersion. Nor have English skills suffered.

Collier (1989) also looked at studies reviewing the academic achievement of late immersion students, i.e., those who entered French immersion programs in grades 7 and 8. He found that students who had received second language instruction from 20-40 minutes a day from kindergarten through sixth grade were sufficiently proficient in the second language that academic achievement did not suffer. Despite having had only approximately one quarter the number of hours of second language instruction as the early total immersion students, their second language proficiency was equivalent. Those with only one to two years of prior second language instruction lagged somewhat in academic achievement when they were taught only through the second language. Students who underwent only one year of late immersion did well initially, but the achievement was not sustained as they proceeded through high school.

With respect to development of second language proficiency,

Collier (1989) concluded:

> [B]efore puberty, it does not matter when one begins exposure to (or instruction in) a second language, as long as cognitive development in the first language continues up through age 12 (the age by which first language acquisition is largely completed). (p. 511)

A 1987 study by Harley, discussed in Cummins, Harley, Swain and Allen (1990), compared the oral proficiency in French of three groups of 10th graders: early immersion, late immersion and those receiving extended French instruction (but not immersion) beginning in 7th grade. Using both a guided oral interview and an oral sociolinguistics test, researchers found very little advantage for the early immersion students. Specifically, early immersion speakers were closer to native speakers on a few features, such as use of imperfect and conditional. On other verb features, such as time distinction and number-person agreement, and on vocabulary range, they were no further ahead than the late entry groups. With regard to fluency measures, the immersion students in general had fewer dysfluencies and hesitations. There was no overall advantage for either group on the sociolinguistics test.

The absence of significant disparity was surprising to researchers, considering the early immersion students' early start, which gave them so much greater exposure to and so much more time for acquisition of the second language. The explanation offered was that perhaps the later entry students' earlier access to the written form and early focus on the code (e.g., verb agreement features) assisted them in producing correct forms. Furthermore, adolescents

learning academic subject matter through the second language were faced with more demanding tasks than the younger children, which presumably prompted more effort.

Similar positive results have been reported in other additive immersion programs. For example, second graders in a Spanish immersion program demonstrated equivalent native language development and better nonverbal problem solving than their age level peers in standard monolingual native language programs (Bamford & Mizokawa, 1991).

As is apparent from the foregoing discussion, most immersion studies address rate or level of achievement in English and the second language, or evaluate general academic performance. But a few address other issues. Four such studies are Weber and Tardif (1987), analyzing comprehension strategies of kindergartners in an immersion program (discussed more thoroughly in the subsection of this chapter entitled Strategies for Comprehension); Tardif and Weber (1987), investigating children's reactions to the immersion experience; Tardif (1994), looking at the nature, content and form of teacher talk in the immersion classroom; and Hoge and Khan (1994), exploring psychological adjustment to the early immersion experience.

In their study of first graders who had been enrolled in a Canadian immersion program since kindergarten, Hoge and Khan (1994) found that those children demonstrated no apparent adverse psychological effects as compared with those in regular programs. The factors evaluated, via teacher and parent rating, were cognitive

functioning, linguistic development, school-related stress, behavioral adjustment, and academic competence. However, those students who had transferred out of the immersion program and into regular classes did show high levels of stress reactions and behavioral dysfunction.

And when Tardif and Weber (1987) asked the kindergartners themselves in the French immersion programs how they felt about being in the program, most children were unconcerned about their inability to understand the language, felt no social shame about that inability, and found it easy to ask for help when necessary. The children also indicated that they wanted to return to French immersion school the following year and that they would send their own children to such a program.

Teacher talk in French immersion kindergarten classrooms was compared to such talk in regular kindergartens by Tardif (1994), with respect to nature, content and form. Tardif found that immersion teachers used significantly more instructional talk as opposed to organizational talk than did the teachers in unilingual classes. Discourse modifications (self-repetition, modeling, expansions and teacher questions) were used by all teachers, but the teachers in the immersion classrooms used much higher percentages of self-repetition and modeling, while the regular teachers were more apt to ask questions and provide explanations. All teachers frequently used expansions, defined as "reformulation, elaboration in response to student statement, correction of errors, vocabulary reinforcement" (p. 480). In the immersion classrooms, paraphrasing was the dominant

form of expansion, in that the children usually spoke in English, with the teacher then paraphrasing in French. The kinds of discourse modifications employed by the teachers were viewed as extremely important, because they facilitate learner comprehension and thus second language acquisition.

THE "SILENT" PERIOD

Conventional wisdom is that children experience a rather lengthy silent period when they are acquiring a second language (Krashen, 1982). In other words, "children acquiring a second language in a natural, informal linguistic environment, may say very little for several months following their first exposure to the second language" (p. 26). Krashen argues that during this silent period of one to six months, children are building up their competence by listening and understanding, via comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985), and their speaking ability emerges spontaneously, only after sufficient competence has been developed. In other words, the point at which they begin to speak is <u>not</u> the point at which they are beginning their acquisition. Rather, the point at which verbal language occurs is actually the point at which they are demonstrating their competence (Crawford, 1991).

Although the "silent period" is frequently referred to in the literature, very few documented examples of it actually exist. Valette (1964) describes the case of a 3;3 English-speaking child enrolled in a French nursery school in Paris, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., daily. After six

weeks, the child used some phrases with the teacher, and after two to three months, he used language for purposes such as attracting attention and interacting with the French-speaking peer group. Words used were those taught, e.g., numbers, colors, and lyrics to songs (albeit inaccurately repeated). After nine months, the then four-year-old child's competence in French was equivalent to that of a three-year-old native French speaker.

In her study of 31 English-speaking four- to nine-year olds in a French School in Switzerland, Ervin-Tripp (1974) described the silent period of these children. Although these children heard French in multiple domains--at home, at school, and with their peers, "some of the children said nothing for many months...My own children began speaking six and eight weeks after immersion in the school setting" (p. 115). She reported that their earliest utterances included greetings, terms dealing with interaction, and claims related to the self.

Wagner-Gough and Hatch (1975) reported on a five-year old Chinese child's second language acquisition while attending an American nursery school for four hours a day. During his first two months of exposure to English, his speech contained mostly formulas, such as "Are you ready?" "I see you," "Very good." Frequency of input was an important variable with respect to production. This has also been identified as an important variable by many other researchers, such as Gibbons (1985a, 1985b); Harley (1986); Hart (1991); and Karniol (1990).

The belief in the existence of the silent period, a period during which time comprehension is developing, has engendered the common belief that during this period, students should not be pressured to speak. As a result, several language learning methods have become popular, such as Asher's (1977) Total Physical Response and Terrell's Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983; Terrell, 1985) both of which emphasize comprehension before production.

However, not all second language researchers wholeheartedly embrace the claim that the silent period championed by Krashen exists, at least not to the extent that he appears to claim. Part of the debate seems to result from ambiguity or inconsistency by Krashen himself in his description of which people the silent period applies to.

In 1982, his discussion of the silent period referred to that which occurred while acquiring language in a "natural, informal" linguistic environment (1982, p. 26). Thus, in 1983, he claimed that the length of time before language is produced, even in the classroom setting, is very short with adults (with as little as one to two hours of comprehensible input), but is much longer with young children who often show a delay in production from one to six months. Yet, in 1985, he specified that the period applies to people acquiring language <u>in a new country</u> where language is not comprehensible simply because it is not being adjusted to the newcomer's level (see Krashen, 1985, p. 9). Thus, it is difficult to know what he means by the silent period.

However, the 1985 explication of the silent period as applying to those learning language in a new country is consistent with the descriptions given by Igoa (1995). Igoa describes lengthy periods of silence, lasting one to two years for children who have been uprooted from their own cultural environments and who are consequently suffering culture shock. This period is characteristic for those who

> experience the school culture as different from their own and where their inability to communicate with peers is caused by a language of cultural difference. (p. 38)

Igoa's "silent period" is unlike Krashen's, in that it is seen as a response to psychological adjustment rather than simply being the period during which comprehension is taking place. Like Krashen, however, Igoa views it as a period during which listening skills are also being developed.

The second problem has to do with the meaning of "silent." Although the American Heritage Electronic Dictionary (1992) defines "silent" as "refraining from speech," Krashen's use of the term is very different. Specifically, he uses it to mean the period during which the acquirer says nothing except for memorized sequences, or "routines and patterns" (Krashen & Terrell, 1983). Thus, the term "silent period" is a misnomer, and the lack of uniformity in what it means is undoubtedly the source of much of the confusion in the literature.

For example, Gibbons (1985a, 1985b) found, in a study conducted by teacher survey of 47 children from 4;7 to 11;9 years of age learning English in Roman Catholic primary schools in Australia, that the length of the silent period ranged from 0 to 56 days, with a

mean length of 15.2 days with a standard deviation of 12.2. days. Notwithstanding the assumption in the literature that younger children have a longer silent period, he found no significant relationship between the silent period and age. Following the silent period, the children's' speech was limited to set routines and patterns for a mean length of 5 1/2 weeks. Gibbons suggests that any silent period which may exist signifies incomprehension, not intake processing, and, like Igoa (1995), that a prolonged silent period probably indicates psychological withdrawal. He noted, however, that more detailed follow-up of his findings should be conducted using ethnographic observational techniques.

Fillmore (1985), and discussed at great length in Grosjean (1982) and McLaughlin (1984), has argued that children acquiring a second language first use formulaic expressions which they acquire as wholes, and that once a number of these are learned, the children analyze these into constituents.

In her case study of the second language acquisition of Hebrew during immersion in daycare in Israel of a child between the ages of 1;10 and 3;0, Karniol (1990) found only three instances of an attempt to speak Hebrew during the first two months. The child in question came from a complicated linguistic background; her parents spoke only English to her but spoke Hebrew to each other. In the daycare setting, however, she was immersed in Hebrew, the second language, for four to eight hours a day, six days a week. During the third month, however, spontaneous utterances appeared, along with the

ability to provide Hebrew equivalents to certain common nouns when asked.

"Jargonizing," defined by Karniol as attempts to duplicate second language prosody and phonology, occurred during the two-month "silent" period. It was found primarily in song singing and simulated book reading, followed by doll play which, by the age of 2:1, was conducted entirely in the second language. During the "silent" period, the child also became aware that there was a different language being spoken, and began to comprehend some of what was being spoken.

Thus, Karniol maintains that the three prerequisites to production of a second language are as follows: 1) awareness of a different language; 2) an attempt to comprehend at least part of what is being said; and 3) mastery of the second language phonological system.

Karniol (1992) has identified five types of bilingual awareness. They are:

1) awareness of the equivalence of words (manifest by spontaneous translation of one's own speech, requests for translation, and translation of others' speech);

2) awareness that language is differentially associated with different speakers (shown by spontaneous references to the language of different speakers and by code-switching to suit different speakers);

3) adjusting one's phonology and pronunciation to the appropriate language;

4) commenting on others' accents or mispronunciations; and

5) correcting others' accents or mispronunciations.

Saville-Troike (1987, 1988) proposed the existence of three phases of social speech in the process of acquiring a second language. In Phase I, children continue to address speakers of the second language in their native language, engaging in dilingual discourse. This dilingual period ends when the children recognize that the language they are speaking is different from the one others are using. It is at this point that some children experience a "silent" period, which she describes as a time during which the children largely cease verbal communication with speakers of the second language. During this silent period, they may respond with "yes" and "no," and may also name objects when specifically asked to do so.

During the silent period, private speech in the second language occurs. Private speech is considered important to childhood development, because it is believed to contribute "positively to cognitive functions in childhood" (Saville-Troike, 1988, p. 571). Use of private speech in second language learning is also significant because it may provide evidence that the children are processing the language.

In phase two, children who have undergone a silent period again interact with speakers of the second language, but do so only with single words, memorized routines, or repetition. It is only in the third phase that children start generating novel utterances in the second language.

LANGUAGE MIXING AND CODE SWITCHING

Language mixing and code-switching serve important social functions such as demonstrating inclusion in or solidarity with a particular ethnic community (Wardhaugh, 1986) or achieving certain interactional effects during a conversation (Poplack, 1982), such as conveying emphasis. These phenomena have also been the subject of some controversy, at least with respect to young children, because their existence has been argued to be evidence of formation of a unitary language system in young children, as well as evidence of the contrary--of differentiation at the early stages of development. See, generally, Fantini (1985), Genesee (1989), Lanza (1992), and Vihman (1985). For those who believe in the unitary language system hypothesis, language mixing by infant bilinguals acquiring two languages simultaneously is viewed as a sign of linguistic confusion, because they are believed to lack the awareness to deal with two languages.

Fantini's (1985) research revealed that the earliest systematic code switching appeared to be a function of the participant, as did Lanza's (1992) examination of a two-year old acquiring English and Norwegian simultaneously. Fantini's subject, a child of Spanish-speaking parents, began speaking Spanish at age 1;4 and English at 2;6 (around the time he was immersed in an English-speaking preschool). When he first started speaking English, he mixed both languages within the same utterance, mainly because he lacked the appropriate lexical item in one or the other language, having learned different

vocabulary items in different domains. Between ages 2;7 and 2;8, mixing stopped, by which time his language choice was demonstrated to be determined by the language of his interlocutor. Secondary factors governing language choice included, in decreasing order, setting, form, topic and function (see also, Genesee, 1989). To similar effect was Zentella (1982), reporting that bilingual children in Puerto Rico "follow the leader;" i.e., they respond in the language spoken to them. These studies constitute evidence that language differentiation does in fact exist at an early age.

Geneshi's (1981) examination of codeswitching in six-year-old fluent bilingual Chicanos is consistent with studies finding language choice dependent on participant. She found ample evidence of situational code-switching but few examples of conversational switches. The single factor which determined choice of language for these young bilinguals was the addressee's linguistic ability. Age and ethnicity were irrelevant. Nor did the physical setting, activity, or topic generate any measurable preference.

Conversational switching occurs when two languages are mixed during the same activity in order to convey some social meaning. According to Geneshi, the parents of her subjects reported that conversational codeswitches occurred frequently at home. Nonetheless, there was very little codeswitching in the school environment where the study was performed. Geneshi hypothesizes that this may be attributable in part because the adults at the school were models for infrequent codeswitching. However, she judged the

most likely reason for the children's paucity of conversational switches to be developmental--that children of this age simply could not yet make the sophisticated judgments needed for conversational codeswitches.

McClure (1981) performed an extensive study of the formal and functional aspects of codeswitching discourse of bilingual children, many of whom were three and four years of age. She too found that the earliest systematic switching was a function of the participants, and was related primarily to linguistic proficiency. In the youngest children, the judgment about proficiency was binary--in other words, they were not sensitive to degrees of linguistic ability. Apparent ethnicity affected children as young as four. For three-year-olds, switching to clarify a meaning by translation occurred frequently, and for children with unequal proficiency in the two languages, word-level switches of nouns predominated. Most of the young children were more proficient in Spanish, and the lexical borrowings in English almost always were found in Spanish sentences.

On the other hand, Vihman (1985) reported that an Estonian child learning both Estonian and English from birth engaged in early lexical mixing which had essentially disappeared by age 2;0. At ages 3;7 and 4;3, however, English words mixed into Estonian utterances as recorded on three occasions were 11%, 18% and 9%. At that point, the child was using code-switching strategies appropriate to his particular bilingual community. Her study provides support for the notion that language differentiation is a process.

Grosjean's (1982) summation of code switching supports this process view of language differentiation:

> Code-switching, therefore, occurs early in children but at first is used mainly to express a word or an expression that is not immediately accessible in the other language. With time it is used as a verbal or communicative strategy and ultimately as a marker of group membership. (p. 206)

Some researchers theorize that code switching occurs as a result of mixing in the language environment (Genesee, 1989); as such, an examination of the input to bilingual children is crucial to resolving this dilemma.

INPUT

"Child directed speech," or speech directed to children learning a first language, is characterized by a number of features which tend to make it comprehensible to young children. Semantic features of child directed speech include limiting utterances to the present tense, to concrete nouns, and to comments about what the child is doing and on what is happening around the child (Snow, 1986). Put another way, such speech is about the "here and now," is modified by the speaker in order to be understood, and is structurally simpler than the language adults use with each other (Krashen & Terrell, 1983, p. 32).

Such modifications may also occur with speech directed to children learning a second language. When they do, the same benefits

regarding comprehensibility result (Saville-Troike, 1981; Krashen, 1985; Ellis, 1986; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Tardif, 1994).

The frequency with which a form occurs in the input has an effect on what the child learns (see, generally, Wagner-Gough & Hatch (1975)). The formulaic utterances, ("imitated language chunks and unanalyzed forms," McLaughlin, 1984, p. 157) so often referred to in the literature reflect the language forms frequently heard by the children (Ervin-Tripp, 1964; Gibbons, 1985a, 1985b; Hakuta, 1974; Karniol, 1990; Saville-Troike, 1987, 1988; Valette, 1964).

"Prefabricated routines" are whole utterances or phrases which are memorized, while "prefabricated patterns" are sentence frames with an open 'slot' for a word or phrase (Krashen & Scarcella, 1978). These authors believe that such routines are used by children acquiring the second language because of peer and school situations that demand linguistic interaction before competence is attained. Fillmore has analyzed formulas as being essential to the language learning process, in that they serve as a critical part of the strategies children must use in order to communicate early in the process. The memorized utterances are analyzed and from them, rules are constructed. The processes used by learners are social and cognitive and are mediated by the linguistic processes of the target language speakers which cause them to select and modify data for the sake of the learners (Fillmore, 1985). One social strategy is to "Give the impression--with a few well-chosen words--that you can speak the language;" the concomitant cognitive strategies are to "Get some

expressions you understand, and start talking," and to "Look for recurring parts in the formulas you know" (from Lily Wong Fillmore's 1976 Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, "The second time around: Cognitive and social strategies in second language acquisition"; cited and discussed at length in McLaughlin, 1984, pp. 160-171; and Grosjean, 1982, pp. 195-197).

Interactional patterns also have an impact on language production, and the amount and type of interaction a child experiences will undoubtedly affect the amount of input he or she receives. Thus, in a study examining the interactional patterns of eleven Spanish-speaking preschoolers enrolled in two different bilingual programs, in a class where English-speaking children predominated, greater English proficiency (as measured by mean length of utterance) was found to be consistently correlated with use of English with other children as opposed to use with teachers. Conversely, in classrooms with predominantly Spanish-speaking children, interactions with the teachers in English were more consistently related to greater English language proficiency (Chesterfield, et. al., 1983).

Similar findings were reported by Fillmore (1982) and Fillmore, Ammon, McLaughlin and Ammon (1985). In her studies of children learning English as a Second Language, Fillmore found that in a classroom composed almost exclusively of non- or limited-English speakers, the teacher and the aide are the main source of linguistic input. In such a class, the children learned more in a teacher-fronted

class involving structured activities than one in which most of the input came from peers.

This occurred for two reasons: First, because the teachers were addressing a relatively homogenous group, they were able to modify the language used so that it served as comprehensible input for the entire group. Second, this was the only way most students would actually receive input. If the teachers did not address the class as a whole, the quieter, less social students would be unlikely to receive much attention from the teachers at all, and would consequently be effectively deprived of input they needed to acquire the language.

STRATEGIES FOR COMPREHENSION

For communication to occur, children need to learn how to make intelligent guesses about meaning (Terrell, 1985). According to Terrell, the components of intelligent guessing are context, gestures and other body language cues, a message to be comprehended, and knowledge of key lexical items. Paralinguistic features are especially important, since the communication load carried by such channels (as opposed to words) has been cited as 65% (Pennycock, 1985).

In their ethnographic study of kindergartners in a French immersion classroom, Weber and Tardif (1987) and Tardif and Weber (1987) identified numerous strategies used by the children to find and construct meaning. These included attending to and negotiation of meaning, relying on translation, participation, modeling and imitation, anticipating routine sequences and patterns of interaction,

using the filter of past experience, comparing the first and second languages, guessing, attending to paralinguistic features, and asking questions. These researchers felt that the overlapping of teacher and student talk was extremely important. They also remarked on the scarcity of natural, child-initiated communication during teacher-directed activities.

Teacher exploitation of the culture of childhood and the culture of schooling was essential (Tardif & Weber, 1987). "Culture of childhood" refers to games such as hide and seek, familiar fairy tales, shared symbols in consumer fads, cultural holidays and common play centers. By using these familiar symbols and settings, "language thus becomes mapped on the child's understanding of the situation, although not necessarily in a word by word fashion" (p. 13). "Culture of schooling " means becoming familiar with such rituals as lining up, choosing a play area, sitting in a circle, and adapting to the space/time structure of school in which movement into different activities is signaled by certain songs, phrases or gestures.

That the children were not asked to talk in French by the teachers was considered significant. Rather, the teachers reacted to what the children did or said by responding in French. These kinds of expansions (albeit in another language) are typical not only of foreigner talk (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991), but are also frequently found in child-directed speech (Snow, 1986). The entire language situation, including gestures, body movement, intonation, routines,

and rituals allowed for a scaffolding of meaning (Tardif & Weber, 1987).

SUMMARY

The major research pivotal to the research questions presented in this study has been reviewed in this chapter. Specifically, researchers have found that, at least for school age children, immersion programs are effective with respect to cognitive and language development (both in the first and second languages) and academic achievement. Although children in immersion programs have generally adapted well to the situation, suffering no adverse psychological consequences as a result, certain strategies employed by them have been found effective for comprehension, as have certain discourse modifications by teachers.

That a silent period exists for second language learners is widely accepted. However, a close scrutiny of the articles describing it discloses that the so-called silent period is really a period during which certain types of speech predominate (such as formulaic utterances and private speech). Nor does the silent period necessarily occur for all second language learners.

For young bilinguals, language mixing is thought to be dependent primarily on the language and/or language proficiency of the other participant in the conversation. Some authors believe that language mixing occurs as a result of the input given to the children; others believe that whether or not children engage in certain kinds of

code-switching is developmental--that it evolves from being used merely to express a lexical item unavailable in the first language, to being used as a communicative strategy, to serving as a marker of inclusion in a particular community.

Input is important to second language acquisition for two reasons: first, because it serves as a source of comprehensible language, and second, because it provides children with the language which they then model in producing early speech (often formulaic utterances). Interactional patterns are likewise important, because the amount of input a child receives is affected by the amount and type of interaction he experiences. Thus, in a class composed predominantly of children from the same language group, the teacher who speaks the target language serves as the crucial source of linguistic input.

Although child second language acquisition has been the subject of much investigation, there are significant gaps in the literature. Most important is the paucity of documentation about pre-school children in an immersion program. This is the primary purpose of this study.

Secondarily, this study is intended to add to the general corpus of information about second language acquisition of three-year-olds--to document more precisely whether there is in fact a universal silent period; what kind of language is produced in the first months of exposure to the new language; to what extent such language is a function of the input received; what language mixing occurs, and if it

does occur, to what extent it mirrors the language heard by the children; what strategies are used by children this young to comprehend the language and what teacher practices facilitate comprehension; and finally, how children in this age group manifest bilingual awareness.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

The purpose of this study was to examine early language production and comprehension strategies of three-year-old children enrolled in a Spanish language immersion program. Specifically, this study was undertaken in order to determine the stages three-year old children with little or no prior contact with a second language pass through during the first few months of intensive exposure to that language.

This chapter consists of three parts. The first section delineates the research design, and describes the observation site and participants in the study. Section two describes data collection procedures, including the method of data analysis, conventions of transcription and the time frame, while the third section summarizes the research methodology in general.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Research site

(Note: All names and identifying details throughout this report have been altered to insure the confidentiality of the participants).

This study was conducted at a private school in the Pacific Northwest, hereafter referred to as the IS.

The school houses a total-immersion Spanish language preschool and elementary school through third grade and a total-immersion German language preschool. In the future, the school intends to add a Japanese-language immersion track, and to offer instruction through the fifth grade.

According to the school's promotional material, the pre-school program is

> designed to encourage the child to be active, to develop creative expression, to experience the joy of learning and to have fun. Included in the program are activities such as games, songs, rhythm and creative/free play, creative arts and crafts, science experiments, gardening, celebrating cultural holidays and field trips. The children also have the opportunity to develop the social skills of sharing and helping one another.

In the higher grades, students are taught reading, writing, spelling, math, social studies, science, art, music and sports in the second language, but beginning with the second grade, reading, writing, spelling and social studies are also taught in English.

Description of the School. The school is housed in a large, three-story boxy building which is situated on a hillside. The main entrance is on the upper floor. The Director's office faces the entrance, and is glassed-in, so the activities in the office are visible. Surrounding the Director's office are several classrooms--to the left there is a library and behind the library is a classroom for younger four-year-olds. Behind that is the room for the children almost ready

for kindergarten, and at the back of the building, is the three-year-olds' classroom.

To the right of the Director's office are the older Spanish students' classrooms. First is the kindergarten classroom; behind that is a mixed second and third grade classroom; and finally, to the rear, are the first-graders. The upper floor also has boys' and girls' restrooms, and on the wall between the restrooms, a drinking fountain.

On the middle level, there is a lunch room with a German classroom and an art classroom. There are also some administrative offices on that floor. On the ground floor, there is the "English" classroom, where children in the second grade and higher have an hour or so of instruction in English each day. There are also an indoor gymnasium and restrooms, and at the back of the ground floor is a door which leads to a parking lot and the playground.

The playground is massive. Close to the building is an area covered with bark dust which contains a large wooden climbing structure with swings, slides, ropes to climb and swing from, platforms, bridges, and a sandbox. Beyond that area is a large field, largely unimproved, except for a jungle gym. On a lower level is another large field known early in the year as a "soccer field," but which now has a basketball court.

Inside the building, there are myriad examples of student artwork. One whole wall is taken up by a mural on which the students have affixed their handprints and names. The hallways are

filled with photographs of student outings and other drawings or paintings.

The classrooms are not rooms, in the strict sense. The classroom area of the entire upper floor is, in fact, one large open space which has been subdivided by room dividers. In each area are the accouterments one would expect to see in a classroom--tables and chairs, chalkboards, bulletin boards.

In the three-year-olds' classroom, there are a lot of other materials for play. One part of the space has "dress-up clothes"--high-heeled shoes, capes, frilly dresses, hats. There is a kitchen, with child-sized sink, stove, and dining table and chairs, along with pretend food, dishes, and a whistling teakettle. There is also a workbench with tools, and an area with blocks. Another section of the room is portioned off, using bookcases and pillows, as a reading area. There is an area for manipulative toys (beads and other counting toys).

Near the teacher's desk are two large tables which the children use both for doing art projects and for eating lunch and snacks. There is a pile of mats which are spread out in the afternoon for nap time, and along one wall, there are storage shelves with dividers called "cubbies" for the children to keep their lunchboxes and other personal items, and hooks on which they can hang their coats. There is also an open area for "circle time"--where the students gather together during specified times during the day in a circle, to talk and sing and to have their lesson of the day. Each child's name is affixed to the floor in the

"circle time" area; the label indicates where the child is supposed to sit during circle time.

In the classroom, items are labeled with their Spanish terms. Thus, for example, the kitchen area is called "*la casa*" (the house), the block section bears a label "*bloques*," the manipulatives say, "*área de manipulativos*," and the reading area says "*libros*."

The Structure of the Day. Class begins officially at 8:15 a.m. However, few children actually arrive that early. Instead, they are dropped off at irregular intervals, by their parents or other caretakers, from about 8:15 until about 8:45 or so. Until then, children are free to do activities of their own choosing, engaging in "free play" until class is formally begun by a call to circle time by the teacher. Even after circle time has begun, one or two students will still drift in, arriving as late as 9:15 or 9:30.

During circle time, children are greeted individually, routines involving the calendar and the weather take place, and songs are sung. Circle time might last for 30 to 45 minutes. Some kind of group work such as an art or crafts project follows, then free play time until about 10:00. From 10:00 to 10:15, snacks are eaten, followed by recess until 10:30 or 10:45. The circle time/group work/free play sequence is repeated, ending with lunch around noon, and another recess. Nap time goes from about 1:00 until around 2:30, and after the children wake up, they engage in free play until they leave for the day.

Research Participants

The subjects of this study were eight three-year-old children having little or no prior exposure to Spanish who were enrolled in the IS for the first time in September, 1994. In addition to the children being formally observed in the study, there were as many as eight other students on any given day who were not included in the study, because 1) although they were newcomers to Spanish, their parents did not give permission for me to study them; 2) they had had prior exposure to Spanish and thus did not fit the parameters of this study; or 3) they enrolled in the school subsequent to the start of the school year and hence, started school too late for inclusion in the study.

The amount of time I observed each child differed, because their schedules varied dramatically. The school day runs from 8:15 a.m. to 3:15 p.m., Monday through Friday. Before and after-school care, also in the second language, is offered, beginning at 7:30 a.m. and ending at 6 p.m. Three-year-olds have the option of attending school half-day (until 12:15) or part-time (two or three days a week). Some children went to school both half-days and part-time, i.e., two or three days a week but only until 12:15 each day. Three of the eight children in the study were enrolled full-time for full days. One child attended full days, three days a week. Another attended full days, two days a week. One child attended half days five days a week, and two children came for half days, three days a week. Their schedules are summarized in Table I.

TABLE I

CHILDREN'S SCHEDULES

	Full-day	Half-day	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur	Fri.
Amy	X		X	X	X	X	X
Ann		X	X		X		X
David		X	X		X		X
James		X	X	X	X	X	X
Linda	X		X	X	X	X	X
Mary*	X			X		X	
Susan	X		X	X	X	X	X
Tom	X		X	X		X	

*Beginning January, 1995, Mary increased her attendance to four days/week.

The children. A brief biographical sketch of each of the children included in the study follows.

Amy is a female who turned three just a few days after school began. Although her father is a native speaker of Spanish, he does not live in the household and in fact lives in another region of the country. As such, his visits are infrequent. According to the mother, he rarely speaks Spanish to his children. Prior to attending the IS beginning in the fall of 1994, Amy had been in a full-day daycare program for two years previously. She has an older brother who also started at the IS at the same time. A playmate who lives across the

street is in the same class as Amy at the IS; he started going to school there the previous year.

Ann, also a female, was 3;5 years old at the time she began at the IS. Except for four weeks of morning preschool in a summer program during the summer of 1994, she had not attended school or daycare before. She had had no prior exposure to Spanish; nor do her parents speak Spanish. In addition to her time at the IS, she also attends another pre-school the other two days of the week.

David, 3;8 in September, 1994, experienced both his first exposure to Spanish and to preschool/daycare when he started at the IS in the fall of 1994. He also attends a different preschool two hours a day, two days a week.

James turned three just a few days before school started in September of 1994. His maternal grandparents are both native Spanish speakers, but his mother's Spanish is limited. He has heard Spanish from his grandparents and during vacations in Mexico. Prior to starting at the IS, he was in a home daycare setting for two years.

Linda was 3;3 when she started school at the IS. Her prior exposure to Spanish was nonexistent, despite the fact that relatives speak a little bit of Spanish (proficiency ranging from beginner to fair). She had been in daycare for one and one-half years, five days a week, before she began at the IS.

Mary's parents do not speak Spanish, and her exposure to Spanish prior to enrollment at the IS was just "occasional words in Spanish." She had been in preschool two mornings a week for a year

before starting at the IS. Her schedule, prior to Christmas, was just two mornings a week, but after Christmas vacation, she increased to 4 days a week. She was only 2;10 in September, 1994.

Susan was 3;4 when she started at the IS. Her older sister was a returning student there, and Susan had gone along on several field trips with her older sister the year before. Both parents are also Spanish speakers (mother-good; father-fair). Prior to her enrollment at the IS, she had heard some Spanish from her parents, sister and uncles. For a year and a half prior to starting at the IS, she had attended a private in-home day care.

Tom was almost three and a half when he started at the IS, and had neither been in preschool/daycare before he started there nor been exposed to Spanish. His father speaks conversational Spanish (beginner to fair).

The Teachers. In addition to the children, the classroom teacher and aide for the three-year-old class were also observed extensively.

The teacher, who shall be called Gabriela, is from Ecuador. She earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Education from an Ecuadorian university. She has lived in the United States for almost five years. In the fall of 1994, she began working at the IS. Prior to beginning work there, she had worked in an English-speaking day care center for four years.

The aide, who shall be referred to throughout this document as Carmen, is from Colombia. She has a degree in Economics from a

Colombian university, and has lived in the United States since approximately 1990. She began working at the IS during the 1993-1994 school year as a part-time aide, but became a full-time aide at the beginning of the 1994-1995 school year.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Permission to conduct this study was obtained through the following process. In July, 1994, I met with the Director and Financial Director of the school and informed them of my interest in studying the language acquisition processes of the youngest students enrolled there. A copy of the approved proposal was forwarded to the school to determine that my specific plans would be acceptable to them. During the week before classes began, I met with several teachers at the school to explain this project and to obtain their consent to observe in their classrooms.

Of the 19 students to be enrolled in the three-year old class, ten of them were identified by the Director as having had no prior Spanish exposure. Letters were sent to the parents of those ten pre-kindergarten students on August 25, 1994 (Appendix A). Between August 28 and September 26, consent from parents of eight children was received, authorizing me to observe their children in the study (Appendix B). Consent from the teacher and aide was also received (Appendix B).

Classroom Observation

Classroom observation took place on 44 different days, from September 6, 1994 through March 17, 1995, for a total of 98.35 hours. A log of my observation sessions appears as Appendix C. At no time did the teacher or aide explain my role to the class. The teachers generally addressed me in Spanish, and I, in turn, did the same with them. I also talked to the children in Spanish, regardless of who initiated the interaction. Often, these conversations consisted of my talking in Spanish and their talking in English. Students were often curious about what I was doing. They would ask: "What are you writing?" And I would answer, "*Estoy escribiendo lo que dices*" (I'm writing whatever you say). Many times, the children would ask if they could write on my paper, which I allowed them to do.

I was not merely a passive observer in the classroom, but was a participant observer (Spradley, 1980). As a participant observer, I not only engaged in activities "appropriate to the situation," but also observed the "activities, people, and physical aspects of the situation" (Spradley, p. 54). My level of participation was moderate, in that I maintained a balance between participation and observation.

As such, I helped the teachers and children as needed. I was a frequent companion on trips to the bathroom and to the sink for hand washing. I tied children's shoes and helped children clean up messes. I sat with them at lunch and snack time and helped them open food containers. During circle time, I sang along with them,

and on several occasions, the teachers asked me to talk with the students (e.g., on St. Patrick's Day, to explain what the holiday was about). At recess, I sat in the sandbox and was the recipient of their mudpies and happy birthday sand cakes. And during the inevitable preschool squabbles, I sometimes intervened when I was the nearest adult.

The children remained confused about my role, and continued to ask, "Are you a teacher?" My response--"*Sí, soy una maestra pero no soy tu maestra*" (Yes, I'm a teacher but I'm not your teacher) appeared meaningless to them. Nonetheless, they seemed to accept me as a frequent visitor to the classroom, often greeted me with hugs, and asked me to sit next to them.

Copious notes were taken throughout my period of observation. An attempt was made to write down all the language generated by any students within my range of hearing, throughout each observation session. Because most of the talking was performed by the teacher and aide, very little language by the children was actually recorded. However, to the extent possible, I did record all child utterances, both English and Spanish, because the English utterances provided data regarding comprehension. The context, setting, gestures, and other paralinguistic features were also recorded, as suggested by Curtain and Pesola (1988). In other words, I sought to include in my notes any and all factors that could influence the phenomena being examined (Nunan, 1992). After arriving home each day, the hand-written field notes were transcribed via computer, so that any ambiguities could be

clarified while the context was still fresh. See Appendix D for an example of field notes.

Although I originally anticipated tape recording the class sessions once the students became comfortable with my presence, the fluid nature of the classroom interactions soon made it obvious that tape recording was not a feasible alternative for recording the children's speech. First of all, very little spontaneous Spanish was produced by the children. This was true even after six months in the program. Moreover, the children's utterances were frequently inaudible during the early stages. Only by lip-reading could I see that their mouths were forming the shapes of Spanish words. Most of the utterances consisted of single words uttered in response to teacher prompting, or echoes of words stated by the teacher. Later on, the utterances were frequently emitted in a choral fashion, i.e., many children calling out the answers simultaneously. A tape recording would not have been able to differentiate who was talking. However, I was able to record this in my field notes.

One 45 minute tape recording was made on March 16, 1995, consisting largely of children singing Spanish songs. The lyrics were long and complicated, and although it is unclear whether the children understood what they were singing, they were certainly able to produce the words and mimic the hand and body gestures that frequently accompanied the songs.

Questionnaire

A brief questionnaire was submitted to the parents of participating students, for the purpose of obtaining demographic data (children's age and gender), prior exposure to Spanish or other languages, and prior school or daycare experiences (Appendix E). Information about children's personality characteristics was also sought. Finally, parents were asked to identify anything else about their child that might affect learning. Guidance in formulating the questions came from Cummins, et al (1990) and Kohn and Rosman (1972).

Meeting with Parents

I attended "Back to School" night, a meeting early in the school year during which the parents were invited to come to their children's classroom and ask the teachers any questions about the upcoming school year. At that September 28, 1994, meeting, I explained my research to the parents who were present and answered their questions. I also encouraged them to keep notes of any Spanish language produced by their children away from school. Unfortunately, only three parents of the students participating in this study were there.

Interviews

In February and March of 1995, parents were contacted by telephone and in-person for personal interviews. The purpose of these interviews was to try to obtain more information about the children's

responses to school, their exposure to Spanish outside of school, their production of Spanish outside of school, and evidence of the children's awareness that Spanish was a different language than English. An interview guide (reproduced herein in Appendix F) was used in order to ensure uniform queries to all parents.

In addition to the formal interviews taking place in February and March of 1995, parents were interviewed informally when we met in the school hallways. During these informal conversations, parents occasionally imparted anecdotes about their children's production of Spanish away from the school setting. These anecdotes were included in the transcribed fieldnotes for that particular day.

Time Frame

It was originally intended that the observational component of the study would take place from September 6 to December 6, 1994. Because language production by the children was less than I expected during that period, the period of initial observation continued to December 14, 1994. My own teaching schedule normally prevented me from observing the children early in the morning. However, between December 6 and December 14, I observed the immersion classroom from the beginning of the school day, a time of day during which the children were "fresher" and more engaged in the classroom activities. Additional observation sessions occurred at approximately one-month intervals thereafter to assess changes in language comprehension, production and in teacher input. Those subsequent visits took place on January 20, February 24, and March 15, 16 and

17. On the latter three dates, early-morning observation was again possible.

DATA ANALYSIS AND CONVENTIONS OF TRANSCRIPTION

Data Analysis

Once the period of observation was completed, case studies were prepared from the field notes and from questionnaire and interview data for each of the eight children included in the study. The case studies were prepared in narrative fashion, but chronicled each child's school experience chronologically. Included in each study was information about context, paralinguistic features, and input. Each case study was then scrutinized to determine what information it revealed about the child's comprehension strategies and awareness that Spanish was a separate language. Two of the case studies appear in Chapter IV and the remainder in Appendix G.

After the case studies were completed, the field notes were again reviewed to distill utterances which could be placed in different categories. These categorized utterances form the basis of tables which appear in Chapter V.

Conventions of Transcription

The next two chapters of this document, as well as Appendix G, contain many instances of speech produced by persons in the three-year-olds classroom. Such transcribed speech appears in the narrative case studies and in the Tables containing data compilations, as well as in the discussions of the data obtained.

In order to make the transcribed speech intelligible to the reader, certain conventions of transcription are employed. They are as follows. English utterances are transcribed in standard typeface, while those in Spanish are italicized. Where a child completed an utterance begun by somebody else, the portion spoken by another person is placed within parentheses. For example, "(*blan*)*cas* " means that the child spoke the second syllable of the word. A series of three asterisks (***) signifies an interruption in the dialogue.

SUMMARY

This qualitative observational study, consisting of case studies of eight three-year-olds in a Spanish language immersion program, was designed to examine early language production and comprehension strategies. Classroom observation took place on an intensive basis for the first 15 weeks of the 1994-1995 academic school year, and at monthly intervals during the succeeding three months. Supplementing the classroom observation were interviews with parents and questionnaires for both the teachers and parents.

Nunan writes,

> If we want to find out about behavior, we need to investigate it in the natural contexts in which it appears, not in the experimental lab. (1992, p. 53)

It was the desire to learn about the language acquisition processes of these children in the natural context of their schoolroom that inspired the design of this study.

CHAPTER IV

SAMPLE CASE STUDIES

In this section, detailed case studies of two out of the eight children who were observed in this study will be presented. The case studies were compiled from field notes, a sample of which appears as Appendix D. The other six children's case studies appear in Appendix G. Information for each child is presented chronologically in the case study narratives, but will be analyzed in the next chapter.

The two children selected for inclusion in this chapter were chosen because they represent children at opposite ends of the spectrum in many ways. Linda is a girl while David is a boy; Linda attends school full-time but David only attends half-days, three days a week; Linda is extremely sociable with both children and adults while David's interactions focus mainly on the adults in the classroom. Finally, the children demonstrate very different strategies for coping with the immersion setting.

LINDA

Linda, a full time student at the IS with no prior exposure to Spanish, was 3;3 at the beginning of the school year. Linda was present on all but eleven of the days that I observed her class at the

IS. Her absences occurred on September 6, October 3 and 28, November 18 through 30, and March 15 through 17.

Observational Data

Her first action demonstrating comprehension occurred after recess on her first day at the school. At that time, the teacher was asking children to find and retrieve various objects in the classroom. When she said, "*¿Quién va a buscar un bebé en la casa de nosotros?* " Linda, along with James, brought back baby dolls. Moments later, she helped bring chairs from the table and put them in a circle in response to, "*Vamos a poner las sillas y vamos a sentar en una silla.*"

On her second day there, Linda was able to pick out an English word (though given Spanish pronunciation) from a string of utterances and ask a question about it.

> Teacher: *Vamos a limpiar. OK.* (singing) *Vamos a limpiar. Vamos a comer el esnack. No peleando. No. Ayude a limpiar. Recoge los bloques. Eso.*
> Linda: What's snack?
> Teacher: *Ah. Jugo. Queso.*

At snack time, once prompted, she said *Gracias* upon receiving her crackers.

On September 9, during free play time, Linda was drawing on a chalkboard with a dry erase marker. I said to her, "*Pregúntale a Carmen por el* chalk," which she promptly did. A few minutes later, Linda announced, "I'm hungry. The teacher replied, "*Vamos a comer en media hora.*" She took Linda to the drinking fountain, and asked her, "*¿Quieres agua?*" Linda's reponse was, "Is that the kids' *agua?*"

At lunchtime, Linda was not eating. The teacher admonished her, "*Linda, tú dijiste que tienes hambre* " (pointing at uneaten food). "*Come un poquito.*" Linda replied, "I don't like this."

At snack time the following Monday, Linda said "*Gracias*" when she got her snack, but this time the prompt was not directed to her specifically. Rather, the aide was saying "*Gracias.*" whenever she offered snacks to the children. When Linda announced that she did not want any more, the aide directed her to "*Ponla en la basura,*" which she promptly did.

The following Wednesday, Linda asked me to tie her shoes, and spontaneously thanked me for doing so: "*Gracias.*" She again volunteered "*Gracias*" during snack time. At the sandbox during recess, I told her the word for sand was "*Arena.*" She immediately repeated it. By post-recess circle time, she was singing the words to *Abre Ciera.*[1] When she was asked to show the number one on the telephone (*Enséñame el número uno en el teléfono*), she not only did so, but she also uttered, "*Uno.* During free play time, I heard her singing, to herself, "*Mi nombre es Linda,*" and while playing with a toy telephone, she said, "*¿Cómo estás mamá? ¿Cómo estás mamá?*"

Later that day, I ran into Linda and her mother away from the school. Linda asked me, "How did you get here?" I pantomimed driving, and said, "*Manejando.*" She echoed me, saying "*Manejando,*" while likewise pretending to drive a car.

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[1]Lyrics to the songs referred to herein, along with the date the song was first sung in my presence, appear in Appendix H.

September 16, during circle time, while the class was "dressing" the bear in weather-appropriate clothing, the teacher asked, "*¿Está lloviendo?*" Linda replied, "It's raining? It's pouring. *¿Está lloviendo?* No." When the teacher asked, "*¿Cuántos ojos tiene? Uno o dos?*" Linda said, "*Ojos. Uno. Dos.*" When asked if she wanted "*Niño o niña,*" Linda replied, "*Niño.*" During snacktime, when the teacher offered her a cracker, she said, "*Gracias. Gracias. Gracias. Jugo por favor.*" When I asked her, while she was painting with red paint, "*¿Qué color es esto?*, " (sic) she answered, "*Rojo.*" During free play time, she and another child were playing with blocks. Carmen admonished them to do it softly: "*Suave, suave.*" Linda then said, "*Suave. Suave. Suave.* Help me make a castle." When the teacher told her to put on her shoes: "*Linda, zapatos,*" Linda protested, "I don't wanna wear my shoes." Finally, during circle time she sang the following songs: *Abre cierra; ¿Cómo te llamas tú?; Los días de la semana;* and *Cabeza, hombros,* and she counted the days of the month up to *diez* in Spanish.

On September 16, Linda and another child got into a fight, and the other child ("Cathy") was put in time-out. The teacher said, "*Cathy está sentada porque no escucha y pega. Los que no se portan bien y pegan van a sentar en* time-out." Linda corrected the teacher: "She didn't hit me. She pinched me."

September 19, as they were doing an art project with pictures of apples, Linda volunteered, "*Manzana.*" Later that morning, as Carmen was leaving the room, Linda called out, "*Adiós.*" Another

child asked if it was time to go to sleep, and Carmen answered, "*No, es el almuerzo,*" which Linda then followed up with, "Is it lunchtime?" During lunch, Linda announced, "I ate *dos*" and then proceeded to count up to *seis*.

Two days later, during circle time, the teacher instructed the children to count blocks: *"Cuenta."* Linda repeated the instruction, "*Cuenta,*" and then, after being shown what the teacher meant, counted them up to *dos*. During circle time, the class had sung the *Cinco patitos* song. Just before lunch, I heard her singing the song, but she had changed the words to English ones: "Three little ducks go waddle, waddle, waddle," (etc.).

At the sandbox, the following conversation occurred:

> Linda: I'm gonna make a cake for you too. Two cakes.
> Me: *Dos*
> Linda: *Dos*
> Susan: *Dos* cakes
> Me: *Chocolate?*
> Linda: *Chocolate.*

On September 28, on the playground, Gabriela was singing, "*Cumpleaños feliz,*" and Linda was singing along as much as she could: "*Cumpleaños...*"

As soon as I arrived on September 28, Linda rushed up to me:

> Linda: Hi Alice. Where's your mommy?
> Me: *Mi mamá. Está en casa.*
> Linda: She's at home.

During circle time a few minutes later, the teacher was talking about brushing one's teeth (*cepilla los dientes*). Linda echoed her: "*Cepillas los dientes.*"

As I left that day, we had another conversation:

Linda: Where are you going?
Me: *A la casa.*
Linda: You're going home?
Me: *Sí.*
Linda: Why?
Me: *Tengo que trabajar.*
Linda: What do you have to do there?
Me: *Limpiar. Recoger las cosas.*
Linda: You have to clean up?

September 30, when I arrived, the class was about to play the game of duck, duck, goose (*pato, pato, ganso*). I joined the circle and pushed my notebook aside.

Linda: Why don't you need your papers?
Me: *No voy a escribir ahora.*
Linda: You're not gonna do it anymore?

As I arrived at the school on October 3, Linda called out to me:

Linda: Hi there.
Me: *Hola. ¿Cómo estás?*
Linda: *¿Cómo estás?*
Me: *Muy bien.*
Linda: *Gracias.*

Circle time was the next event of the day, and there, Linda demonstrated that she had learned all of the words to *Cinco Patitos* and *Mi Cabeza Es Redondita.* The following time I was there, Linda demonstrated her knowledge of *Estrellita.* That same day, October 5, the following occurred:

Linda: Can you put on my *zapatos*?
Me: *Zapatos blancos.*
Linda: *Blancos.* What color is this? (pointing to her sock)
Me: *Rojo.*
Linda: *Rojo.* And what color is this? *Rojo.* And this is black.

Just before lunch, Carmen reminded Gabriela of the time, which she often did as lunchtime was approaching: "*Once veinte y cinco, Gabriela.*" Linda heard it, and called out, "It's lunchtime."

On October 7, during free time, Linda, Amy, and Susan waere playing "doctor" with Gabriela. Gabriela said, "*Yo estoy enferma,*" whereupon Linda translated, "You're sick."

At lunchtime, Linda asked me, "What's your name?" I responded, "*Me llamo Alice. ¿Cómo te llamas?*" and she gave me her name. In a little while, she asked me, "Do you eat apples?" and I said, "*¿Manzanas?*" Linda rephrased her question as follows: "Do you eat *manzanas?*" At the end of lunchtime, as Gabriela was marshalling the children into a line, ("*vamos a la línea*") Linda repeated, "*La línea. La línea.*"

The following Monday, at circle time, after Gabriela directed James to get his *silla*, Linda announced, "I got my *silla*." The following conversations ensued:

> Linda: Do you have a daughter?
> Teacher: *Dos*
> Linda: *Dos* daughters? What are their names?
> Teacher: (gives their names)
> Linda: I have a sister named _____.
> ***
> Linda: I want to wash my hands.
> Teacher: *Termine su flor.* (finish your flower)
> Linda: Clean up.

During clean up time, the teacher held up some doll's underwear that had been thrown around the room. She asked, "*¿Es éste tu calzonario?*", and Linda replied, "No. It's the baby's." She then sang all the words to the hand-washing song, *Pinocho.*

The aide then directed Linda to sit down:

Aide: *Linda, sentadita derechita.*
Linda: Is it time for snack?
Aide: *¿Esnack, o almuerzo?*
Linda: Lunch.
Aide: *Almuerzo*
* * *
Teacher: *Eso le mandó tu mamá para mí.*
Linda: No. *Mí.*
Teacher: *¿Tuyo?*
Linda: *Mío.*

On October 12, Linda demonstrated more gains in singing the lyrics to songs. She sang, unaided, *Cumpleaños feliz, Juanito cuando baila, ¿Cómo te llamas tú?, Bravo, bravo, bravo* and with assistance, *Si tienen muchas ganas de aplaudir.* At circle time, while the children were yelling and screaming, the teacher asked, "*¿Es eso calladito calladito?*" and Linda answered, "No." When the teacher pointed to her head, Linda said, "*Cabeza,*" and repeated "*Muy bien*, teacher," and when she lost a paper cut-out of an arm she was using, announced, "I lost my arm." The aide instructed her to "*Pregúntale a Gabriela*," which she did.

October 17, Linda sang *La cucaracha.* She repeated the following words when they were uttered by the teacher: "*Escucha; pies; brazo.*" At lunch, the teacher asked her,

Teacher: *¿Este chocolate es mío?*
Linda: No.
Teacher: *Entonces come. ¿De quién es este chocolate?*
Linda: *Mío.*

At the end of the lunch period, Linda still had not eaten, although the other children were ready to go out for recess. The aide said,

Aide: *Linda, come completo. Come rápido.*
Linda: *¿You-yo?* (sic)
Teacher: *No, tuyo. Mío. Tuyo.* (pointing)
Linda: *Mío. Tuyo.* (pointing)

As I departed that day, she called out, "*Adiós.*"

Upon my arrival October 19, we had the following conversation:

Linda: Where'd you get that? (pointing to a button I was wearing).
Me: *En mi trabajo.*
Linda: At home?
Me: *No, en mi trabajo.*
Linda: At home?
Me: *No, en trabajo.*
Linda: At work?
Me. *Sí.*
Linda: Is this your work?
Me: *No. Trabajo en PCC.*

On October 21, Linda was singing, spontaneously, *Buenas días.* She also repeated the word "*casa*," announced "I got *rojo,*" provided translations of the words "*fantasma*" ("ghost") and "*escuchar*" (meaning "listen," which she translated as "quiet"), and at lunchtime she announced, "I got some more *manzanas,*" and asked, "Can we have *leche?*" October 26, she sang the words to *Amigos, amigos, un, dos tres.* During playtime, she wanted to comb my hair and told me to hold the mirror. When I said, "*Espejo,*" she repeated the word.

November 4, the children were doing an art project with silhouettes of two hands. The following exchange occurred:

Teacher: *¿Cuántas manos tienes?*
Ann: *Dos.*
Linda: I wanna do *tres.*
Teacher: *¿Tu tienes tres manos?*
Linda: Yeah.

Teacher: *¿Cuántas manos tienes? ¿Uno o dos?*
Linda: *Dos.*
Teacher: *¿Dónde están tus manos?* (Linda looks confused).*¿Qué es esto?*
Linda: Hando. (sic)
Teacher: *Mano.*
Linda: *Mano.*

Later, at lunch, Linda worked on her pronoun mastery:

Linda: That's yours (handing chips to teacher). *You-yo.* (sic)
Teacher: *Tuyo.*
Linda: *Tuyo. Mío.*

Linda asked me, on November 7, "Are you going home now?" I answered, "*Después del almuerzo*," and she then followed up appropriately: "When we go to bed?" Before lunch, when the teacher told the children to "*lavarse las manos,*" Linda chanted, "*No quiero, no quiero, no quiero.*".

Linda joined the other students, on November 9, in talking about "*poquita goma* " in connection with a gluing project. At one point, she asked the teacher, "Is this *poquita goma?*" and the teacher replied, "*No es poquita. Eso es mucho,*" and Linda confirmed this, saying, "It's a lot."

By November 14, Linda demonstrated more active and receptive vocabulary. She had added *Las ruedas del bus* to her singing repertoire. Here is a sampling of some of her utterances:

Linda: I want to ask you something.
Teacher: *Cuando terminemos. Más tarde.*
Linda: When we're all done?
Teacher: *Sí.*

She also said the following: *Cuadrado, triángulo, círculo, aquí, por favor,* and *de nada.* When the aide asked her "*¿Qué estás comiendo?*" although answering in English, she used, as the aide had, present progressive tense: "I'm eating my sandwich."

Linda's last day before a two-week vacation was November 16. On that day, the children were watching the Spanish version of Disney Sleeping Beauty video, *La Bella Durmiente.* As Sleeping Beauty's dress changed back and forth from pink to blue, Linda exclaimed, "Look at the *azul!*" For a period, she kept up a running commentary, echoing words she was able to pick up from the narration of the video: "She said *toma...,* she said *vamos...,* she said *buenas noches ..., azul* is blue, teacher."

When Linda returned on December 7, she had a myriad of new things to show:

> Linda: I got some gloves. What color are they?
> Me: *Azul.* (Linda nodded).
> Me: *Me gustan tus zapatos nuevos.*
> Linda: Yeah, they're the same color like yours.
> Me: *¿Qué color son?* (sic)
> Linda: Black.
> Me: *Son negros.*
> Linda: *Sí. Negros.*

At circle time, Linda announced that her mother was going to get her some boots, and repeated the word "*botas* " when the teacher told it to her. She went on:

> Linda: I got a Power Ranger toy. It's a black one. It's for boys, so I don't know why she got it.
> Teacher: *¿Tú eres un niño o una niña? El es niño. Ella es niña. ¿Tú eres una niña o un niño?*
> Linda: *¿Un niño?*

At that point, a discussion of Chanukah ensued, and an art project involving gluing paper candles on a Menorah was demonstrated.

Teacher: *Velas.* Candles *son velas.*
Linda: Teacher. Hear me. *Velas. Poquita goma.*
***
Teacher: *¿Quién puede jugar?*
Linda: *Yo.*

At lunch, the teacher was teasing her because her mother had not sent dessert that day:

Teacher: *¿Qué me has traído hoy día? ¿No Oreos? ¿Mamí no mandó Oreos?*
Linda: Mom forgot.
***
Aide: *Cómete tu sandwich.*
Linda: Make a sandwich?

That day, Linda learned to sing *Feliz Navidad,* which she repeated several times during the day. However she sang it as Police *Navidad.*

In addition to singing the songs that had been introduced thus far, Linda added some phrases in Spanish. She repeated it when the teacher said, "*Yo soy un bebé,*" but then went on to demonstrate her understanding by adding, "I'm my mommy's baby." She repeated "*No más*" and "*bolitas,*" and pointed at a chair saying, "*Silla.*"

During storytime, the teacher asked, "*¿Quién trajó guantes para el frío?*" (who brought gloves for the cold?), and Linda responded (accurately), "I did." She pointed at the teacher's pants and said (correctly), "Teacher, you have *amarillo.*" She repeated the commands in a Total Physical Response activity (*pararse, sentarse, parado, sentado)*, and told the teacher she wanted to play in the *casa.*

At one point, she was wearing dress-up clothes, and came to me with the dress untied. I tied it for her, and she protested, "I wanna take it off." I said, "Oh. *Lo siento,*" and she asked me, "What's *lo siento?"*

During circle time on December 13, the teacher asked, "*¿Quién tiene zapatos negros? Yo tengo zapatos negros."* Linda's response was, "Those are *negro.* I have *negro* shoes right here."

At the end of recess that day, the teacher ordered a time out for those who had been shouting: "Time out *para los que están gritando,*" naming, among others, Linda. Linda objected to this, saying, "I wasn't screaming."

Later, she pointed at a picture of Santa Claus and said to me:

Linda: That's Santa Claus.
Me: *Papá Noel.*
Linda: That's their *papá*?
Me: *No es su papá. Es Papá Noel.*
Linda: *¿Papá Noel?*
Me: *Sí.*

By January 20, the teacher was rewarding the children with candy if they were quiet or sang well. During circle time, she said, "*Quién canta bien tiene un caramelo,"* and Linda chimed in, "I singed." As they finished singing *Juanito*, Linda exclaimed, "Teacher, you forgot the *naríz!"* (referring to one of the verses in the song).

A few minutes later, she came to tell me that she had put some of her artwork on the wall all by herself. I asked her, "*¿Cuál es?"* ("which one is it?"), and she went and pointed out the picture. At lunch, she said, "*Caramelos,"* and then she said that she did not like

her food. The aide gave her a choice of bread or cheese: *"O pan o queso. ¿Cuál?"* and she took a piece of bread, saying, "This."

I last saw her a month later, on February 24. When the teacher asked, *"¿Quién cantó?"* her response was, *"Yo cantó."* (sic). Later, another child was crying that she wanted her mother. The teacher said, *"Está trabajando,"* and Linda translated, "She's working." Another child made the gesture of the *Bate bate chocolate* song. Linda intervened on her behalf: *"Bate bate chocolate* she wants to sing again." And when the teacher asked who could sing it quickly, *"¿Quién puede rápido?,"* she responded by doing so.

Interview Data

From the first month Linda was at the IS, she has asked how to say things in Spanish, reports her mother. By mid-February, she spontaneously said numbers, days of the week, and colors at home. When her mother says a Spanish word, Linda comments, "That's Spanish." She has also done this when she has heard another foreign language (Korean) being spoken. When sitting next to a Spanish-speaking man on an airplane, she initiated Spanish, saying *"Buenos días"* and *"Sí."* She tries to correct her mother's and sister's pronunciation of Spanish, and she is proud of her language abilities, boasting to other people, "I speak Spanish!"

DAVID

David was 3:8 when he started school in September of 1994. It was a "first" for him in several ways: not only was it his first exposure to Spanish, but it was also his first experience with preschool or daycare. He attended the IS on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and left after lunch (between 12:30 and 1:00 p.m.). David and I were both present on 37 of the same days: September 7, 9, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 26, 28, and 30; October 5, 6, 10, 12, 17, 19, 24, 26, 28, and 31; November 2, 4, 7, 9, 14, 16, 18, 21, 23, 28, 30; December 7, 12, and 14; January 20, February 24, and March 15.

Observational Data

On September 9, David's second day at school, the teacher asked him to cross his legs: *"David, ¿puedes hacer eso?"* (gesturing), and he complied. Then, while the children made placemat collages with construction paper, she asked him, *"¿Qué color quieres? ¿Te gusta negro? David, ¿éste o éste o éste?"* (pointing to different crayons) and David replied, "Black." At snack time, in response to the aide's prompt, he said, "*Gracias* ." After she directed him to take a cracker (*"Toca uno, David"*), he took one.

That day, the teacher complimented a girl in the class for doing something, saying, "*Muy bien. Bravo.*" David said, "When it's a girl you say *brava. Brava.* " [2] Later on, the aide asked him:

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[2]According to David's mother, he learned this rule about Italian when the family was listening to a recording of Italian opera singers.

Aide: *¿Ya terminaste David? ¿Quieres ponerla en tu cabina?*
David: I'm done.
Aide: *¿Quieres ir al baño?* (he was holding himself as though he needed to go to the bathroom)
David: What's that? *Baño.* You mean paint?

Later that day, the aide said to David:

Aide: *David, Ud. es un buen ayudante. ¿Quieres ayudarle a Gabriela a limpiar?*
David: I don't see what you need. A piece of tape--Is that what you're asking for? I just don't know what you're asking for.
Aide: *Es hora de limpiar.* (demonstrates cleaning up)

The next time I was there, on September 12, David was again performing his role as teacher's helper. He asked,

David: Why you cut the holes there? (sic)
Teacher: *Porque los vamos a pegar en el suelo.* (pointing)
David: To put up on the ceiling? So we can see them?

A little while later, David was leaning against the room divider and it was tipping as though it might fall. The teacher said, "*Cuidado David. Va a dejar caer la pared,*" and David moved away. At snacktime, the teacher said, "*Siéntate, David, siéntate allí hijo,*" and David responded, "I'll sit right here." During snack time, the following conversation occurred:

David: Can you scoot me up, *por favor*?
Me: (complied). *¿Así?*
David: Yep!
Aide: *¿Jugo por favor?*
David: Yeah.
Aide: *Gracias.*
David: *Gracias.* (The aide then offered him cookies, and he took some). I forgot to say *gracias!*.

At the end of snack, he responded with the appropriate action when the teacher asked him to push in his chair (*"¿Quieres empujar tu silla, por favor?* "). Helping the teacher later that day, David asked, "What time do you put the chairs in the circle?" The teacher responded, *"No las ponemos en círculo,"* to which David queried, "You put 'em on the floor?"

While Pinocchio was being read, the teacher asked, *"¿Dónde está tu naríz?"* and he pointed to his nose, saying, "Nose." The teacher said *"Boca,"* and he repeated, *"Boca."* She asked him, *"¿Cuántos años tienes? ¿Tienes tres años o cuatro?* ", and he answered, "Three." They sang, *Cabeza, hombros,...,* and then the teacher asked, *"¿Cuántas cabezas tiene? Una."* David corrected her: "It's *uno."*

On September 14, the children lay down on large pieces of butcher paper while the teacher traced their outlines. Then the children drew in their own facial features.

> Teacher: *OK, ven David. Hace los ojos. Ojo* (indicating). (he draws the eyes). *Muy bien.*
> David: Now what do we need to do?
> Teacher: *La nariz.* (Indicating, and he draws). *Ahora falta la boca.*
> David: What are *boca*? (she points)

David continued trying to make sense of Spanish while explicitly requesting clarification.

> Teacher: *OK David. En la fila.*
> David: Take a drink?

At snacktime, the teacher told Ann to take three cookies: *"Tres galletas. Uno, dos tres."* David's response was, *"Uno, uno, uno.* I told you *uno.* Not *una."* When prompted to say *"Gracias,"* he did so.

Later, the children were instructed to choose three crayons for a craft activity. David took three, and then exclaimed, "I got *tres*! I got *tres*! I got *tres*!"

On September 16, after the *Buenos días* song, David repeated the words to himself, as follows: *"¿Cómo estás? Bien gracias. ¿Cómo estás? Bien gracias."* When the teacher asked, *"¿Quién tiene rojo?"* David pointed at red. And, counting the dates, David counted along with the teacher up to *diez*. He complied with the teacher's direction in Spanish to put the shirt on the bear, and in response to the teacher's question, *"¿Cuántos ojos tiene? ¿Uno o dos?"* he answered, *"Uno, dos."* He sang *Abre cierra* and repeated the words *boca* and *gracias,* and on September 19, the word *"leche"* numerous times while arguing with Amy over whether it should be called *leche* or milk.

September 19, David told me, "I got a great idea. I can put these white pieces in the garbage." I said, *"En la basura,"* and he said, "Yeah. In the *basura*. I'm just telling you. I'm gonna cut over the trash." David asked the teacher whether he could bring his "binoculars" (made in class out of toilet paper rolls) home, and the teacher replied, *"Si quieres."* David's response: "I want to." On the playground, the aide called out to him, *"David, corre, corre, corre,"* and he began to run around.

On September 21, the teacher told the students to show four fingers: *"Enseñen cuatro deditos,"* and David held up four fingers. He said *"Cuatro"* when prompted, and repeated, *"¿Qué es esto?"* immediately after the aide asked him that question. The day's art

project involved gluing paper apples onto a tree, and David asked, "We gonna put cherries on there?" When the teacher replied, "*Manzanas,*" David said, "Apples."

During free playtime, he was at a toy workbench. He asked me, "How does it work," and I replied, "*No sé.*" David's response was, "You don't know?"

After making a toy necklace, the teacher instructed him to put it on: "*Póntelo.* " He did so. I asked him, "*¿Qué color es éste?*" (sic) and he answered, "Red." When I handed the necklace back to him, he said, "*Gracias.*" As another child left for the day, the teacher said, "*Adiós Ann.*" David immediately echoed that utterance: "*Adiós Ann.*"

At lunch, something was sticking out of his lunchbox which he had closed:

> David: Something's sticking out.
> Me: *No importa. No importa.*
> David: No problem. When does this school take the kids for walks?
> Me: *No sé.* (I shrug)
> David: *No sé.* Is that Spanish for I never know that?

According to the teacher, when David arrived at school on September 26, he asked her, "Are you gonna talk bla bla bla today?" When I arrived, he announced to me, "You know what? I already know the count numbers in Spanish." I said, "*Diga,*" and he responded by counting: "*Uno, dos, tres, cuatro.* I mean *cinco.* "

At lunch time, David participated in this conversation:

Aide: *...tienes que colocarlo en la cabina.*
David: In the cubby? In the cubby? What do you mean?
Teacher: *¿Dónde está la lonchera? La tuya. ¿Dónde está?*
David: I already put mine in the cubby.

A few minutes later his mother arrived to pick him up.

David: Hey, my mom's here!
Teacher: *¿Y dónde está el bebé?*
David: Where's the baby?
Mom: She's in the car.
Me: *Adiós. Nos vemos.*
David: I'm not going yet!

David quizzed me about color names on September 28:

David: What color is this in Spanish? Do you know?
Me: *Verde*
David: What color is this?
Me: *Azul.*
David: Yeah. In this school they know a lot of Spanish.

As the teacher began to sing the *Es hora de recoger* song, David remarked, that it was clean-up time. And on September 30, as David took a drink from the drinking fountain, he said, "*Agua.*"

October 10, as the children reentered the classroom after recess, the aide called out "*Al círculo,*" and David translated for her: "Circle time, guys!" As they sang *Abre cierra*, David called out *Brazos* when they came to that point in the song. During lunch, he asked the teacher if she had tried pumpkin pie. "*No. ¿Es bueno, David?*" and he nodded, "It's good."

On October 12, he sang *¿Cómo te llamas tú?* and repeated the word "*Orejas.*" At lunchtime, he announced, "I'm gonna wash my

hands off." The aide asked, "*¿Adónde vas?* " and he replied, "Here." When she asked him, "*¿Quieres agua?*" he queried, "What's *agua?*"

October 17, he again played his role as teacher's helper. When the teacher said, "*Llevan las sillas...*" he said, "We're moving chairs." Later, he asked, "You need more?" When the teacher replied, "*Uno más,*" be brought one more, saying, "Here's one more." At snack time, he repeatedly counted to *tres* in Spanish.

He sang *La cucaracha* on October 19, and then the teacher drew pictures of happy and sad faces accompanied with the appropriate Spanish words. She told David to "*Pon tu cara contenta,*" whereupon he smiled and said, "Happy." At lunchtime that day, the aide asked what time it was.

> Aide: *¿Qué hora es? Son las once y cuarenta y cinco. Di...*
> David: *Once*
> Aide: *Y cuarenta y cinco.*
> David: *Y cuarenta y cinco.*

On Halloween, after trick or treating, David announced, "I got *uno* !" November 2, music was playing on a cassette recorder, and the teacher tried to encourage him to dance: "*David, baila con Cathy*" David's response, as he played on a toy guitar, was, "No, I have to play the music."

The teacher asked David to choose what he wanted to play with on November 4 ("*David, ¿qué quieres?*"), and David named another child's name, "I want to go with Cathy."

November 7, he sang *Bravo bravo bravo* and *Gracias, gracias, gracias*, and on November 9, he said, "*Poquita goma.*" During lunch,

he said, "*Por favor,*" and "No more *agua.*" He added *Las ruedas en el bus* to his singing repertoire on November 14, and repeated the Spanish words for geometric shapes as the teacher presented them.

November 16, when the other children were being noisy and not paying attention to a Spanish video of Sleeping Beauty, he admonished them: "*Escuchen.* Look at the colors." During the scene where the page is getting drunk on wine, the teacher said, "*Va a tomar jugo,*" and he corrected her: "That's not *jugo.* Water."

By November 18, he had demonstrated his ability to sing much of *Juanito cuando baila,* and where words failed him, he performed the appropriate hand gestures. As a visitor to the class left, he called out to her, "*Adiós.*"

While playing with playdoh on November 18, David produced a long sequence of Spanish and English mixed together:

Aide: *Miren lo que hice. ¿Qué es?*
David: A bread man.
Aide: *Un niño. Di un niño.*
David: *Niño.*
Aide: *Ponemos la mariposa. La mariposa. ¿Qué es? ¿Sabes, Alicia?*
Me: *Una mariposa.*
Aide: *¿Quieres darle un poquito a Cathy?*
David: I need it all.
Aide: *David. Tienes mucho. Ella tiene poco.*
David: Here, Cathy.
Aide: *¿Quieres hacerlo? ¿Con éste o con éste?* (indicating)
David: *Con éste.*
Cathy: David. *Mira lo que hiciste.*
David: *¿Qué es, Cathy? Qué es, Ann? Qué es, Mark? Qué es?* (to me)
Me: (I shrug)

David: *¿Qué es?* (pointing to a different shape cookie cutter)
Me: *Es una mariposa.*
Cathy: *Mira!* (pointing to her playdoh)
David: *Niño.*
Cathy: *Mira maestra.* I wanna make a *corazón.*
David: You wanna make one of these? (indicating)
Cathy: No.
David: A *corazón.*
David: *¿Qué es? ¿Qué es? ¿Qué es, Alicia?*
Me: *Es un corazón.*
David: Yep.

David said, on November 21, "I need some *agua.*" He sang all of *Abre cierra, Gracias,* and *Cinco patitos.* In response to teacher prompts, he said, "*Yo me llamo David.*" When stringing macaroni on a string for a necklace, he counted to *diez* in Spanish after the teacher commanded, "*Cuenta diez.*" Then, as he strung them on the string, he again counted them, making the following comments: "I need one more. That will make *diez ,*" " *Uno, dos tres, cuatro, cinco, seís, siete.* Here comes *ocho. Ocho* has to come."

Some of his vocalizations are reported for November 28 under Amy's case study information. He also, on that date, responded as follows:

Teacher: *¿Qué es esto? Un pes--*
David: *--cado.*

And when the teacher asked, "*¿Quién cantó?*" he replied, "I was listening, too." As they were doing an art project, the teacher told him he'd dropped the paper cut-out of his hand on the floor: "*David, la mano está en el suelo.*" His response: "OK. I'll pick it up." As I left the classroom that day, he called out, "*Adiós.*"

At lunch on November 30, he exclaimed, "Look! Today I got baloney sandwich. I always get peanut butter and jelly!" I replied, "*Es diferente,*" and he said, "Yeah." Later, when the teacher said, "*Vamos al gimnasio,*" he said, "We're going to the gym."

A second child was playing in an area designated for a single child on December 7, and David's response was this:

> David: *Uno* on this. You can't play here. *Uno* on this. There's supposed to be *uno. Alicia,* there's supposed to be *uno.*

Other Spanish utterances that day were *aquí, buenos días, ¿Cómo estás?, árbol, trineo, lunes, martes, miércoles, estrella, campana, bombillo, bombero* (sic), *bastón, Feliz Navidad, ¿mucha goma? no, poquita, yo puedo* .

He also responded to these commands: "*David, despierta!* " (he looked alert) and "*Limpie la boca*" (he wiped his mouth with a napkin). When asked, "*¿Acabaste?* " he replied, "I'm all done," and he informed me (incorrectly) that "*Domingo* is Saturday."

December 12, the teacher asked what color a Christmas tree was: "*Un árbol de navidad. ¿De qué color es?...*" and he replied, "*Verde. Verde.*" When James was not gluing the balls on the Christmas tree neatly, David told the teacher: "Teacher, he didn't *bonito. No bonito.*" He repeated the following words: *taza, parado, sentado, pararse, sentarse.* When he was admonished for taking another child's playdoh and told to return it, "*David, devuelva el playdoh,*" he complied, saying, "OK, I'll play with my own."

On December 14, the teacher told the children to raise their hands if they knew the Christmas song: "*Levanta la mano si sabes la canción de Navidad.*" David called out, "*Yo*" and did in fact sing the song. While painting Santa Claus he announced, "I'm doing it all *rojo,*" and as I left the classroom that day, he called out, "*Adiós. Feliz Navidad.*"

We had the following conversation on January 20, 1995:

> Me: *¿Cómo estás?*
> David: *¿Cómo estás? Bien gracias.*
> Me: *¿Tú tienes cuatro años?*
> David: Yeah. I'm four. Today's my birthday. But I'm still in this class. I'm still wiping this table.
> Me: *Para limpiar.*
> David: Yeah. It's dirty, right?
> Me: *Sí. Está sucia.*

At lunchtime, the following was observed:

> Teacher: *Linda, tienes que comer si quieres* cupcakes.
> David: You gotta eat bread if you want cupcakes.
> Teacher: *David, ¿ha dicho a Alicia cuantos años tiene Ud?*
> David: *Cuatro.*
> Aide: *Se toma el jugo. Se toma.*
> David: This is not *jugo.*
> Aide: *Agua. Se toma el agua.*

March 15, as the children were lining up for a field trip, David told his mother (who was there as a driver) what to do: "*En la fila,* mom. *En la fila,* mommy."

Interview Data

On February 6, 1995, his mother reported that she had started to hear him saying occasional words in Spanish. He might ask her,

"Mom, do you know the word for 'candy' in Spanish?" Then, he would use the word for a couple of days. He would be very particular about using correct pronunciation. Periodically, he would pretend he was the teacher and break down words into phonetics (for himself; he would not try to teach the words to others). He might insert Spanish words into a sentence, e.g., "Mom, I can make *ocho* with my fingers!" He would also sing Spanish songs at home.

His mother believes he was aware that Spanish was a separate language even before he started attending the IS, because even then, he would ask how to say things in Spanish. Now, when friends say something to him in Spanish, he laughs and answers appropriately in English.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter contains compilations of data which address the research questions posed at the outset of this thesis. Who produced the utterances, what they were, and when they were produced appear in Tables II, III and IV. A listing of mixed-language utterances, both by the children included in this study and by the teachers and other children, are found as Tables V and VII. Manifestations of bilingual awareness are presented in Table VI. Concluding the chapter is a discussion of the children's comprehension strategies and teacher practices which aid comprehension.

CHILDREN'S SPANISH UTTERANCES

The children's utterances in Spanish are detailed thoroughly in the case studies which are found in Chapter IV and Appendix G of this document. They are also summarized in Table II-Children's New In-Class Spanish Utterances, By Week.

The Silent Period

Table II reveals, rather dramatically, that for most of the children, speech was not delayed for the up-to six-month period

described in the literature. Six of the children uttered at least one word in the first week; the seventh child broke her silence during week two.[3] Thus, the claim that there exists an inevitable silent period for persons acquiring a new language cannot be sustained. At least for the three-year-old children in this immersion program, most of them were not silent. Moreover, the amount of variation among the individual children was notable. Thus, these instances serve as disconfirmation of any claim that there is always a silent period.

In Table II, only the first occurrence of a particular utterance is recorded. As such, the table illustrates the range of vocabulary items spoken by each child, and the week in which that vocabulary item first appeared in the child's vocabulary, but it does not indicate the frequency with which the lexical item was spoken or whether it was repeated. Nor does it supply the context (e.g., was the child repeating something that was said by somebody else? was it a spontaneous utterance? did it occur as a result of a teacher prompt?).

Absent also from Table II are data regarding the children's singing of songs. Appendix H contains the lyrics of songs which were observed being sung on multiple occasions as well as the date on which each song was first heard. As is obvious from Appendix H, the children learned many songs. The lyrics of the songs were frequently quite complex, and with the many verses included in a particular song, could be quite lengthy.

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3 Although it is not apparent from the table, even the child (Tom) for whom there is no evidence of in-class speech spoke Spanish at home from the first day of school (per parental report).

TABLE II

CHILDREN'S NEW, IN-CLASS SPANISH UTTERANCES, BY WEEK

Wk.	Amy	Ann	David	James	Linda	Mary*	Susan	Tom
1	*gracias, nueve*		*gracias, brava, baño*	*patio*	*gracias, agua*	*gracias*	*sí*	
2	*1-10, boca, pintura, jugo por favor, ojos, naríz, cabeza*	*cuatro*	*boca, uno, cómo estás, buenos días, dos, por favor*	*duro, sí, gracias, cómo estás, niña*	*arena, mi nombre es, cómo estás, mamá, manejando, está lloviendo, ojos, 1-10, jugo, por favor, suave, rojo, agua y jabón*			
3	*roja*		*leche, basura, 4, qué es esto, adiós, no sé*	*leche, 1-6*	*manzana, adiós, cuenta, chocolate*		*dos*	
4	*dientes*		*1-5, agua, goma*		*cumpleaños, cepilla los dientes*		*chocolate*	
5	*la línea, yo*		*adiós amigos*	*falta, cucaracha, adiós, me llamo, en la boca, baño*	*cómo estás, zapatos, blancos, manzanas, la línea*		*acuesto, no, es mío*	
6	*verde, blanco, rojo, amarillo, azul, brazos, siéntense, niño, muy bien*		*orejas, brazos*	*amigos*	*silla, mí, mío, brazos, cabeza, adiós*			
7	*poquita goma, manzanas, la cucaracha*		*la cucaracha, once, y cuarenta y uno, brazos*	*por favor, agua, adiós, mamá*	*la cucaracha, escucha, pies, brazo, mí, mío, tuyo, casa, leche*		*es mío, tuyo*	
8	*cuadrado, negra/o, cómo te llamas tú*			*rojo*	*amigos, espejo, mano*			

*Mary was not observed during any of the weeks for which data is not recorded for her.

TABLE II

CHILDREN'S NEW, IN-CLASS SPANISH UTTERANCES, BY WEEK

Wk.	Amy	Ann	David	James	Linda	Mary	Susan	Tom
9	*zapatos, espejo, zanahoria, rosado, pato pato ganso*	*para mí, dos*		*lo siento*	*por favor, pato pato ganso*		*dedo*	
10	*verde, pavo, sí, manzana, papá*	*uno, dos, tres (go)ma, adiós*	*poquita goma, por favor*	*en la casa, no quiero, jugo por favor, poquita goma, verde, bloques*	*no quiero, poquita goma*			
11	*mucha, círculo, poquita goma, triángulo, rectángulo, primero, leche, no gracias, por favor, adiós*	*goma, círculo, cuadrado, triángulo, bloques, vamos*	*triángulo, círculo, niños, cuadrado, escuchen, la niña, qué es, corazón, con éste, adiós*		*azul, toma, vamos, buenas noches, bloques, de nada*	*mano, dedo, amigos, cómo te llamas, uno*		
12	*adiós, sí*		*yo me llamo, (pes)cado, 1-10, sí*	*basura*				
13	*canguro, blanco, una foca, león marino, ojos, a jugar*	*una foca, un león marino*	*una foca, león marino*	*lobo*				
14	*yo me llamo*	*aquí*	*aquí, buenos días, árbol, trineo, lunes, martes, miércoles, estrella, campana, bombillo, bastón, Feliz Navidad, mucha goma, no poquita, yo puedo, domingo*	*trineo, un dedo, (bo)quita, bravo, aquí, yo, me llamo, 1-8, árbol*	*sí, negros, botas, velas, yo, Feliz Navidad, yo soy un bebé, no más, bolitas, silla, yo me llamo, domingo, aquí, no es mío*	*yo me llamo, aquí, jugo por favor, 1-8, árbol, trineo*	*bastón, aquí, yo me llamo*	

TABLE II

CHILDREN'S NEW, IN-CLASS SPANISH UTTERANCES, BY WEEK

Wk.	Amy	Ann	David	James	Linda	Mary	Susan	Tom
15	*buenos días, cómo estás, aquí, árbol, trineo, yo, casaca, y la fila, mucha, bombilla, escribo, bolita, mira, morado, café, bien, caminando*		*verde, no bonito, taza, parado, sentado, pararse, sentarse, rojo, yo, amarillo, aquí, sí gracias*	*rojo, amarillo, casaca, yo me llamo, mocos, niño, Feliz Navidad, yo, brazos, 1-10*	*papá , Papá Noel, amarilla, casa, pararse, sentarse, parado, sentado, lo siento, no, es mío, recoger, casa, tisú, el niño, amarillo, árbol, trineo, bolitas, 1-10, naranja*	*cuatro, bien gracias, cómo estás, zapatos, yo, niña, sí, jugo por favor, buenos días, lunes, martes*	*por favor, gracias, bien*	*Navidad*
19			*cómo estás, bien gracias*	*comer*	*naríz, caramelos*			
24	*yo cantó* (sic), *dos niños, más habla, más come*			*lo siento*	*bate bate chocolate, yo cantó* (sic)		*doctor*	
27	*recoger, derecha, y izquierda, lo siento, bolita, no quiero ayuda, mesa, eso es poquita, limpiar*		*en la fila*	*escuchaed, baño, no quiero, siete, jueves, reloj, yo no sé, esto es adelante, cartero fiel mensajero, fila, limpiar, no quince, viernes, yo tengo verde*		*hola, a recoger, fría/o, y caliente, más habla, menos come, menos habla, más come, limpiar*	*1-16, casa, 123 chocolate, buenos días, cómo estás, yo cantó,* (sic) *(blan)cas, canguro, llama, limpiar, viernes, yo tengo verde, yo canté*	*1-16, limpiar*

Once a child started singing, he or she very quickly attempted to learn the songs as they were introduced, and in fact, sometimes was able to sing along on choruses by the end of the song the first time it was sung. Thus, in Table III--Dates Children Began Singing, the date on which each child became an active participant in the singing is recorded. Once that occurred, he or she was observed to sing all the songs within a short time after each one was introduced.

Singing was a major component of the early-morning circle time; it might go on each day for as much as 45 minutes or an hour, and was often repeated in an abbreviated fashion during the second circle time (after recess). As such, the children were actually forming long strings of Spanish words while singing along with the song, so the individual words listed in Table II do not accurately reflect the abundance of vocalizations the children were actually making.

Whether or not, or to what extent the children actually understood what the songs meant, is speculative. They were able to match gestures to words, but this may have been just because they were following the teacher's lead. They also seemed to recognize, from the tune of a song, when it had an English equivalent, which may have also contributed to their understanding.

TABLE III

DATES CHILDREN BEGAN SINGING

Amy	Ann	David	James	Linda	Mary	Susan	Tom
9/16	10/31*	9/16	9/12	9/14	11/18*	12/12	3/16***

*Tried to sing *Abre cierra* on 9/19; but then a non-singer until 10/31.

**This was only the second time Mary was observed; actual date was probably earlier.

***Not observed between 12/15 and 3/16; teacher reports singing began late January.

Categories of Language Produced

Jackson-Maldonado, Thal, Marchman, Bates, and Gutierrez-Clellan (1993) catalogued the early lexical development of 328 monolingual Spanish-speaking children ages 0;8 to 2;7, listing the 92 highest frequency words produced by 60% of the children. The words identified by Jackson-Maldonado, et al were compared with those produced by these children; 28 of the words were congruent (or, 30.4%). Words appearing on both lists are *papá, mamá, agua, adiós, leche, no, sí, zapato, jugo, mía, caliente, bebé, yo, gracias, niño, niña, más, boca, casa, hola, brazo, baño, aquí, bravo, basura, ojo, abrir (abre),* and *vámonos (vamos).* The Jackson-Maldonado, et al, study found *mamá* and *papá* were produced by the most children. Also very high were animal and object sounds, names of things that children manipulate and nouns that refer to people. Personal and possessive pronouns emerged early, as did *sí* and *no*.

Table IV categorizes the children's new in-class utterances by word category, by week. The number of each type of utterance, new to each child for the first time that week, is tabulated. Categories are nouns, verbs, quantifiers (which includes numbers and words like *más*,

poquita and *mucho*), adjectives (mostly color words), pronouns (including personal, possessive and demonstrative pronouns), *sí/no*, and a broad category I called social expressions. Within that category are words like *gracias, de nada, por favor, yo me llamo, aquí, cómo estás, mi nombre es* and *lo siento.* The final column includes miscellaneous words and expressions. Note that the large numerical increase in utterances occurring at weeks 14, 15, and 27 does not necessarily reflect increased instances of speech by the children; instead, it may reflect the fact that the observation period started earlier in the day, was longer, and/or occurred on more days during those weeks.

TABLE IV

CATEGORIES OF NEW UTTERANCES, BY WEEK

WEEK	VERB	NOUN	QUANTIF.	ADJ.	PRO-N	SI/NO	SOCIAL	MISC.	TOTAL
1		3	1	1		1	4		10
2	2	15	23	3		1	10	1	55
3	1	5	8	1			2	2	19
4	1	6	5						11
5	3	9		1	2	1	4	1	21
6	1	8		5	2		2		18
7	2	12	2	1	5		2		24
8		4		2			1		7
9		9	1		1		2	1	14
10	2	10	3	4		3	6	1	29
11	5	20	4	1		1	7	2	40
12		2	10			2	2		16
13	1	9	3	1					14
14	3	25	20	3	6	2	14		73
15	13	27	12	10	5	3	16		86
19	1	2					2		5
24	5	3	3		2		1		14
27	20	14	41	9	6	4	4	3	101
Total	60	183	136	42	29	18	78	11	

Social expressions, such as *gracias*, *por favor,* and *adiós*, as well as numbers and nouns, were among the earliest and most common

categories of words produced by these children. Other kinds of utterances also appeared sporadically during the first few weeks, including a couple of verbs in week two (*manejando, está lloviendo*), and one adjective that same week (*duro*). Pronouns began to emerge during weeks five and six.

Children's Language Mixing

When Spanish was spoken by the children, it often took the form of insertion of a Spanish word into an otherwise-English sentence (also known as "relexification"). Generally, the word inserted was a noun, a number word, or a color. Occasionally a verb appeared (Susan, Week 5; David, Week 11; James, Weeks 19 and 27). On only four occasions was there something other than lexical mixing done by the subject children. During week 9, Linda added a Spanish ending to an English word ("hando"), and during week 27, James added the English past tense morpheme to a Spanish word ("I *escuchaed*"). And, during Weeks 5 and 10, Susan and Linda did the identical thing with a possessive pronouns while playing a game with the teacher: both added the Spanish ending for possessive pronouns ("*yo*" or "*io*") to the English word "you," creating a new combination word--"You-*yo*."

A listing of the subjects' mixed utterances are recorded in Table V--Language Mixing, by Week (Children). Note that some of the instances of mixing recorded in Table V were actually requests for translation (see, e.g., David, Week 6; Amy, Week 11; Linda, Week 14).

TABLE V

LANGUAGE MIXING, BY WEEK (CHILDREN)

Week	Child	Utterance
1	Linda	Is that the kids' *agua?*
	Amy	Did she say *gracias?*
	David	When it's a girl you say *brava.*
2	David	I forgot to say *gracias* / It's *uno.* /I told you *uno.* Not *una.* /I got *tres.* / In the *basura.* / What are *boca?* / Can you scoot me up, *por favor?*
	Linda	*Agua, agua.* I want one more drink. / It's raining. It's pouring. *Está lloviendo. /Suave, suave, suave.* Help me make a castle.
	James	Look at that big giant *casa.*
	Amy	This is *pintura.* / Oh, *bueno.*
3	Linda	*Manzana.* Apple./ I ate *dos.* / *Cinco.* That's five.
	David	You say *leche* to her.
	Susan	*Dos* cakes.
4	David	I mean *cinco./ No* me.
5	James	Tape *en la boca.* / I have to go to the *baño.*
	Linda	Do you eat *manzanas?* / And what color is this? *Rojo./* Can you put on my *zapatos?*
	Susan	No. *Es mío.* Not you-yo. *Es mío./* You *acuesto?*
	Amy	*No* too much.
6	Linda	I got my *silla./ Dos* daughters./ I want a chair. I got a *silla.* She said *'No sillas.'* / Can I have some *leche?* Why can't I have some *leche?* / *Muy bien,* teacher.
	Amy	I wanna sing *¿Cómo te llamas tu?* / That's a *niño./ Muy bien,* teacher./ *Poquita goma* on the picture.
	David	What's *agua?*
7	Amy	*Poquita goma* on the picture.
8	Linda	I got *rojo./* I got some more *manzanas./* Can we have *leche?/* Yes, *espejo.*
	James	I got *rojo* too.
	Susan	Muffin and *jugo* and *manzana.*
	Amy	That's *poquita goma.*
9	David	I got one. I got *uno.* / No more *agua.*
	Linda	I want some *leche.* Can I have some *leche?* / I wanna do *tres./* Hando
	Amy	Pink is *rosado.*

10	Linda	I want a *verde.* I said *verde./* Is this *poquita goma?/* That's yours. *You-yo.*
	David	No more *agua./* Say *poquita goma./* A *corazón?*
	Amy	How do you say *papá* in Spanish?
	James	I wanna play with *bloques.*
11	Amy	My mommy said *mucha*....No. *Mucha* ketchup./ I need a *círculo.* I need a *triángulo./* I want *leche./* How do you say *papá* in Spanish?
	Linda	I wanna play *bloques./* Look at the *azul*; she said *toma*; she said *vamos;* she said *buenas noches*; *azul* is blue, teacher.
	Ann	*Bloques.* Lookit.
	David	*Escuchan.* Look at the colors./ That's not *jugo.* Water./ A *corazón.*
	James	I want *jugo.*
	Mary	I have *uno.*
12	David	I need some *agua./* That will make *diez.* Here comes *ocho.*
13	James	*Lobo.* It's a *lobo.* Teacher, he said it's a dog.
	Amy	I wanna do *ojos.*
14	David	There's supposed to be *uno. Uno* on this./ *Bombero, bombero,* star, *bombero.* (sic)/ I put a circle around this 'cuz it's a *bombillo./* *Domingo* is Saturday./Hey, *aquí.*
	Linda	Teacher, you have *amarilla./* What's *lo siento?/* Teacher, hear me. *Velas. Poquita goma.*
	James	Put it in *la basura.*
15	Amy	Not *mucha/* I did a *bolita./* I'm doin' *rojo* and *amarillo./* I want some more *jugo.*
		She's not *caminando.*
	James	I'm not pickin' *mocos./* Where's *jugo?/ Casaca.* Mine./ I want some *jugo* and *muffin.*
	David	Teacher, he didn't *bonito./* Thank you. *Gracias./* I'm a *niño./* I'm doin' it all *rojo.*
	Linda	I need a *tisú./* You have *amarillo./*It's time. *Recoger./* Those are *negro.* I have *negro* shoes right here.
19	Linda	Teacher, you forgot the *nariz!*
	David	I got *caramelos.* /He gave me some. *Gracias./* This is not *jugo.*
	James	I can *comer* now.
24	Amy	Does she have *dos?/ Dos niños?* What are their names?
27	James	I *escuchaed./* I need to go to the *baño./* I don't got a watch or a *reloj./* I'm a *niño./* I washed my *manos./* I have to get in *fila.*
	Amy	No. It's *recoger.* / Here's a *bolita./* That *mesa?/* I need some *agua./* I have to get a *tisú.*
	Susan	Can I go in *casa?*
	Mary	This one's *fría?/* Hi. Hello. *Hola.*
	David	*En la fila,* mommy.

CHILDREN'S BILINGUAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS

That the children were aware that Spanish was a separate language from English was manifest in a myriad of ways. Most common were behaviors manifesting awareness of the equivalence of words, including translation of own or others' speech or requests for translation. Table V sets forth numerous examples of these behaviors. In addition, many parents reported that their children (David, Linda, James, Mary, and Tom) asked how to say words in Spanish.

Occasional references to the language of other speakers also occurred. For instance, David, on September 26, asked the teacher, "Are you gonna talk bla bla bla?," and on September 28, he commented to me, "In this school they know a lot of Spanish;" on December 8, Amy protested that Papá Noel "doesn't say Spanish;" James' father said that his son's ears will "perk up" when he hears Spanish being spoken, e.g., on television, and he will comment, "That's Spanish;" Linda's mother reported that she says, "That's Spanish," when she hears a Spanish word. Once Linda even [erroneously] identified another foreign language as Spanish when she overheard it being spoken.

Some of the children have identified themselves as Spanish speakers: Amy, on October 3, announced, "I can talk Spanish," and according to parental report, Linda proudly announces to visitors, "I speak Spanish."

From their earliest utterances, it was obvious that although the children may not have completely mastered the Spanish sound system, they were adjusting their speech to conform to Spanish sound patterns; the first time the children said the teacher's name, it was done with the rolled "r." This was true even for Tom who did not say any Spanish words in class until after the fifteenth week. Nonetheless, when he called Gabriela's name the first week, it sounded like Spanish. The only exception was when Amy pronounced "*triángulo*" with English pronunciation on November 14.

Several of the parents also commented that it sounded like Spanish when their children talked Spanish. For example, David's mother reported that he was very particular about his own pronunciation, and Ann's mother marveled at her daughter's ability to roll the 'r' and make the Spanish 'd' sound (which is somewhere between the English /d/ and /ð/) when she said *verde,* and specifically mentioned the sing-song nature of the language and difference in rhythm which characterize Ann's Spanish utterances. According to Linda's mother, Linda even tries to correct her mother and sister's pronunciation of Spanish.

Although it is difficult to characterize the language mixing which occurred in the classroom as code switching to suit different speakers, there were parental reports of the children adapting their language to fit the speaker or the context. Amy, for example, places her orders in Mexican restaurants in Spanish (*taco, por favor*), and responds to her Spanish-speaking grandparents in Spanish. Susan's

father reported that when he and his wife (both good Spanish speakers) talk to her in Spanish, she does not ask what they are saying, but willingly responds. Mary has said "*adiós*" and "*gracias*" to a Spanish-speaking mother's helper. And finally, Linda has initiated verbal interactions in Spanish with at least one Spanish-speaker, addressing a Spanish-speaking man on an airplane with "*Buenos días*," and saying "*Sí*" to him.

Finally, many instances manifesting awareness of the equivalence of words were observed. Examples of some of the instances recorded in the classroom are compiled in Table VI--Awareness of Equivalence of Speech. In addition, many parents reported that their children asked how to say words in Spanish (Mary, Tom, James, David and Linda).

Note that the children's requests for translation may be either asking how to say a word in Spanish or asking the meaning of a Spanish word. Moreover, some of the utterances classified as "Translation of others' speech" could also be categorized as requests for translation, because the child's translation had the intonation of a question though not the form. Utterances which would fall into that category would be Susan's of October 3 and Linda's (with me) on September 28 and with the teacher on November 14. Note further that the teachers did an inordinate amount of translation of English into Spanish; what the child said in English was frequently restated in Spanish as a question or expansion of the child's utterance. For example, a child might say, "Let's start all over again," and the

teacher would confirm the child's statement with, "*OK. Empezamos otra vez.* " This latter probably served as input to the children, but is not catalogued in this report.

TABLE VI

AWARENESS OF EQUIVALENCE OF SPEECH

Requests for translation	9/9	David: What's that? *Baño.*
	9/14	David: What are *boca*?
	9/21	David: *No sé.* Is that Spanish for I never know that?
	9/28	David: What color is this in Spanish?
	9/30	David: *¿Patio?* What do you mean?
	10/5	Linda: What color is this? Me: *Rojo.*
	10/7	Amy: What's red in Spanish?
	10/12	Carmen: *¿Quieres agua*? David: What´s *agua?*
	11/22	Amy: How do you say *papá* in Spanish?
	12/7	Linda: What's *lo siento?*
	3/16	Amy: What's right in Spanish?

Translation of own speech	9/12	Linda: It's raining. It's pouring. *¿Está lloviendo?*
	9/14	Linda: Sand. Me: *Arena.* Linda: *Arena*
	9/19	Linda: *Manzana.* That's apple.\ Linda: *Cinco.* That's five.
	10/10	Amy: White is *blanco.*
	10/17	David: *Uno dos tres.* One two three.
	10/31	Children: Thanks for the candy. Teacher: *En español.* James/Linda: *Gracias.*
	11/2	Amy: Pink is *rosado.*
	12/13	Amy: She's not *caminando.* She runs.

Translation of others' speech	9/12	Gabriela: *Cinco minutos.* Tom: 5 minutes
		Gabriela: *En un minuto.* Tom: In one minute
	9/14	Gabriela: *Esta es verde.* Amy: Green.
	9/16	Gabriela: *Fruta, pera.* David: That's a pear.
		Gabriela: *Hay que lavar.* David: We're washing up.
	9/19	David: *Leche.* Amy: Milk.
	9/21	Gabriela: *Manzanas.* David: Apples.
		Me: *No sé.* David: You don't know.
		Me: *No importa.* David: No problem.
	9/26	Gabriela: *¿Y dónde está el bebé?* David: Where's the baby?
	9/28	Me: *Está en casa.* Linda: She's at home.
		Me: *Limpiar. Recoger las cosas.* Linda: You have to clean up?
	9/30	Gabriela: *Por favor.* Susan: Please
	10/1	Gabriela: *Amarillo.* Susan: Yellow.
	10/3	Gabriela: *Yoghurt primero.* Susan: That first?
	10/7	Carmen: *Basura.* David: Garbage.
	10/10	Gabriela: *Yo estoy enferma.* Linda: You're sick.
		Gabriela: *Al círculo.* David: Circle time guys.
		Carmen: Green. Amy: *Verde.* Carmen: Red Amy: *Rojo.*
	10/12	Carmen: Blue Amy: *Azul.*
	10/17	Child 1: *Un brazo.* Ann: Arm.
	10/19	Gabriela: *Jugo* Susan: Juice.
	10/21	Gabriela: *David, pon tu cara contenta.* David: Happy.
		Gabriela: *Fantasma.* Linda: Ghost.
	10/24	Gabriela: *Escucha* Linda: Quiet.
	11/4	Gabriela: *¿Quién va a hacer un fantasma?* Amy: Ghost
		Carmen: *No se comparte en el tiempo de almuerzo.* Ann: No
	11/9	sharing.
		Gabriela: *Eso es mucho.* Linda: It's a lot.
	11/14	Gabriela: *Una tela de araña.* David: Spiderweb.
	11/30	Gabriela: *Cuando terminamos.* Linda: When wee're all done?
	12/8	Gabriela: *Vamos al gymnasio.* David: We're goin' to the gym.
		Gabriela: *Otro Nate.* Amy: Another Nate
	12/15	Gabriela: *Ponlo en la basura.* James: Put it in *la basura.*
		Gabriela: *Uno no come la ropa.* Mary: You eat food.
	1/20	Gabriela: Put your shoes on. Mary: *Zapatos.*
		Gabriela: *Tienes que comer si quieres* cupcakes. David: You
	2/24	gotta eat bread if you want cupcakes.
		Gabriela: *Está trabajando.* Linda: She's working.

INPUT TO THE CHILDREN

Virtually all of the language spoken by adults in the classroom was Spanish. Teachers rarely spoke English. Exceptions occurred occasionally in disciplinary situations or when the teachers wanted to

explain some norm of expected behavior. When a child was seriously misbehaving, the teacher might take that child aside, away from the other children, and talk to him or her in English about his conduct. Once in a while, the teacher might insert an English phrase into an otherwise Spanish chain of speech.

Examples of English insertions include the following: "You want to do a puzzle, or play with blocks?" (9/6), "Amy, this is for you" (9/9), "Who had it first?" (9/19), "Linda, don't scream. We need to talk softly, inside voice" (9/21), "Today we're going to have a friend do a project with you. She doesn't speak Spanish, so we have to do it in English" (9/26); "If you guys keep talking, we'll go upstairs and we won't watch the end" (11/16).

There were also instances where the teachers inserted English lexical items into Spanish phrases. Examples of these are recorded in Table VII-Code Mixing, by Week (Input). These generally were discipline words (e.g., "time out,") or names of food items or art/crafts supplies (e.g., peanut butter, goldfish, tape, paint).

Other mixed input recorded in Table VII came from Children 1 through 7, and a parent volunteer ("Parent"). There were two children in the classroom who were Spanish/English bilinguals: Child 1 attended daily, while Child 2 attended class occasionally (when her mother was substituting at the school). These two children also mixed English and Spanish. Children 3 through 7 are other children in the classroom who were not included in this study.

TABLE VII

CODE MIXING BY WEEK (INPUT)

Week	Speaker	Utterance
1	Gabriela	*Esto es* kindergarten./ *Vamos a hacer un* choo choo *tren./* Goldfish. *Vamos a comer pescaditos./ Ella tiene un* owie *en su ojo./*Mommy *viene a* lunch. Lunchtime. Mommy *viene en la hora del alm*uerzo./ *¿Tú quieres más* goldfish?/ *Vamos a comer el es*nack./ *¿Trajiste* blanky?
	Child 1	I'm not *triste./* I don't wanna *abrela./ Maestra,* can you get the mats down?
	Child 2	There's another *baño./* I want to hold these *flores.* *Más* fishes *por favor./* You open *la papel* for me./ *Yo* need*o ayuda porque es difícil./ De la* purse./ *Porque* he shouldn't do it.
	Me	*Pregúntale a Carmen para el* chalk.
	Child 6	*Gracias.* Thank you.
2	Gabriela	Hold hands. *Dale la mano, por favor./ Los que no se portan bien y pegan van a sentar en* time out.
	Child 1	My *manos* are dirty./ I'm finished with my *uno./* 'Cuz my mama gave me dos *jugos./* Are you going to put them up there? *¿Arriba?*
3	Gabriela	Mama's working. *La mamá de Linda está trabajando./ Estos son* chips *para mí./ ¿Dónde está mi* cake?/ *¿Qué pasó?* What happened?/*Mande.* You're OK. Daddy's working./Cake? *¿De chocolate?*
	Child 3	Are we gonna go in the *patio?*
	Parent	*Primer,* we want to warm up./ Step. *Salto./* Now we try a movement with *banderas.*
4	Gabriela	Turn on your ears. *Prendan las orejas. Doble* tape *en la boca./ Aquí el* glue. Goma./ *No son* peaches. *Son mandarinas./* Time out *por todos.*
	Child 1	I didn't *comer* all of it. I did *cinco.*
5	Gabriela	*Yo voy a hacer un* cake./ *Este* playdoh./ *Galletas con* peanut butter./ *Voy a traer un* kleenex *para Amy./ ¿No le gustas* peanut butter?/ *¿Quién está* whining *hoy día?/ Dile lo siento. No pegan.* Say I'm sorry./ Say *adiós a la película./ Acá.* This way./ *James, ¿quiere ir a chequear que todo está limpia?* You wanna be my special helper and see if everything's clean?/ *No es* raccoon. *Es una ardilla./ No, él es* the line leader *porque vino primero.*
6	Gabriela	*¿Quieres ir en un* time out?/ Say *lo siento./* Blow. *Más./ A mí me encantan los* candies./ *Eso va al* sandbox./ Cookie, *mío.*
	Carmen	Pink es *rosado.* Green es *verde.*
7	Gabriela	*Traigame una almohada.* Can you get me a pillow please?/ *Amy, ésto es para poner inyecciones aquí.* We don't put food in the shot. *La comida es en la cocina./Tom, si ves?* You do it./*Tu quieres un* cookie *acaba de comer. Come tu* sandwich *y yo te doy un* cookie./ *Pon el* sheepy*en el suelo.*
	Child 1	*Yo quiero.* I want a cookie.
8	Child 3	That's not *poquita goma.* That's a lot of *goma.*

9	Gabriela Child 1	*Amy, limpie la nariz.* Icky./ *Come tu* bagel. *No quiero.* I'm the princess.
10	Child 6	*Mira*, there's some on your lap.
11	Gabriela Carmen Child 1 Child 3 Child 4	*Vaya a correr dos veces.* Run, run, two laps. *Tu* babysitter, *no. Tu niñera.* I wanna make a *corazón*. That's *mío.* I wanna be *enfermo.*
12	Gabriela	Can you say, *'Yo me llamo.....*"/
13	Child 1 Child 2	Horse. *Un caballo.* She hops like a baby but she has a *barriga.*
14	Gabriela Child 5 Me	*Todo en un* time-out. That's not *bombero* (sic). *No, sábado es* Saturday. *Domingo es* Sunday.
15	Gabriela	*Ya no más* playdoh. Playdoh is full. *Está llena* playdoh. *¿Quieres pintar?* Paint?/ *¿Dónde está el* owie?/ Time out *para los que están gritando.*
19		
24		
27	Child 6 Child 7	That's not *jugando.* There are three people in the *bloques.*

CHILDREN'S COMPREHENSION STRATEGIES

The children demonstrated comprehension almost immediately. Within minutes of the time they entered the classroom, they evidenced an understanding of what was expected of them. There appeared to be a variety of comprehension strategies they used to make sense of their experience. The fact that the activities in this classroom were "highly ritualistic," as they were also in the classroom described in Weber and Tardiff (1987) contributed greatly to the children's awareness of what was going on. Many of the strategies described by Weber and Tardif were also manifest in the classroom of three-year olds at the IS.

Children gained the most information by attending to the context. If the teacher asked, "*¿Puedes ponerlo en la basura?*" while

pointing at the trashcan, the children immediately learned what *basura* was (as did Ann and Linda on September 7). Expressions rapidly became meaningful to children in many other contexts, as they were integrated with action. Thus, as demonstrated by their actions in response to the utterances, the children soon understood a range of utterances accompanied by gesture, such as *¿quieres pintar?* (pointing to easel); *¿quieres más?* (offering juice or crackers); *escuchamos* (pointing to ears); *¿quieres agua?* (at the drinking fountain); *¿quieres cortar con las tijeras?* (offering scissors); *vamos a jugar bloques* (in the block area); *es hora de recoger/limpiar* (while cleaning up); *lavamos las manos* (while washing hands); *¿quieres traer la silla?* (while patting the chair back).

Another effective strategy was participation, modeling and imitation. In other words, children did and said what they saw other children or the teachers doing. Thus, on the first day of class, children understood immediately that when the teacher handed them a number, they were supposed to put it on the calendar, because they had seen other children doing it.

Imitation was not confined to actions, but also to words. For example, on the first day when the teacher showed a picture of a bear and growled, many of the children immediately imitated her. Some children, particularly Linda, frequently echoed what they heard the teacher saying. This accounts for the high number of utterances recorded for Linda in the early weeks.

Predictable routines in the classroom enabled the children to anticipate what was going to happen next. Thus, when the teacher started singing the clean-up song (*Vamos a recoger),* the children knew both that it was time to clean up and that snacktime or lunch time was soon to follow. By the fourth day of class, after singing the song, when the teacher said, "*Vamos a limpiar porque vamos a comer el...*" the children called out, in chorus, "SNACK." Upon hearing the song on September 12, Linda asked, "Is it time for lunch?" And on September 28, David announced, "It's clean up time now."

Children knew that the classroom day would begin with circle time, and they would put their chairs in a circle in anticipation of this. They expected that they would sing *Abre cierra* during circle time immediately following recess. They knew that after circle time, they would be directed to an arts/craft activity, that they would be told to use *"poquita goma"* and that after that was over, they would have some free play time. The *Vamos a recoger* song signaled snacktime or lunchtime, and children would go wash their hands before eating when *Pinocho* was sung. They knew recess was next, and would line up in preparation for going outside. They knew they had to line up at the end of recess, that the line-up was preceded by the teacher calling out "*Es hora,*" and she would signal the line-up by standing by the gate with her hand raised. The routine prescribed that they would stop at the drinking fountain for a drink and go to the bathroom after recess, and then were supposed to sit on the floor for the second circle time of the day.

The children used their past experience to find meaning, as well. The first day, after Ann got her snack, her mother said, "*Gracias.*" It appeared that Ann was used to having her mother prompt her to say thank-you after receiving something, so as soon as she heard her mother's voice, her immediate reaction was to say, "Thank you."

The first day of school, the teacher asked the children how old they were (*¿Cuántos años tienes?*), and while doing so held up her fingers (three on one hand and three on the other, because she was 33). It appeared that Ann knew, from past experience, that a question followed by holding up fingers is probably a question about age, and so Ann held up three fingers and announced, "I'm three."

Familiar intonation patterns alone were enough to generate responses in children even in the earliest days. Spanish, like English, uses a rising/falling intonation pattern for WH questions (who, what where, when, how), and a rising pattern for yes/no questions. Even the first day, some children appeared to respond to questions based on intonation alone. Thus, when the teacher asked, "*¿Quién sabe los colores?*" , Amy raised her hand. And when the teacher asked, "*¿Puede decir gracias?*", Amy nodded. The next day, when the teacher asked Amy, "*¿Son tuyas?*" as she held up some socks, Amy again nodded. And on the third day of school, when the teacher asked Susan if she wanted help, ("*¿quieres ayuda?*"), Susan answered, "*Si.*" Countless similar examples can be found throughout the field notes.

Children were also able to respond to non-linguistic elements of speech, such as an accusing tone of voice (especially when embedded

within the appropriate context). One day, a toy dinosaur was broken. The teacher picked up the broken dinosaur and asked, "*¿Quién rompió el dinosauro?*" The culprit, James, immediately denied responsibility, saying, "Not me!"

Other paralinguistic cues provided meaning for children as well. For example, when my response to David's question was "*No sé,*" accompanied by a shrug of my shoulders, David correctly interpreted the words by means of the gesture, saying, "*No sé.* Is that Spanish for 'I never know that?'"

It also appeared that children compared English to Spanish, and relied upon some of these comparisons to understand what was taking place. One example of this is when the children played a game with Spanish and English pronouns (*tuyo*/you-yo). Another instance occurred on September 19; when the teacher said, "*No soy la bebé,*" Susan responded, "You be the baby." A week later, when David's mother came to pick him up, unaccompanied that day by David's baby sister, the teacher asked, "*¿Y dónde está el bebé?*" David's translation (apparently for his mother's benefit) was impeccable: "Where's the baby?"

Songs the children knew in English which were sung in Spanish in the classroom also provided a way for children to compare the language. Thus, the traditional fingerplays and hand gestures associated with "Twinkle Twinkle Little Star," "The Eentsy, Weentsy Spider," "Five Little Ducks," "Head, Shoulders Knees and Toes" and "The Wheels on the Bus," made the Spanish versions of those songs

(*"Estrellita," "La araña pequeñita," "Cinco patitos," "Cabeza, hombros"* and *"Las ruedas en el bus"*) quick to learn. Familiar tunes, unaccompanied by gestures, were also responded to by the children. "Jingle Bells" had two Spanish renditions--*Cascabel* and *Navidad, Navidad.* It was to the familiar tune of "Jingle Bells" that normally reticent Tom mouthed his first Spanish word in class, "*Navidad*" (on December 13). And after singing the theme song to the "*Barney*" television show in Spanish, (*"Yo te amo"*) Linda provided a translation: "That means I love you" (on February 24).

Likewise, the symbols and rituals of American secular holidays were brought into the Spanish classroom. Thus, children learned about witches, bats, and ghosts at Halloween; about turkeys and pumpkin pie at Thanksgiving; and about Christmas trees, ornaments and Santa Claus at Christmas.

Generally, Spanish videos were viewed once a week, after recess. Those videos were generally familiar to the children. Most popular were the Disney videos such as Sleeping Beauty, Bambi, The Jungle Book. Many of the children appeared to recognize the stories, characters, and songs. Even if they were unable to understand the particular words being spoken during the video, they were able to grasp the plot due to their prior knowledge of the story. Some of the children, even early on, were able to recognize isolated words from the videos and repeat or comment on them.

Children rarely relied on teachers' spontaneous translation of their own utterances into English, because this occurred infrequently.[4] Thus, the children were not afforded the opportunity to tune out the Spanish while waiting for the English. On the other hand, some children, particularly David, asked a lot of questions in trying to determine meaning. Often, this consisted of asking for translations (see Table VI). Other times, however, they asked questions which demonstrated that they were trying to make good guesses about meaning. For example, on September 9, when the teacher told David to go to the *baño*, he asked, "You mean paint?" Shortly thereafter, he said, "I don't see what you need. A piece of tape? Is that what you're asking for?" Two weeks later, when the aide told him to put something in the trash (*Tienes que colocarlo en la basura*) he asked, "In the cubby?"

Other times, questions illustrated guessing that was somewhat more random. Even those guesses showed that the child was relying on some extralinguistic information, however, such as familiar routines. On October 10, when Linda told the teacher she wanted to wash her hands, the teacher told her to finish her art project, "*Termine su flor.*" Linda guessed, "Clean up?" to which the teacher responded, "Finish." And on October 12, while drawing an incomplete picture of herself during circle time, the teacher asked, "*¿Qué nos*

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4 Rather, as indicated previously, the teachers' translations were almost exclusively confined to translation of the children's English utterances into Spanish.

falta? ¿Mis orejas? " (What are we missing? My ears?) and David pointed to his arms, saying, "*Orejas.*"

SUMMARY

The data compilations recorded in this chapter reveal that within the first two weeks of school, seven out of the eight children being studied had produced at least one in-class utterance in Spanish, and only one of the children underwent a lengthy silent period. Sporadic mixing of English and Spanish occurred in the input, generally consisting of insertion of an English word into the Spanish speech stream. However, language mixing by the children was in the opposite direction (Spanish words inserted into English utterances), and occurred primarily, but not exclusively, in speech directed to the Spanish-speaking teachers. Jargonizing and private speech occurred contemporaneously with communicative speech, as did manifestation of awareness that two languages were being spoken. Children employed a medley of strategies to make sense of the new language surrounding them.

How these findings compare with the findings of other researchers in the field will be discussed in Chapter VI. The implications of these results for the research questions posed at the outset will also be addressed.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to observe and describe an immersion program for three-year-olds, particularly with respect to specific features of the language acquisition process. The major aim of this study was to investigate the characteristics and existence of a silent period for majority language three-year-olds in a school-based immersion program. Included within that purpose was the desire to arrive at a more specific definition of "silent."

Secondary goals included analyzing the kinds of speech that emerged in the early stages of language acquisition, to whom it was directed, and the circumstances under which it was produced; discovering when and how the children manifested bilingual awareness; and ascertaining what strategies were used by them for comprehension.

Using participant observation methodology, eight English-speaking three-year-olds attending a Spanish-language immersion school were observed for 98.35 hours over a six month period beginning with the first day of the 1994-1995 school year. Questionnaires completed by, and interviews with, the children's parents supplemented classroom observation.

An analysis of the research questions sought to be answered follows.

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The Silent Period

The first question asked "Is there a silent period during the initial stages of second language acquisition for preschool children?" This question can only be answered by defining what "silent" means in this context, particularly because a lack of precision in the definition has led to inconsistency and confusion in the literature discussing it. As indicated in the Review of the Literature, writers such as Krashen (1981, 1982, 1985) have said that the silent period includes the time during which new language learners are using unanalyzed formulas in their speech.

In my view, "silent" should signify an absence of speech, and if a language learner is speaking, then he or she is not silent. The fact that the utterances are formulas is irrelevant. If the learner is using the formulas at the appropriate times and in the appropriate contexts, that demonstrates that he or she comprehends what the utterance signifies, when taken as a whole with regard to context, paralinguistic features, and other non-verbal cues. If the learner is speaking, notwithstanding resort to formulas, he or she is attempting to communicate. Although she may not have full communicative competence, she does have the competence to participate in the social rituals which fit those utterances. As such, I disagree with Krashen's

analysis which treats such utterances as something less than "real" speech.

That being the case, the data here reflect that a silent period did not exist for most of the children under consideration. James, Amy, David and Linda began speaking the first week, and continued to do so throughout the period of the study. Although some of the early utterances were formulaic social expressions (*gracias, por favor, jugo por favor, mi nombre es, adiós*), others were not. Many of the words spoken were numbers, colors, and the names of things. Emerging in the fifth, sixth and seventh weeks were pronouns. These four children, especially Linda, imitated words spoken by other people, spoke Spanish words while they were asking the meaning of those words, and uttered Spanish words in private speech (particularly Amy and James, the latter frequently while singing songs to himself).

This private singing is equivalent to the "jargonizing" which Karniol (1990) deems essential to the process of duplicating second language prosody and phonology. However, unlike Karniol's subject who engaged in such speech exclusively during her two-month "silent period," for these four children, "private speech" here took place on the same days and during the same weeks that they were engaging in speech for communicative purposes. For them, then, although private speech may have been used to practice Spanish phonology, it was not the only forum for practice. They seemed equally willing to practice speaking in communicative contexts--to try out Spanish at circle time,

to answer teachers' questions, and to play language games with teachers, each other, and me.

Tom was the only child who appeared to have a true "silent" period, as he did not speak Spanish at school for more than three months. However, during that time, he was not completely silent. He did interact with Gabriela in English; he did not cease communication entirely as Saville-Troike (1987; 1988) claims these silent (or "inner directed") children do. Nor was he silent at home; his father reported that he uttered Spanish words at home after his first day at school. His silence seemed to be based on adjustment factors, as well as a conscious decision on his part to remain silent until he reached a milestone in his own life, i.e., turning four.

Although Susan said "*sí*" her first day at school, her production of Spanish was limited to less than ten different words until the fourteenth week of school. At that point, her language production blossomed. Like Tom, however, at no time was she silent. Although she tended to be very quiet, she engaged in animated dilingual discourse with the teacher every lunch time, as she did with me whenever I accompanied her to the bathroom.

Ann volunteered a couple of Spanish words early on, but was thereafter quiet as far as Spanish vocalizations went, until the ninth week, at which point she joined in the singing and started to talk. This continued through week 13, but after that she was sick for a couple weeks, and I had very little opportunity to observe her during my occasional visits in 1995. Although her interactions tended to be

mostly with one of the other children who was not a part of this study, at no time did she cease addressing and responding to the teacher and aide in English.

It is hard to reach any conclusions about Mary, because I simply was not present on the same days she was. The first day I saw her, she said "*gracias*," and the next time I saw her, ten weeks later, she was singing and talking. Every time I saw her, she talked. Although Table II appears to illustrate long periods during which she did not produce new Spanish utterances, it actually illustrates my inability to record any data for her because I did not observe her for long periods of time.

In sum, any blanket statements claiming the existence or nonexistence of the silent period for all children are too far-reaching. Some children speak immediately, while others do not. There are undoubtedly a multitude of factors which influence the length of time before a child starts talking, and it is beyond the scope of this study to try to delineate them all. However, one point is important to make: the date a child began talking in Spanish was not a function of the amount of time that child attended The International School. David, who only attended half-days on three days a week, was one of the earliest prolific speakers, while Susan, a full-time student, did not really start talking on a regular basis until the fifteenth week.

Evidence of Comprehension During the Early Months

The second question asked what evidence of comprehension there was during the early months. The scope of this question proved too broad for this study, because, to my surprise, virtually every

action recorded in the classroom provided some evidence of comprehension. Children responded to questions, whether or not they understood their content. They seemed to know that questions were being asked by attending to intonation, or the form. They responded to imperatives, sometimes by carrying out the requested action, other times by refusing to comply.

The most fascinating part of my observation was that very little confusion was evident; in those few instances where the children did not understand, they might ask a question seeking clarification. This could be a request for translation (e.g., when Amy asked, on November 22, "How do you say *papá* in Spanish?"), or perhaps an attempt to translate what the teacher said into English, to confirm their understanding of what was said (as when the aide said, on December 7, "*Cómete tu* sandwich" and Linda responded, "Make a sandwich?").

Perhaps the children did not appear confused, or were impervious to the confusion, because they are simply used to not understanding everything they hear, even in English. At the age of three, they are relative newcomers to the world of speech. The strategies they use to cope with incomprehensible speech in their first language were undoubtedly effective in the immersion situation as well. Those strategies will be discussed further, below.

Early Language Produced

Question number three asked what kinds of language the children produced when they began talking the second language. Not surprisingly, names for objects were the most prevalent, followed

by quantifiers. That nouns, numbers, and expressions of quantity frequently occurred is a direct reflection of the input--much class time was directed to counting objects, retrieving a specified number of objects, counting the dates on the calendar, and admonishing the children to use *poquita goma.*

The figures for verbs and pronouns in Table IV do not reflect the total number of words in those categories, because when they occurred as part of an expression like *yo me llamo* or *¿cómo estás?* they were recorded under "social expressions." Such social expressions occurred throughout the period of observation. Children learned very quickly that certain expressions were appropriate for certain situations--e.g., *por favor* when they were asking for something; *gracias* when they received it; *buenos días* and *¿cómo estás?* as part of greeting rituals.

Table IV does not do justice to the sheer quantity of verbal expression that occurred, because it records only the first time a particular word or expression was uttered by a child. Many expressions, once uttered, became part of that child's lexicon and were repeated many times on subsequent days.

Situations in Which Spanish is Spoken

The fourth question asked in what situations the children spoke the second language, and whether the choice of language was systematic vis a vis participant or setting.

The children spoke the Spanish in a variety of settings. Most often, they would speak during circle time, a time when the same

rituals were performed day after day. Early on, many of the children joined in on counting off the dates on the calendar. There were certain social rituals that generated speech, such as times of greeting and leave-taking. Children also named items they knew the word for, and would talk about their color.

The language spoken did not appear to be dependent upon the interlocutor. All of the subjects addressed Spanish-speaking speakers in English. However, instances of language mixing were recorded for all children except for Ann and Tom (for whom very little data were obtained). Mixing occurred in speech to teachers, to me, and with each other. Several instances of mixing also occurred where there was no specific other participant in the conversation. Sometimes the children simply made announcements in which they mixed in Spanish words. Examples of this are David (Weeks two and four, respectively), "I forgot to say *gracias"* and "I mean *cinco*;" James (Week 19), "I can *comer* now;" and Amy (Weeks 6 and 7), "*Poquita goma* on the picture."

It may be significant that the instances in which Spanish words occurred were heavily weighted in favor of interactions with Spanish-speakers (the teacher, aide, and me). This may very well be early evidence of what so many other writers have reported--that code switching in young children is especially dependent on the perceived language of the interlocutor. These children wanted to communicate, so they spoke in English. But where they knew the Spanish word for the particular lexical item, they attempted to use it with the people

they knew to speak Spanish, in a kind of deference to the language preference of the other participant in the conversation.

As the children's Spanish proficiency increases, it will be interesting to see whether they adopt Spanish as the language for use with the Spanish speaking teachers, notwithstanding the fact that the teachers obviously understand the children when they speak English. Of course, other factors may come into play, such as an expectation or requirement that children use Spanish in the classroom.

Kinds of Language Mixing and their Relationship to the Input

The fifth question asked what kind of language mixing or code switching occurs. Two subquestions asked what forms such mixing takes, and whether it is related to the input.

The language mixing did not appear to reflect the input. The teachers addressed the children in English only in rare instances (usually in connection with safety or classroom discipline and organization issues). Occasionally English words were inserted into the teachers' stream of Spanish speech. These were usually nouns (particularly names of food items for which there may not have been a convenient Spanish term) or words related to discipline (like "time out"). The teachers did not translate their own speech for the children, but instead gave cues to meaning by coupling the language with action (pointing or other gestures, taking the child over to the item in question, etc.).

Children's language mixing was in the opposite direction. In other words, they inserted occasional Spanish words into the English

speech stream. Choice of the word did not appear to be governed by the lack of the corresponding lexical item in English (contrary to Grosjean's suggestion, 1982, p. 206, set forth in the Review of the Literature). Rather, it seemed to occur because the children were trying to fit in with the classroom, i.e., the teachers spoke Spanish to them, so they tried to speak Spanish back if they could.

Thus, mixing consisted of insertion of Spanish words, usually nouns, numbers, or colors, into the English word stream. Other instances of mixing occurred when children were asking what a particular Spanish word meant, or when they were translating an English word to Spanish or vice versa.

With very few exceptions, the mixing was lexical. Only four instances of another kind of mixing--morphological--were recorded. In one of these instances, the verb base in Spanish was inflected with the English past tense verb ending: I *escucha*ed (James, Week 27). Another instance occurred when the Spanish word ending was added to an English noun: hand*o* (Linda, Week 10). Finally, both Susan and Linda (Weeks 5 and 10, respectively) added the Spanish ending for possessive pronouns to the word you: You*yo*.

Strategies for Comprehension

What strategies the children used to make sense of what was going on around them, and the subquestion, how the classroom rituals and teacher practices promote children's comprehension, are the subject of the first question which emerged during the period of

observation. These are described at length in Chapter IV and Appendix G, and summarized in Chapter V.

What is significant about these strategies is that they were available to children this young. Although similar strategies have been reported in kindergartners by Weber and Tardif (1987), they had heretofore not been recorded for three-year-olds. Strategies observed in the three-year-old classroom at the IS included attending to the context; watching and imitating other children and the teachers; becoming familiar with and anticipating predictable routines in the classroom; paying attention to nonlinguistic cues such as gestures and intonation patterns; comparing English to Spanish (both with respect to individual words and with familiar rhymes and songs); and asking questions.

The fact the teachers understood the children's language promoted their comprehension. Teachers responded to the children's questions or comments in ways that showed the children that they understood. For example, when Linda asked, "What's snack?" the teacher answered, "*Ah. Jugo. Queso*" (September 7). If a child said he needed to go to the bathroom, they teachers would tell him to go (e.g., James, October 5). When Amy asked, "What's purple in Spanish?" the teacher told her: "*Morado*" (October 7). Often, the teacher's action was accompanied by a paraphrase, in which the teacher basically translated the children's utterance, or an expansion, a form of elaboration of the students' statements which provided children with a form of feedback (see Tardif, 1994). Thus, when Amy

asked for more paint, the teacher brought her more paint, saying, "*¿Quieres más pintura?*" (September 14). Or, when Susan told the teacher to lie down when they were playing "doctor," the teacher did so, saying, "*Me acuesto*" (October 7). When Amy said she wanted a boy (paper cutout), the teacher responded, "*Tú quieres un niño,*" (September 14) and when Ann said she was hungry on September 7, the teacher replied, "*Ya. Tienes hambre.*"

Discourse modifications like the foregoing were extremely important, and effective, both in aiding children's comprehension and as a source of second language input.

Manifestation of Bilingual Awareness

The final question posed was how the children manifested bilingual awareness. Karniol (1990) has suggested that bilingual awareness "may be a prerequisite for starting production of L2 in child second-language acquisition" (p. 153). She posited five such types of awareness.

The first, awareness of equivalence of words, was demonstrated by all the children, either in the classroom or pursuant to parental report. This could occur in any of three forms: as a request for translation, either from Spanish to English, or vice versa (e.g., Amy: What's red in Spanish?; 10/17); as a translation of one's own speech (e.g., Linda: *Manzana.* That's apple; 9/19); or what occurred most commonly here, as translation of others' speech (e.g., Gabriela: *Cinco minutos.* Tom: Five minutes. Gabriela: *En un minuto.* Tom: In one minute; 9/12).

The second category, awareness that language is differentially associated with different speakers, was demonstrated by Linda, David, Amy and James. An example of this was when Amy protested that *Papá Noel* "doesn't say Spanish" (12/8). The children's insertion of Spanish words in English sentences, particularly when conversing with a Spanish-speaker, may also have been a manifestation of this.

The third type of awareness, awareness of the different sound system in Spanish, was demonstrated by all the children, because their pronunciation of Spanish words rarely sounded like English.

Linda is the only one who demonstrated the fourth and fifth types of bilingual awareness, by commenting on or correcting others' accents or mispronunciations (per parental report).[5] It is not surprising that I did not observe this in the classroom, because the children had no opportunity to comment on others' accents or mispronunciations: except for each other, the people speaking Spanish in the classroom spoke Spanish well, and excluding an occasional parent volunteer and myself, were native Spanish-speakers. Nor was there any reason to correct each others' mispronunciations, because their own pronunciation was quite good.

In this case, the children's awareness of a different language was demonstrated in several ways, but always by instances of speech. Sometimes these involved awareness of the equivalence of words. Other times it was shown by mixing Spanish utterances into English

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[5] David's attempts to correct others' grammar, e.g. on September 9, saying that the word should be *brava* for a female may also fit within this category.

speech streams, particularly when addressing a Spanish speaker. The data here did not show that bilingual awareness preceded speech, as Karniol suggests, but rather, that it occurred simultaneously. Although there may have been awareness prior to emergence of speech, it would have been impossible to measure it, since the speech itself constituted the evidence. Nor did this bilingual awareness cause the silent period to commence, as Saville-Troike (1987, 1988) suggested.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This is the first study that I am aware of involving children in this age group (three-year-olds) in this kind of setting (in a school-based Spanish immersion program for majority language children). It is also one of the few studies that has attempted to systematically gather specific evidence on the existence and characteristics of the alleged "silent" period in children. It carries out the recommendation made by Gibbons (1985a) that his survey results disputing the silent period be investigated further by means of ethnographic observation. Except for Gibbons (1985), other studies are anecdotal or involve a single child. Most important is the fact that other studies concern children in a new country who are trying to learn the language of the dominant culture, rather than, as here, trying to add a new language while they remain in the safe and familiar majority language culture once they leave school.

The study is also significant because it refutes the notion that children acquiring a second language are necessarily silent for periods of one to six months, or even longer. It provides valuable information about language mixing, and points to areas appropriate for further research in this area. Finally, it establishes the variety and efficacy of the many strategies naturally used by the children to make sense of the new language, and verifies the effectiveness of providing context clues as an aid to comprehension as well as the value of discourse modifications such as expansions and paraphrasing for both comprehension and second language input.

STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES AND LIMITATIONS

The strength of this study is a product of its design, involving detailed and protracted observation over a period of time. By paying close attention to the participants' behavior and actual communication as it unfolded in the classroom, without attempting to "isolate or manipulate the phenomena under investigation," (Nunan, 1992, p. 55), the detailed description enabled interpretation, analysis and explanation.

At the same time, this kind of design permits certain weaknesses to occur with respect to the reliability and validity of the study. Reliability concerns the extent to which the study can be replicated, while validity asks to what extent the study measures what it purports to measure (see generally, Nunan (1992) for definitions and discussion of these concepts).

Internal reliability has to do with the consistency of data collection, analysis and interpretation. In this case, there are problems stemming from the fact that there was only one researcher collecting data, and the lack of mechanical recording. Thus, there is no check on the accuracy of the single observer's record. Nor could outsiders analyze the data themselves, because the actual field notes are not a part of this report; rather, the field notes have been synthesized into the individual case studies. The choice of information to be included in the case studies is, of course, subjective.

The external reliability issue is whether or not an independent researcher could obtain similar results. Although this report contains enough information for another researcher to reconstruct the same type of relationships and informants, the context could not be duplicated unless there were a similar second language immersion program available for study. Were such a program available, the results could be colored by differences in the teacher's style or popularity with students, the composition of the class, and the biographies of the children under consideration.

Internal validity is less of a problem here, because this study is not concerned with outcomes but with processes. What causes certain behavior was not asked. Standard challenges to internal validity do exist, however. The group being studied was an intact class, and being composed of students in a private school, most likely came from a socioeconomic class not reflective of the population as a whole. There was no problem with mortality, as none of the children included in

this study left the class during the period of observation. Continuity of some of the children's exposure to Spanish (and hence, my observations) was interrupted by illness and vacations in some instances, however.

There may have been a problem with observer drift, i.e. the observer forgetting what the initial criteria were. This did occur to some extent; during the latter stages, I found myself omitting to write down instances of children addressing the teachers in English, feeling (probably subconsciously) that this was unimportant since I was studying production of Spanish, not English. All children were not equal in this study, either; I found myself focusing more on children that I knew, from past experience, were more likely to provide data--the verbal ones. As such, the paucity of data on some of the children who were initially quieter may not reflect their actual language production but may, instead, reflect who the observer focused on.

There is also the question of the "observer's paradox"--did the children alter their behavior because of the presence of an outsider in their classroom? My answer to that is no, because I was <u>not</u> an outsider. I was there when they arrived on the first day of school, and continued to be there from two to four days a week for the next fourteen weeks. As a participant observer, I was involved with them and their activities. Finally, my presence was unobtrusive, in that I did not use mechanical recording devices which might have proven to be a distraction to them.

The potential threat to external validity is whether the findings here are generalizable to other populations. Some problems may exist here because of the limited number of hours I was present; undoubtedly some speech was missed. My inability to be present in the early morning at circle time was especially troubling, because that was when heaviest reliance on classroom rituals and routines existed. Nonetheless, the number of hours of observation was enough to reveal patterns for each child.

I had also hoped to obtain more information from parents about their children's language production outside of school. Unfortunately, they provided very few examples of their children's speech; reports from parents tended to generalities, such as "She sings all the time in the car." Many of the parents were handicapped in their ability to report on specific language produced by their own unfamiliarity with Spanish.

With respect to the overall lack of generalizability to other populations, this is not necessarily a flaw. Inherent to qualitative research is that data are naturalistic (using spontaneous speech), the research is process-oriented in that it takes place over time, and that it is ungeneralizable because it involves few subjects (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991, pp. 11-12). Perhaps what is important here is understanding of the particular cases under consideration with their own idiosyncrasies and permutations. It is the richness and variation of individual behavior that is the beauty of the case study method.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING

Although this was a study of English-speaking three-year-olds acquiring Spanish, the results are applicable to English as a Second Language, at least if one accepts the notion that language learning processes are universal. The main implication of this study is that context and routines are essential to children's comprehension. It does not matter whether they are silent or not, whether they are prone to imitation or echoing of a teacher's utterances, or whether they are trying to make sense of what is going on around them by asking questions. In every case, the children are organizing the information around them and learning what language means by relating it to the routines and rituals that make up the day in their classroom, and to the "here and now" language.

What resulted from my observation of these children and analysis of this data is a new hypothesis: that the children in this study did not experience a silent period because they did not need one. Because the second language was so intimately connected with its context and was so tied to the actions and objects it represented, the input was comprehensible to them. Their ability to comprehend what was going on in this classroom was virtually instantaneous, and resulted from the interplay between the teachers, the students, and the events which were transpiring contemporaneously.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research could focus on both processes and outcomes. Following these eight children over a longer time period as they continue their Spanish immersion schooling presents a wealth of potential areas of inquiry. However, research with new groups of young children entering an immersion setting would also be useful to obtain more detailed information on areas that were just touched on here.

With respect to processes, the following should be considered:

1) children's own perceptions of the immersion experience;

2) a more thorough examination of strategies, focusing on how the children adapt to being thrust into an environment where the language is incomprehensible to them;

3) how teacher talk and classroom rituals facilitate comprehension and/or language acquisition;

4) what interaction patterns between the children develop? When, and under what circumstances, do the children use Spanish to talk with each other? In other words, what is the culture of code-switching in the immersion school and how does this change as the children's language proficiency improves? Is there any difference if classroom demographics are different? For example, what would happen if there were children in the classroom who spoke only Spanish?;

5) an analysis of classroom interaction, with specific attention to teacher and pupil initiation and response patterns, and their change over time;

6) a close examination of the use of imperatives in the classroom, and how language comprehension is or is not facilitated as a result;

7) an analysis of how, and when, children move away from reliance on patterns and formulas and begin using more creative speech (not possible during the period of this study due to the types of language produced in the early stages);

8) an analysis of the discontinuity between comprehension and performance (i.e., what do the children understand vs. what can they say?).

9) an examination of when children start to address the teachers in Spanish, and under what circumstances;

10) an analysis of how teacher input changes over time. How do the teachers respond, for example, to the children's increased proficiency in Spanish? Are utterances longer, more complex syntactically, etc.?

With respect to outcomes, the following are potential areas of inquiry:

1) is there any correlation between the length of the silent period and ultimate attainment or with rate of attainment?;

2) what differences are there in English and Spanish language development in children who start the immersion program at age three as opposed to those who begin in kindergarten?;

3) what impact does the immersion experience have on children's acquisition of a third language (e.g., when they enter middle school or high school and have the opportunity to learn French or German in a traditional language classroom)?;

4) what are the children's attitudes toward people from different cultures?

SUMMARY

In this observational study of eight English-speaking three-year-olds' first six months in a Spanish language immersion program, a number of significant findings resulted. These have to do with the emergence of speech and the so-called silent period, language mixing, bilingual language awareness, and comprehension strategies.

All of the children participating in this study uttered some Spanish within two weeks of their first exposure to it. This study, then, constitutes evidence that silence at the initial stages of language acquisition is not universal. For children in this age group, in this kind of language learning setting, it does not seem important to delay language production. What is important is to provide comprehensible input while encouraging the children to produce language when and if they are ready to do so.

This study also documents how children make sense of seemingly incomprehensible linguistic input by utilizing a variety of strategies, the most important of which seems to be attending to context clues, based both on their own experience and on what is occurring in the classroom at the time of the linguistic input. Seeking clarification by asking questions is another effective and favorite strategy. Teacher discourse modifications and other practices which promote the children's comprehension are also described.

The children did not, as Saville-Troike (1987; 1988) suggested they might, cease communication entirely once they realized the teachers were speaking another language. Instead, they continued to talk to Spanish-speakers in English. Because the teachers understood the children (as was apparent by their responses to the children), this may have obviated the need for them to talk in Spanish. Private speech and jargonizing occurred contemporaneously with communicative speech and not, as Karniol (1990) reported, prior to it.

The children also demonstrated their awareness that Spanish was a different language in a variety of ways. Observable manifestations of awareness occurred at the same time as speech occurred. In other words, the kinds of speech produced (such as asking for or producing translations) showed that the children knew that Spanish was a different language.

The study also provides evidence about language mixing in the early stages of language acquisition. Although the children did insert Spanish words into their English utterances, those insertions did not

reflect mixing in the input. What mixing occurred in the input was generally in the opposite direction--insertion of English lexical terms into otherwise Spanish utterances. The children's mixing appeared to be more a function of language dominance than something learned through modeling or repetition.

Because there was so little "pure" Spanish produced by the children, it is hard to determine whether, at the early stage, the children made language choices on the basis of participant. Although the teachers, and I, spoke Spanish to the children, the children addressed us in English. However, it may be significant that many of the Spanish lexical insertions occurred in utterances directed to Spanish speakers.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

August 25, 1994

Alice Goldstein
2207 SE 55th Ave.
Portland OR 97215
(503) 233-9592

Dear parents of pre-kindergarten students at the International School:

I am working on my Masters in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), through the Department of Applied Linguistics at Portland State University. One of the requirements of the Masters degree is that I complete a thesis.

An area of substantial interest in the field of Applied Linguistics is how people learn languages. Second language acquisition, especially among children, is particularly interesting, because it is thought that children have an innate predisposition for learning language, at least their first language. Whether second language acquisition is subject to the same processes as first language acquisition is the subject of a great deal of inquiry.

For my Masters thesis, I plan to observe the pre-kindergartners at the International School in an attempt to record the stages they go through in their early production of language. Some researchers claim that there is a lengthy silent period (described as from one to six months, or even longer), during which children exposed to a second language do not speak. It is thought that this is a period of silent comprehension which precedes language production. Other researchers disagree that the silent period is inevitable, finding it absent in some children or lasting just a few days.

I am interested in looking at the silent period in your children, and, if it exists, at how they move out of it. During the period during which they are not talking in Spanish to the teacher, are they "trying out" Spanish words and sounds in their own "private speech?" Are

their first utterances in Spanish simply repetitions of expressions and formulas that they have heard in the classroom? At what point do they start to combine words creatively? Do they mix English and Spanish? (For example, when they are talking to you about what happens in school, do they insert Spanish words into the sentence?).

I will be sitting in your child's class several hours each week from the beginning of school until early-December in an effort to obtain information that will help me answer these questions. I would appreciate your assistance in four ways during this period:

- First, I need you to return the attached Informed Consent Form to me in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope. The extra copy of the form is for your records.
- Second, I would also like you to return the attached questionnaire to me.
- Third, I would like you to record any instances you observe of your child's use of Spanish outside of the home. I attach a chart you can use to note down the date, context, and content of the utterance.
- Fourth, sometime in December, I would like to interview you about your perceptions of your child's acquisition of Spanish thus far.

Thank you very much for your time and assistance. I hope this adds to the body of research attempting to find some answers to these questions.

Of course, all information you give will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law, and the names of all people in the study will be kept confidential.

If you have any questions at any time, please feel free to contact me. I also plan to attend the open house at the school in late September, and I would be happy to talk with you then.

Sincerely yours,

Alice Goldstein

Name_____

Date	What was child doing?	What did he/she say?

Record of child's speech

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORMS

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I, _____, agree that my child, _____, may take part in this research project to performed by Alice Goldstein in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an MA in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) to be awarded by Portland State University. The project is entitled *English-Speaking Preschoolers in a Spanish Language Immersion Program: A Look at the Silent Period, Private Speech, Formulaic Speech, and Code Switching.*

I understand that the study involves the researcher's observation of and possible tape-recording of my child's speech. I also understand that the investigator will be asking me for some information about my child by means of a questionnaire and an interview.

The researcher, has told me that the purpose of this study is to learn more about successive language acquisition of preschoolers in an immersion setting.

I may not receive any direct benefit from taking part in this study. But the study may help to increase knowledge that may help others in the future.

The researcher has offered to answer any questions I have about the study and what my child or I are expected to do.

She has promised that all information I give will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law, and that the names of all people in the study will be kept confidential.

I understand that I do not have to allow my child to take part in this study, and that this will not affect my relationship with The International School. I further understand that I may withdraw my child from this study at any time without prejudice.

I have read and understand the above information and agree that my child, _____, may take part in this study.

Date:_____ Signature:_____

Relationship to child:_____

If you have concerns or questions about this study, please contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Research Review Committee, Office of Research and Sponsored Projects, 105 Neuberger Hall, Portland State University, 503/725-3417. You may also contact Alice Goldstein at 2207 SE 55th Ave., Portland OR 97215, 503/233-9592.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
(for classroom teacher/aide)

I, _____, agree to take part in this research project to be performed by Alice Goldstein in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an MA in TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) to be awarded by Portland State University. The project is entitled *English-Speaking Preschoolers in a Spanish Language Immersion Program: A Look at the Silent Period, Private Speech, Formulaic Speech, and Code Switching.*

I understand that the study involves the researcher's observation of and possible tape-recording of my speech. I also understand that the researcher may ask me for information about my observations of my students' speech.

The researcher has told me that the purpose of this study is to learn more about successive language acquisition of preschoolers in an immersion setting.

I may not receive any direct benefit from taking part in this study. But the study may help to increase knowledge that may help others in the future.

The researcher has offered to answer any questions I have about the study and what I am expected to do.

She has promised that all information I give will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law, and that the names of all people in the study will be kept confidential.

I understand that I do not have to take part in this study, and that this will not affect my relationship with The International School. I further understand that I may withdraw from this study at any time without prejudice.

I have read and understand the above information and agree to take part in this study.

Date:_____ Signature:_____

If you have concerns or questions about this study, please contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Research Review Committee, Office of Research and Sponsored Projects, 105 Neuberger Hall, Portland State University, 503/725-3417. You may also contact Alice Goldstein at 2207 SE 55th Ave., Portland OR 97215, 503/233-9592.

APPENDIX C

OBSERVATION LOG

Log of Observation Sessions

DATE	TIME	AMY	ANN	DAVID	JAMES	LINDA	MARY	SUSAN	TOM
9/6/94	8:15-2:30	X						X	X
9/7/94	8:10-1:15	X	X	X	X	X		X	
9/8/94	9:40-11:05	X			X	X	X	X	X
9/9/94	8:30-1:10	X	X	X	X	X		X	
9/12/94	9:35-3:15	X		X	X	X		X	X
9/14/94	9:15-11:45	X	X	X	X	X		X	
9/16/94	8:30-11:45	X		X	X	X		X	
9/19/94	10:15-12:55	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
9/21/94	10:15-12:45	X	X	X	X	X		X	
9/26/94	10:15-12:35	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
9/28/94	10:10-12:30		X	X	X	X		X	
9/30/94	10:15-12:45	X	X	X	X	X		X	
10/3/94	10:10-12:10	X	X	X	X			X	X
10/5/94	10:05-12:15	X	X	X	X	X		X	
10/7/94	10:10-12:05	X	X	X	X	X		X	
10/10/94	10:10-11:45	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
10/12/94	10:05-11:55	X	X	X	X	X		X	
10/17/94	10:08-12:15	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
10/19/94	10:15-11:50	X	X	X	X	X		X	
10/24/94	10:20-11:30	X	X	X	X	X			
10/26/94	10:05-11:55	X	X	X	X	X		X	
10/28/94	10:10-11:50	X	X	X	X			X	
10/31/94	10:10-12:00	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
11/2/94	10:15-11:45	X		X	X	X		X	
11/4/94	10:15-11:40	X	X	X	X	X		X	
11/7/94	10:10-11:45	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
11/9/94	10:05-12:05	X	X	X	X	X		X	
11/14/94	10:10-12:15	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
11/16/94	10:15-11:50	X	X	X	X	X		X	
11/18/94	10:10-11:50	X	X	X			X	X	
11/21/94	10:05-11:55	X		X	X				X
11/23/94	10:25-11:30	X		X	X				
11/28/94	10:20-12:15	X	X	X	X			X	X
11/30/94	10:15-12:00	X	X	X	X			X	
12/7/94	8:30-11:40			X		X		X	
12/8/94	8:30-11:20				X	X	X	X	X
12/12/94	8:45-11:30	X		X	X	X		X	X
12/13/94	8:50-11:20	X			X	X	X	X	X
12/14/94	8:25-10:30	X		X	X	X	X	X	
1/20/95	10:00-12:15	X	X	X	X	X		X	
2/24/95	10:30-12:15	X	X	X	X	X		X	
3/15/95	8:20-8:40	X	X	X			X	X	
3/16/95	8:45-10:00	X			X		X	X	X
3/17/95	8:40-11:45	X			X			X	

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE FIELD NOTES

THESIS NOTES 9/6/94

T = teacher; A = aide
Students: Tom, Susan, Amy, and Children S, AA, C, N, CC, AAA

8:15
T: *Buenos dias, como estas* (greeting children).
Vamos a buscar Susan. Esos ninos son muy grandes. Ella tiene hermana aquí.
(Kids going to various play areas)
T to Susan: *Mira, esa niña es C. Vamos a jugar con ella. Vamos a jugar bloques* (points). *Que vamos a jugar? Vamos a leer un libro.* (points) *Vamos a jugar con AA? Vamos a jugar bloques con AA.* (points) *Vamos a ver AA* (leads him there). *Mira AA.*

T to AA: AA, you want to do a puzzle, or play with blocks?
Vas a jugar aqui? Vas a construir aqui?
Vamos a buscar uno grande. Mira AA. Vamos a poner otra mas. Eso esta muy grande. Muy pesado.
Quieres ayudarnos? Pongo otro. Esa está delgadito. (Blocks fall down) *Qué pasó? Se rompió?*
C: Sí. (puts block) *Mira.*
T: (counting blocks) *Uno, dos,* (etc.) (They fall down). *Uh oh, uh oh. No hay uno.*
T to S: (stringing beads): *Qué es eso? Son bonitos.*

8:55
A: (with Susan, N, C in kitchen, playing with toy teapot)
Quieres jugar con nosotros al té? Siéntate C. Quieres echarle el café? Tu quieres agua caliente o agua frîa, N?
N: I got some!
A: *Oh, tu tienes.*
A: *Susan, quieres el agua?Cuantas bolas echarla? Uno o dos? Quieres azucar N?*
N: I got some.
A: (pretends to drink) *Está caliente. Está caliente.*
A: *Susan, ya terminaste su té? No te vayas. Susan, quieres ponerla a calentar?* (points to toy whistling teakettle and toy stove)
C, quieres poner a calentar en la estufa. (Pretend telephone call; there are many telephones on a shelf. (S. is crying)
T: *Mamá viene mas tarde, mamá viene mas tarde.*
(Susan with baby doll)
A to C: *Quieres tu un bebe?*

A to Susan: *Sabes como se llama? Se llama India.*
T: *Vamos a recoger* (shows cleaning up) *Vamos a recoger las muñecas, OK?* (demonstrates). (Someone falls) *Que paso, N?* (Showing book to student) *Esto es un libro. Y en el libro es un carro* (points)

(Circle time) 9:15
A: *Buenos dias (2x)*
Como estas?
Muy bien gracias. Y Ud?

T: *Mi nombre es Gabriela Cómo te llamas? Ella es? Quien sabe el nombre de esta niña? (N). C. Yo me llamo Gabriela. Como se llama él? Dice: Mi nombre es Tom.* (continues with other students) (Points to big bear on wall, calendar) *Que es esto? OSO.* (Demonstrates bear growling. Some kids copy). *Calendario* (points). *Quien quiere poner los numeros?* (Reads dates, days of the weeks, students to put numbers down in TPR kind of activity).

Susan, quieres poner el tres aqui? (She hands her number and points; Susan complies)
Quien quiere poner el 4? (N complies)
T*om, quiere poner el 5? Cinco va aqui.* (complies). *Muy bien.* (claps)
Y hoy día es seis. El primer día del escuela. Quien quiere? N, CC falta (CC complies. Then T. reads and points at days of the week)
A: *(cancion de los dias de la semana.* C sings along)
T: *Vamos a aprender los días de la semana. (*pointing) *Vamos a aprender los números.*(pointing) *Vamos a aprendar a escuchar a Gabriela. Vamos a vestir el oso.* (Points outside). *Que está haciendo afuera, frio, or el sol?*(T holds up glasses.) *Lentes. Donde ponemos los lentes? Ojos.* (C puts)
Que es esto? Pantalones cortos. (C lifts skirt, has short underneath) *Qué tiene C debajo del vestido? Pantalones cortos. Susan, que es esto?*

C: *Un barco, un sol* (pictures on the shirt).
T: *Es una camiseta*
A: *Susan lo va a colocar.* (Susan puts it on the bear)
T: *Qué es esto? Los zapatos.* (points)
A: *Amy, tiene que escuchar a Gabriela* (points to ear).(Amy says "no" and walks away)
T: *Que es esto? Los patinetes.* (Skateboard). *Vamos a poner los patinetes en los pies del oso.* (Tom does it). *Muy bien.*

APPENDIX E

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS

1. Child's name_____

2. Date of birth_____ 3. Sex _____

4. Has child been exposed to Spanish or other languages besides English prior to enrollment in the International School?

_____yes _____no .

If yes, please describe the nature and extent of that exposure.

_____

_____

5. Does child speak any languages besides English?

_____yes _____no

What language(s)? _____

6. Do the parents or other caretakers speak Spanish?

_____yes _____no

For each parent or caretaker, describe your proficiency in Spanish (native speaker, near-native fluency, good, fair, beginner)

a._____

b._____

c._____

7. Do you expect to speak Spanish with your child in the home?

_____yes _____no

8. Do you expect your child to be exposed to Spanish outside of school in any other way?

_____yes _____no

How?_____

9. Has child been in preschool or daycare before?

_____yes _____no

For how long?_____

10. How talkative is your child? (Talkativeness is defined as "the relative tendency to initiate conversations in the first language").

(Untalkative) 1 2 3 4 5 (Most talkative)

11. How responsive is your child? (Responsiveness is defined as "the relative tendency to respond to the verbal initiations of others in the first language").

(Unresponsive) 1 2 3 4 5 (Most responsive)

12. How gregarious is your child? (Gregariousness is defined as "the relative tendency to interact with a wide variety of different peers").

(Not gregarious) 1 2 3 4 5 (Most gregarious)

13. Is there anything else about your child that might affect their learning that would be useful for me to know for this study?

_____

_____

****

Thank you very much for your assistance. Please feel free to call me if you have any questions. Alice Goldstein, 233-9592.

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide:

1. Tell me more about your child's exposure, if any, to Spanish prior to enrollment in the I.S.

2. Tell me more about your child's exposure to any other languages prior to enrollment in the I.S.

3. When did child begin pre-school/day care? How many hours/day? Days/week? What kind of program?

4. Is child in any other program concurrently with this program?

5. What is the child's schedule at the IS?

6. How does your child feel about school?

7. Has there been any change in his/her attitudes about school? If so, what? When did it occur?

8. Has your child made friends at the IS? Does he/she have any contact with them outside of school?

9. Have you heard any Spanish spoken by your child outside of school? Did you record it? Spontaneous, or prompted? Tell me about it.

10. Has your child demonstrated any awareness of the fact that the language at school is different? When? What did he/she say or do?

11. Has your child heard Spanish or interacted with Spanish speaking people outside of school? When, where, what happened?

APPENDIX G

ADDITIONAL CASE STUDIES

AMY

Amy, a full-time student at the IS, turned three just after school started in September. She had limited prior exposure to Spanish from her father, who, although he is a native Spanish-speaker, did not live in the same part of the country. Except for September 28, December 7, and December 8, Amy was present on all the days I observed the class at the IS.

Observational Data

Amy's first response, on September 6, to a directive in Spanish was as follows:

> Aide: *Amy, tiene que escuchar a Gabriela* (points to ear)
> Amy: No. (walks away)

Minutes later, the teacher asked, "*¿Quién sabe los colores?*" and Amy raised her hand. At snack time the first day, as the aide offered juice to each child, she asked, "*¿Jugo, por favor? Gracias.*" (Amy nodded her head). "*¿Puede decir gracias?*" (Amy nodded again). "*¿Quieres más?*" (she nodded a third time). At circle time, the teacher said to a boy who was a playmate of Amy and a returning student to the school, "*¿Tienes amigos? Amy es tu amiga.*" Amy protested, "No, I'm not."

The teacher then read a book about animals. She showed a picture of an owl, said, "*Esta es el buio. ¿Quién puede decir el 'ju, ju'? ¿Cómo hace el gato? Mieu, mieu, mieu.*" Both times, Amy joined in. At lunch, she asked Amy, "*¿Quieres comerte tu sandwich?*" and Amy

shook her head. And when the teacher told her to sit down ("*Te vienes a sentar. Tienes que sentarte*"), she again shook her head in refusal.

The following day, however, Amy was ready to participate whenever asked. When the aide gave her a choice of where she wanted to sit ("*Amy, ¿tú quieres sentar en la mesa, o ir allá?*"), Amy sat down. When she asked her, "*¿Quieres cortar con las tijeras?*," she nodded and began to cut. When the teacher asked her to point to a number one ("*¿Quién puede enseñarme dónde está un número uno?* "), she tried. When asked to "*poner las sillas*," she went and got one. When the teacher picked up some socks at nap time and asked, "*Amy, ¿son tuyas?* " she nodded yes. Then, at snack time, after three children said *gracias,* Amy asked the child next to her, "Did she say *gracias?*"

By September 9, Amy was already singing the words to the *Lunes, martes* song. She counted the days up to *ocho* with the teacher when they were counting the numbers on the calendar, and when asked, "*¿Qué día es hoy?* " she, along with other children, called out, "*Nueve.*" She volunteered to put the jacket on the bear when requested to in Spanish, and joined in the hand gestures to *Cinco patitos.* Before snack, the teacher began to sing *Es hora de limpiar.* When she said to Amy, "*Amy, es hora de comer, hija,*" Amy began to put away the blocks she had been playing with. She nodded, at lunchtime, when offered milk: "*Amy, ¿leche?*" and took a big handful of cookies when, at snacktime the following Monday she was asked, "*¿Tú quieres más galletas?* "

On September 12, at circle time, the teacher was talking about the number one, when she said, "*Enséñame un dedo. Uno.*" Amy repeated, "*Uno.*" Then, emphasizing the word *un*, *uno* or *una*, the teacher instructed the children to go get an object. Amy correctly performed the requested action when the teacher said, "*Amy, ve busca un teléfono* "and again when she said, "*Un bloque.*" The children then went to the tables to paste and color the number 1. Amy was just sitting there, when the teacher asked her, "*Amy, no vas a pegar una?*" She responded, "I'm done." During the free play period, Amy and the aide had the following conversation:

Aide: *¿De qué color es esto?*
Amy: Orange.
Aide: *¿De qué color es esto?*
Amy: Blue.

As she read *Pinocho* aloud that day, the teacher pointed out the names of different body parts. She pointed to the mouth and said "*Boca,*" which Amy and David immediately repeated: "*Boca.*" During lunch, the aide was trying to convince Amy to eat three bites of applesauce. She said, "*Come tres,* " at which Amy held up three fingers.

On September 14, the following conversation was noted:

Amy: Will you get more (paint) for me? This has no more.
Teacher: *¿Esa? ¿Quieres ésta?* (brings more paint)
Amy: (nods)
Teacher: *¿Quieres más pintura?*
Amy: (nods)

* * *

Teacher: *Amy, ¿has terminado?*
Amy: No. This is (sounds like) *pintura.*

Teacher: *Amy, ¿vamos a lavarnos las manos?*
Amy: No, not yet.
* * *
Teacher: *¿Acabaste, Amy? Vamos a lavar las manos.*
Amy: (washes hands)
Teacher: *Amy, ¿vas a tomar aguita? Agua?*
Amy: (goes to drinking fountain)

Later, at snacktime, Amy repeated, "*Jugo por favor. Jugo por favor. Gracias.* " At circle time, she sang *Abre cierra*, and when the teacher showed a picture of a frog said, "*Esta es verde,*" Amy interjected, "Green."

On September 16, as the children were dressing the bear for the day, the teacher pointed to the bear's head and said, "*Cabeza. ¿Cuántos ojos tiene? ¿Uno o dos?* " and Amy, along with David, responded, "*Uno, dos.* " Moments later, when the teacher asked what was missing from a picture of a girl (*¿Qué le falta esa niña?*), Amy responded, "*Ojos.*" When asked what else she was missing, Amy responded (incorrectly), "*Nariz,*" which the teacher corrected by saying, "*Boca.*"

The following interchange then occurred, as the teacher was offering figures of girls or boys to the children:

Teacher: *¿Quieres niño o niña?*
Linda: *Niño*
Amy: I want a boy.
Teacher: *Tú quieres un niño.*
***
Teacher: *Vamos a poner el pelo y los ojos primero. ¿Qué color de ojos quiere? Verde, negro o azul?*
(offering crayons)
Amy: I want blue.
Teacher: *Amy quiere ojos azules.*

That day, Amy sang the words to *Abre cierra, Los días de la semana, Cabeza, hombros,* and when reciting the numbers leading up to the day's date, counted up to number *diez* in Spanish.

The following Monday (September 19), the children were doing an art project in which they had pictures of apples. The teacher said, "*Esto es una manzana.*" Amy said, "Apple," and the teacher asked, "*¿De qué color es la manzana?*" to which Amy replied, "*Roja.*"

During lunchtime that day, David and Amy had an argument over the word for "milk;" David insisted it was "*leche* " while Amy insisted on the English word. They went back and forth for several minutes, shouting their chosen word for milk.

On September 21, Amy had mastered the words to the songs *Pinocho* and *Mi carita es redondita.* At recess, the teacher told her to get her shoes. The following dialogue ensued:

> Teacher: *Amy, zapatos. Nos vamos al patio.*
> Amy: Where <u>are</u> my shoes?
> Teacher: *No sé. Vaya a buscar.*
> (I found her shoes in the dress-up area)
> ***
> Me: *¿Necesitas ayuda?*
> Amy: (Nods)
> Me: *El otro pie.*
> Amy: This one? (offering up the other foot)

On September 26, after much prompting, Amy said "*Gracias* " when the aide poured her some milk at lunch. Amy asked me, (referring to her cookies), "Can I eat these now?" When I responded, "*Pregúntale a Gabriela,*" she did so.

Two days later, during circle time, the teacher held up a picture of a mouth and asked, "*¿Qué es esto? Dientes.* " Amy immediately repeated, "*Dientes,*" and then proceeded to count the number of teeth (*cinco*) along with David. As the teacher continued to talk about brushing teeth with a toothbrush, Amy said to herself, quietly, "*Boca, boca.*" Later, the teacher asked, "*¿Dónde está Amy* ?" and Amy answered, "I'm right here." On September 30, during a period of rowdiness, the teacher said to Amy, "*Amy, puedes poner* tape *en la boca?"* She complied by making the motions of putting tape over her mouth.

On October 3, Amy announced, "I can talk in Spanish." October 5, she had learned and was singing *Estrellita.* She had also learned some of the words to *Arroz con leche* During circle time, the teacher held up a picture of a squirrel and said, "*Es una ardilla. ¿Qué comes?* " and Amy answered "Nut."

Amy continued to be a willing participant in dialogue about the colors of things. Several times, I recorded snippets of dialogues in which she would be asked the color of something (in Spanish), and she would name a color in response (sometimes in Spanish, sometimes in English). On October 7, she quizzed the teacher:

Amy: What's purple in Spanish?
Teacher: *Morado*
Amy: What's black in Spanish?
Teacher: *Negro*
Amy: What's red in Spanish?
Teacher: *Rojo*
Amy: Pink?
Teacher: *Rosado.*

That day, when the teacher directed the children to form a line (*OK, vamos a la línea*), Amy and Linda both repeated, "*La línea, la línea.*"

A similar color quiz occured on October 10.

Amy: White is *blanco*. What is black in Spanish? *Blanco?*
Aide: Yellow *es amarillo*. Green is *ver--*
Linda: *--de*
Amy: *Verde*. What's pink in Spanish?
Aide: *Rosado*.

At lunch, the teacher told her to eat five bites of her sandwich:

Teacher: *Come cinco.*
Amy: *No, seis.*
Aide: *¿Cómo se dice* white *en español*
Amy: *Blanco.*
Aide: Green
Amy: *Verde*
Aide: Red.
Amy: *Rojo*
Aide: Yellow
Amy: (silence)
Aide: *A-ma-*
Amy: *Amarillo*
Aide: Blue
Amy: *Azul*

During circle time, the teacher said, "*Crucen los* ---and Amy completed the command for her: "*Brazos. Siéntense.* " The teacher began counting: "*Uno...*" and Amy completed the countdown as far as *ocho*. She announced, "I wanna sing *¿Cómo te llamas tú?* " and then launched into the song, joined shortly by David and Linda. She sang all the words to *En otoño las hojitas.* The teacher held up a paper cut out of a boy, and said, "*¿Qué es? Un niño.*" Amy's response was, "That's a *niño*." Then, after the teacher gave some instructions about the project they were about to undertake, Amy said, "*Muy*

bien, teacher. Finally, on that date, she responded appropriately to commands to pick up and push in her chair.

October 17, as a crafts project was being explained, Amy interjected, "*Poquita goma* on the picture." At lunch, a child pointed to three apples, and Amy said, "*Dos, tres.*" When the aide said, "*Manzanas,*" Amy repeated the Spanish word for apple. Later at lunch, she asked if she could eat another cookie. The teacher said, "*Si te sientes y te tranquilizas* , " and she did so.

October 19, she was able to sing *La cucaracha.* When the teacher asked what Amy's drawing was missing ("*¿Qué le hace falta tu muñeco* "), Amy correctly responded, "Hair," and then proceeded to add hair to her picture. At lunch, the aide asked, "*¿Dónde está el sandwich de Amy? Está aquí.*" Amy had already finished her sandwich, so she protested, "That's not my sandwich."

During circle time on October 24, the teacher was going over geometrical shapes, as follows:

Teacher: *¿Qué es esto?*
Children: Triangle.
Teacher: *Un triángulo. ¿Qué podemos hacer con un triángulo?*
Amy: Clown hat.
Teacher: *Sombrero. Y como del oso. Ve busca algo que tiene la forma de triángulo.*
(A child gets a triangle-shaped block)***(Teacher puts two triangles together in the shape of a block).
Teacher: *¿Qué es esto?*
Amy: *Cuadrado.*
Teacher: *Y si saca uno?*
Amy: *Cuadrado.*
Teacher: *Triángulo.* (demonstrates)

Later, a discussion about class rules regarding deportment occurred:

> Aide: *Vamos a escribir todo que repetimos todos los días. Escuchar.*
> Teacher: *¿Qué es escuchar?*
> Amy: Quiet.

A few minutes later, the teacher stated that the aide's blouse was *negra.* Amy repeated, quietly to herself, *"Negra,"* and then, shouted out loudly, *"Negro!"* During a discussion of Halloween costumes the teacher asked, *"¿Quién va a ser un fantasma?"* and Amy promptly translated, "Ghost." During play time, the teacher noticed that Amy had taken off her shoes and socks and said, *"Amy, las medias."* Amy then put on her socks.

Over the next few days, more discussion of Halloween took place. On October 26, the teacher said, *"Amy va a decir como hace el fantasma,"* and Amy howled, "WHOOOOO." When the teacher asked, *"¿Quién sabe como hace la bruja?* "Amy responded, "I don't know."

Two days later, when Amy came to school, she was clearly sick and miserable. She was crying, and her nose was running. The aide asked her, *"¿Quieres ir para llevar un* Kleenex *para limpiar la nariz? "* and she answered, "No. *¿Cómo te llamas tú? "* (spoken). At that point, the aide joined her in singing the song *¿Cómo te llamas tú?*

On Halloween, by the time I arrived in class, Amy knew all the words to *Tricky, tricky Halloween.* As the children prepared to go trick or treating, the teacher told another child to put on her *zapatos.* Amy repeated:

Amy: *Zapatos.*
Aide: *Pon los zapatos.*
Amy: No, I'm gonna go barefoot.
Aide: *No.* (Amy picked up her shoes, threw them, and then put them on).

As the children trick-or-treated, Amy uttered "*Gracias* " when she got candy.

On November 2, Amy said "*espejo*" in this situation:

Aide: *Vamos a hacer un espejo. Sentaditos en la mesa. Con crayolas.*
Amy: *Espejo.*

At lunchtime that day, Amy was playing this game:

Amy: Could you say chap.
Child: Chap
Amy: Stick
Child: Stick
Amy: Chapstick
Child: Chapstick

I continued the game with her as follows:

Amy: Carrot
Me: *Zanahoria. Puedes decir zanahoria. Zana--*
Amy: *Zana*
Me: *---horia*
Amy: *---horia*
Me: *Zanahoria*
Amy: *Zanahoria.* That's Linda's
Me: *Sí. ¿Es verde?*
Amy: No. Pink.
Me: *Rosado.*
Amy: *Rosado.* Pink is *rosado.* It's helicopter juice. Say helicopter.
Child: Helicopter
Amy: Juice
Child: Juice
Amy: Helicopter juice
Child: Helicopter juice.

On November 4, Amy was "It" during a game of *Pato pato ganso* (Duck, Duck, Goose), and she was saying the words in Spanish as she played. Later, the children were making impressions of their hands in playdoh. When Gabriela said, "*Estamos contando cuantas manos tenemos. Amy, ¿cuántas manos tienes?*" Amy replied, "This many" (showing two hands).

November 9, the children were making paper lanterns. Amy said, "I want a green." A teacher corrected her, "*Verde.*" Amy said, "I want a *verde*. I said green and she said *verde*. I want a *verde*. I said *verde*."

That day, at lunch, we had the following conversation:

Amy: Do you like turkey?
Me: Cookies? *Sí.*
Amy: No. Turkey.
Me: Oh, turkey. *Pavo. Sí.*
Amy: *Pavo.*
Me: *¿Le gusta pavo?* (sic)
Amy: *Pavo. Sí.*
Me: Amy, *¿qué estás comiendo?*
Amy: *Manzana.* Do you have a daddy?
Me: *Sí. Tengo papá.*
Amy: How do you say *papá* in Spanish?
Me: *Se dice papá papá en español. Papá es papá en español.*
Amy: *Papá.* Yeah. *Papá.*

On November 14, Amy was able to sing many of the words of *Las ruedas en el bus.* During circle time, the teacher was explaining another cutting and gluing activity, when Amy said,

Amy: My mommy said *mucha...*
Teacher: *¿Mucha goma?*
Amy: No. *Mucha* ketchup.
Teacher: *Salsa de tomate.*

As they were doing the activity, Amy spoke the following words: *círculo, poquita goma, triángulo, rectángulo* (pronounced "recteinguro"). When she needed certain shapes, she requested them, saying, "I need a *círculo*," or "I need a *triángulo"* (pronounced with English pronunciation). At lunchtime, she directed another child to eat his "Sandwich *primero*," and told the aide, "I want *leche*." Then, the teacher played a game with her about her brownie

Teacher: *Mío* (pointing to Amy's brownie)
Amy: Me
Teacher: *Mío*
Amy: Me. It's mine.

On November 21, the children were stringing macaroni on yarn to make necklaces:

Aide: *Amy, ¿quieres hacer un collar?* (Amy nods). *Cuenta diéz.*
Amy: *Uno, dos, tres, cuatro, cinco, seís, siete, ocho, nueve diez.*
Aide: *¿Cómo te fue en clase de drama? ¿Bien?*
Amy: (nods)
Aide: *Cantaste?*
Amy: (nods)
Aide: *¿Cuántos llevas?*
Amy: No, not yet.
Aide: *Dice no Carmen. Todavía no.*

***

Amy: Is it time for lunchbox?
Teacher: *Sí.* (Amy gets her lunchbox)
Aide: Amy, *¿tú quieres leche?*
Amy: No.
Aide: *No, gracias.*
Amy: *No, gracias.* ...Open this.
Aide: *Amy, le falta una palabra mágica. Por favor.*
Amy: *Por favor.*
Teacher: Amy, *¿quién vino de Texas?*
Amy: Daddy!

This extended conversation occurred on November 28:

Teacher: *¿Está James escuchando?*
Amy: No.
Teacher: *Amy, ve pon tu libro en la biblioteca.* (She complies). *Callados. ¿Si ven este animal? ¿Qué es ése? Canguro.*
Amy: *Canguro.*
Teacher: *¿Qué es esto? Un mono. ¿De qué color es?*
Amy: *Negro.*
Teacher: *¿Cómo hace el mono?*
Amy, James, David: (screeching like a monkey)
Teacher: *Un conejo. ¿De qué color es el conejo? Café. Y éste. ¿De qué color?*
Amy: *Negro.*
Teacher: *No, blanco.*
Amy: *Blanco.*
Teacher: *Esa es una foca.*
Amy, David, Ann: *Una foca.*
Teacher: *Este es un león marino.*
Amy, David, Ann: *Amadino* (sic)

When the teacher showed a picture of ducks, Amy and David spontaneously began singing *Cinco patitos*, and the rest of the class finished singing the song with them. Later, Amy spontaneously sang, "*Vamos caminando. Vamos caminando. A jugar. A jugar.*"

On November 30, while singing *Juanito*, Amy said, "I wanna do *ojos.*"

On December 8, in reponse to prompts, she said the following phrases: "*Jugo, por favor. Gracias*" and "*Yo me llamo Amy.*" The following Monday, the name of her brother (whom I shall call Nate) came up in conversation. She said, "My brother." The teacher said, "*Otro Nate. Un amigo* " and Amy translated: "Another Nate."

Later that day, they were talking about Santa Claus:

Teacher: *Este señor Papá Noel no habla así.* (makes a growling noise). *Dice buenos días, Amy.*
Amy: No. He doesn't say Spanish.

The teacher then demonstrated a project in which the children were to wad up small pieces of tissue paper into balls so that they looked like ornaments and glue them onto a paper Christmas tree.

Teacher: *¿Qué vamos a poner para que sea un árbol de Navidad?*
Amy, Linda, James: *Poquita goma.*
Amy: Not *mucha.*
Teacher: *...Vamos a hacer unos bombillos. Pero redondos. Rojo. Hacemos unas bolitas.*
Amy: *Bombillo*
Teacher: *Rojo. Amarillo.*
Amy: *Rojo. Amarillo*

Later, she turned to me as I was writing notes:

Amy: What are you doing?
Me: *Estoy escribiendo. Si hablas en español, escribo.*
Amy: *Escribo.* I did a *bolita.*
Me: *Muy bien. Haz diez bolitas.*
Amy: (she nods). I'm doing *rojo* and *amadillo* (sic)
Teacher: *Es todo. ¿No hay más?*
Amy: (shakes head, points to another spot of glue and puts a ball on it). No more glue!
Me: *¿No más goma?*
Amy: (shakes her head)

At snacktime that day, she said, "*Jugo, por favor.* I want some more *jugo.*" Then, the teacher was reading a book aloud called *El Campo* involving items of various colors that you can find in the countryside. She asked, "*¿Quién tiene amarillo?*" and Amy responded, "*Mira* " as she pointed to a yellow shirt. Then,

Teacher: *Uvas moradas.*
Amy: *Moradas.*
Teacher: *...Amy tiene morada.*

Amy: Right here (pointing).
Teacher: ***¿*De qué color es éste? Café.*
Amy: *Café.*

As the children sang songs that morning, Amy was able to say some of the line-ending words in *Cuando tengas muchas ganas de ...*, such as *aplaudir* and *contestación.* As they played a Simon Says type of game, Amy, along with David and Linda, repeated the words: *Pararse. Sentarse.*

Responses by Amy and imitation of words spoken continued on December 13. On that date, she said the following: "*Buenos días. ¿Cómo estás?*" "*Bien gracias.*" "*Aquí.*" "*Arbol. Trineo.*" "*Yo.*" "*Casaca, y la fila.*" " Teacher, she's not *caminando.* She runs." and on December 14, when the teacher said, "*Amy es un niño,*" she protested, saying, "Uh uh."

When I next saw Amy on January 20, she responded "I did," in response to the teacher's question, "*¿Cantaste?*" At lunch, the teacher asked, "*¿Este es tuyo, Amy?*" (she nodded), and then, "*¿Quieres comer?*" and she responded, "I don't like it."

February 24, as they were preparing to go outside to play, Amy announced:

Amy: I don't have a coat.
Me: *¿Tú no tienes chaqueta? ¿Dónde está?*
Amy: I don't know. I left it at home.

After singing together, the teacher asked, "*¿Quién cantó?*" and Amy and Linda both replied, "*Yo cantó* " (sic).

Before lunch that day, she and I had a conversation:

Amy: Do you have a boy or a girl?
Me: *Tengo dos niños.*
Amy: *Dos niños*? What are their names?
Me: *Dario y Reed.*
Amy: Dario and Reed?....I washed my hands. Smell them.
Me: *Huelen como flores.*
Amy: *Sí.*
***
Aide: *Menos habla y más come come.*
Amy: *Más habla y más come come.* Does she have *dos*? (pointing to a child's juice boxes).

On March 16, the teacher announced, "*Vamos a recoger.*" Mary tried to get Amy to take the toy telephone and pretend to talk, and Amy refused, saying, "No. It's *recoger.*" Then, as we were trying to get her shoes on, she said:

Amy: What's right in Spanish?
Me: *Derecha, y* (sic) *izquierda* (pointing to her shoes)
Amy: *Derecha.*
Me: *¿Es derecha?*
Amy: *Sí. Derecha, y* (sic) *izquierda.*

Shortly thereafter, Amy and another child got into a fight.

Teacher: *Dile lo siento a ella.*
Amy: *Lo siento.*
Teacher: *Dale un abrazo.* (Amy gave her a hug).

On March 17, Amy said, "I need some *agua.*" Then, as the children were gluing tissue paper balls on paper shamrocks, Amy said,

Amy: Here's a *bolita.* I don't want help.
Aide: *Dile no gracias.*
Amy: I don't want help.
Aide: *Dile no quiero ayuda.*
Amy: *No quiero ayuda.*
Aide: *Siéntate en esa mesa, Amy.*
Amy: That *mesa? ***Esto es poquita.*

Interview Data

Her mother reported, in mid-March 1995, that she sings in Spanish "all the time." On occasion, she spontaneously produces Spanish utterances. In Mexican restaurants, for example, she might greet the waiter with "*Hola*," and might place her order in Spanish: "*Taco, por favor.*" During a visit with her Spanish-speaking grandparents in February, she responded to them with isolated Spanish words and phrases, calling her grandmother "*uita*" (short for *abuelita*), and her grandfather "*papo*." She would use "*Sí*," and would ask for things in Spanish, e.g., "*Agua, por favor*," and would ask, "*¿Le gusta eso?*"

ANN

Ann, a three-day-a-week, half-day student at the IS, received her first exposure to Spanish and virtually her first exposure to school when she started at the IS in September. At that time, she was 3;5 years of age. I observed her on September 7, 9, 14, 19, 21, 26, 28 and 30; October 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 17, 19, 24, 26, 28 and 31; November 4, 7, 9, 14, 16, 18, 28 and 30; January 20; February 24; and briefly on March 15, for a total of 30 different observation sessions.

Observational Data

On September 7, Ann's first morning, she quickly comprehended the total physical response activity involving putting clothes on the bear. When the teacher said, "*¿Ann, quiere poner el*

otro zapato al oso?" she immediately carried out the direction. At snack time, the teacher offered her another cookie: "*¿Quieres mas galletas, Ann?"* She took one, and her mother, who was sitting nearby said, "*Gracias."* Ann immediately reponded with, "Thank you." At the end of snack, the teacher said, "*¿Puedes ponerlo en la basura allá?"* (pointing to the trash can), and Ann complied. And, at circle time after recess, the teacher said, "*Vamos a poner las sillas y vamos a sentarnos en una silla."* Ann, along with four other children, (including one who was returning from the previous year) went to get chairs and put them in a circle.

During her second day at the IS, Ann misinterpreted some things the teacher was saying. During an art project, when the teacher asked, "*¿Qué color te gusta, Ann?"*, she got up and sat at the other table. When asked if she wanted to cut with scissors ("*cortar con las tijeras*"), she made no response, but after the question was repeated, she took the scissors that had been offered.

About an hour before lunch, April went to get her lunch box. The teacher asked her, "*Ann, ¿tienes hambre?"* She answered, "I'm hungry," and the teacher confirmed this: "*Ya. Tienes hambre."*

Two days later, Ann and the aide were sitting at the table preparing to do a painting project. As the aide put a paint shirt on April and showed her what to do, she engaged in a running commentary:

Aide: *Vamos a pintar tu cabeza. Los brazos. Listo. Ann. ¿Quieres ir a pintar? Sí. Ann, vamos a pintar. ¿Quieres éste? Voy a traer más pintura acá. Ann, ésta es el corazón. Mira, Ann. ¿Quieres hacerlo?*

That same date, Ann was doing the hand gestures to the song *Abre Ciera.* A few minutes later, the following exchange occurred:

Ann: What are we gonna do?
Teacher: *Vamos a hacer una cosa.*
Ann: I don't wanna do it.
Teacher: *OK. No hagas, Ann.*

By September 19, Ann was trying to sing the words to *Abre Ciera.* When she told the teacher, "I'm tired," the teacher repeated it, "*Estás cansada.*" At lunch, she directed her to "*Come tus duraznos,*" and Ann complied by eating them.

On September 21, the teacher was teaching the number four. Ann said, "*Cuatro,*" and when the teacher asked, "*¿Quién puede contar de uno a cuatro?*" Ann said, "I want to." She then proceeded to build a tower with four blocks, but in silence. Hungry again long before lunchtime, Ann went to get her lunch box. The teacher said, "*Ann, no vamos a comer. Vamos a hacer esto*" (pointing to another activity), and Ann put her lunch box away.

At lunch on September 26, the teacher told her to "*Tome el jugo,*" and Ann protested, "That's not my juice!" Two days later, during circle time, the teacher was introducing the number five by putting big paper teeth on a big mouth. She asked, "*¿Quién se cepilla los dientes?*" and Ann immediately raised her hand. During lunch,

the teacher commented that Ann had not eaten her sandwich: *"Ann, no has comido el sandwich,"* and Ann responded, "I don't want it."

On October 12, during circle time, the teacher was drawing a picture of a person. She asked, before she was done drawing it, *"¿Está completo? ¿Qué le hace falta?"* One of the children in the class who already knew Spanish responded, *"Un brazo,* " and Ann then said, "Arm."

By October 31, Ann responded to more than yes/no questions in Spanish, although her responses were still in English. For example, when the teacher asked, *"Ann, ¿qué quieres jugar?"* she answered, "I'm gonna play with blocks." When the children went trick or treating, Ann audibly chanted parts of the Spanish rhyme: *...para mí. ... dulces..*

The following week, Ann responded appropriately with numbers to questions, in Spanish.

> Teacher: *¿Cuántos ojos tienes?*
> Ann: *Dos.*
> Teacher: *¿Cuántas manos tienes?*
> Ann: *Dos.*

At lunch on November 4, the teacher asked Ann if she had *leche* in her lunch. She responded, "I drink juice." Then, she looked in her thermos, saw that she in fact had milk, and said, "It's milk!" The aide stated the oft-repeated rule, *"No se comparte en el tiempo de almuerzo,"* and Ann translated, "No sharing."

During circle time on November 7, Ann counted up to *cuatro* along with the teacher. The teacher then said, *"Enséñame los dedos,"*

and Ann showed four fingers. When she asked her, "*¿Cuántos años tienes?*" Ann told her, "I'm almost four." Throughout class that day, Ann continued to respond, primarily with Spanish numbers, to questions about numbers. At one point, Ann wasn't paying attention to the teacher, and the teacher said, "*Ann. ¿Estás mirando?*" Ann replied, "I can see." When giving instructions on how to do the project, the teacher began to admonish the children to use only a little bit of glue:

> Teacher: *Después, un poquito de go---*
> Ann: *---ma.*

As I left the classroom that day, Ann called out to me, "*Adiós.*"

By November 14, Ann was enthusiastically singing along to all the songs which had been introduced to that point. When the teacher asked "*¿Cuánto goma vamos a usar? Poquita,*" Ann and Amy called out, in chorus, "*Goma.*"

That same day, during a lesson on shapes, April responded correctly to the question, "*¿Qué es esto?*" with the answer "*círculo,*" or "*cuadrado*" or "*triángulo,*" as appropriate. When the aide asked, "*¿Dónde van los triángulos?*", Ann pointed to the right place. And while playing with the blocks, I heard her call them *bloques.* As the children formed a line before going outside for recess, Ann said, "*Vamos, vamos, vamos.*"

On November 28, the teacher was reading a book about animals aloud. As she said the names of the different animals, Ann would try repeat them saying, e.g., *una foca.* Sometimes she had trouble with

the pronunciation: when the teacher said "*Un león marino*" (a sea lion), I heard Ann say something that sounded like "*amadino.*" (sic)

I did not see Ann at all during December because she was out of school due to illness and vacation. The few times I saw her after December, the only verbalizations I observed were those involved in singing. She sang all the songs loudly and enthusiastically, and seemed to be able to sing all the words, as well.

Interview Data

According to her mother, Ann's sole exposure to Spanish is at school; as of mid-February, 1995, she had not heard Spanish or interacted with Spanish-speakers outside of school. Nonetheless, at that point, her mother reported that within the previous month, she had started singing in Spanish "all the time" in the car. By the end of January, 1995, she had also started spontaneously producing Spanish words at home. For example, when getting dressed , she might say, "These are my *ojos*." Her mother would ask, "What's that?" and Ann would say, "Eyes." She inserts Spanish words into sentences, but the mother cannot say what they are because she does not know Spanish. She recognizes them as such, however, because of the difference in the rhythm and because of the sing-song tone of the language. She has heard her say "*Verde*" at home, and reports that, in early February, she was naming various objects around the house in Spanish.

JAMES

James was just barely three years old at the time he started at the IS in September of 1994. Prior exposure to Spanish occurred on trips to Mexico where his maternal grandparents, native Spanish speakers, live. Although he had not attended school before the IS, he had been in a home daycare setting. He attends the IS every day for half days. James was present all of the 44 days that I observed at the IS except for September 6, November 18, December 7, and March 15.

Observational Data

On James' first day at school, the teacher was pointing at objects or holding them up and naming them. She held up a baby doll, said it was *un bebé*, and then asked, "*¿Quién va a buscar un bebé en la casa de nosotros?* " Both James and Linda responded by going to get a doll.

From that first day, James frequently demonstrated comprehension by his refusal to carry out certain actions. For example, the teacher said, "*James, vamos a sentarnos acá"* (pointing), and James replied, "I don't wanna sit there." Shortly afterwards, she picked him up, sat him down and said, "*Sentado."*

On his second day at school, this interaction occurred as the children were preparing for recess:

> Teacher: *James, los zapatos. Siéntate. Nos vamos afuera al patio. Necesitas los zapatos.*
> James: Are we going to the playground?
> Teacher: *Patio.* Say *patio.*

James: *Patio.*
Teacher: *Bravo. Patio.*
(James was looking at his Lion King lunchbox).
Teacher: *¿Qué es esto?*
James: Pumba, Simba and Timon.
Teacher: *¿Un mono?*
James: No, Pumba, Simba and Timon.
***
Teacher: *James, la chaqueta.*
James: I don't have to wear it.

On September 12, the teacher was demonstrating how to paint, pressing the brush down hard so that the paint would show up. She said, "*Duro, duro, Susan, duro.*" James repeated what she said, several times, verbatim.

Later that day, during circle time, as she was teaching the children a rhyme about body parts, she said, "*¿Dónde están los ojos?*" When James nodded his head, she corrected him: "*No sí. Dónde* " (and then she pointed to his eyes). That same day, James was singing *Abre cierra* quietly to himself, and at lunch, he noticed a big picture of a house, exclaiming, "Look at that big giant *casa!* "

On September 14, I heard James say, "*Gracias,*" when he was prompted to after being given juice at snacktime. By September 16, after singing the song *Buenos días, ¿Cómo estás?* he said, to himself, "*Buenos días. ¿Cómo estas?* " During circle time, the teacher was demonstrating an art project in which children were going to glue body parts on a paper cut-out of a boy or girl figure. She asked the children if they wanted a boy or girl: "*¿Quieres niño o niña?*" and James chose a "*Niña.*"

On September 19, David and Amy were arguing at lunch over whether to say "milk" or "*leche,*" and James said, "*Leche, leche, leche.*" I also heard him counting: "*Uno, dos, tres, cuatro, cinco, seís.*"

September 26, the teacher asked him if he wanted to help her: "*James, ¿quieres ayudarme aquí?* ", but he shook his head, refusing. On September 30, he and another child were fighting. He cried, "Mark pushed my back." The aide asked, "¿Mark *te empujó?* " and he said, "Yeah." At lunch, the aide asked him whether something was his: "*¿Este es tuyo?* " After he shook his head no, she said, "*Es tuyo, James,* " and this time, he nodded.

On October 3, children were playing with playdoh. One child asked if he could take it home with him. The teacher responded that he could not: "*No, este playdoh vamos a guardar en la escuela.*" James said, "I'm not taking my playdoh home." As they worked with the playdoh, the teacher sang *La cucaracha.* James began singing along, "*Wancha....wancha...* " (sic). He continued to do so, even after the teacher was done, perhaps twenty more times: "*...falta; ...falta. Curacha. Curacha.*" (sic). The teacher hid a ball behind her back and asked, "*En que mano?* " and James chose a hand. He continued to sing "*curacha, curacha....*" (sic). As I left the classroom that day, I called out, "*Adiós.*" James called back to me, "*Adiós.*"

At the end of recess on October 5, the teacher signaled, as she always did, for the children to line up to return to the classroom by raising her hand and calling out "*Es hora. Vamos. Nos vamos.*"

James ignored her and continued to play, and when she called out "*Adiós, James,*" he came running to the line saying, "I wanna go." As the children went upstairs, she asked, "*James, ¿quieres agua?* " to which he responded by going to the drinking fountain. During lunch that day, James was marching around the table chanting, "*Me llamo, me llamo, me llamo...*" He then announced, "Teacher, I have to go potty." When she responded, "*Vaya, pues,*" he reiterated his request, and when the teacher said, "OK," he went. At the end of lunch period that day, as the children were lining up for recess, James uttered the often-repeated instruction given to the children when they were too noisy: "Tape *en la boca.*"

By October 7, he knew the Spanish word for bathroom:

James: I have to go potty.
Aide: *¿Puedes ir al baño?*
James: I have to go to the *baño.*

On October 12, at recess, James hit another child. The aide told him to give the other child a hug (*"Dele un abrazo* "), which James did immediately. As the children were lining up after recess, there was boisterous yelling. The teacher asked, *"¿Es eso calladito calladito?*" to which James shook his head and Linda answered, "No." That same day he sang many of the words of "*Mi carita es redondita.*" On October 19, he sang *Amigos* and October 26, *Juanito cuando baila.*

Another child gave him a ball on October 19, to which he said, "*Gracias,*" after the teacher prompted him to do so. He also counted

to ten in Spanish. On October 24, during free play time, I heard him repeating, "*Sí, sí, sí* " to himself.

October 26, he said "*Por favor*" to the aide when he was trying to get help putting on his shoes. During circle time, the teacher was talking about Halloween, and pointed to a figure of a bear that was dressed like a witch: "*Nuestra osita está vestida como bruja. ¿Cómo hace la bruja?* " James answered, "Flies like this?" while demonstrating how a witch flies on a broom. When he dropped something during free play time, the teacher said, "*Recógela,*" and he did.

Two days later, the teacher announced that they were going to watch a video of Pinocchio: "*Vamos a ir a mirar una película de Pinocho.*" James said, "I wanna watch that." The teacher said, "*No, si no tienes zapatos,*" to which he put his shoes on. Then, when the teacher said, "*James, el libro no va en el suelo,*" he picked up the book.

During the video, as Geppetto poured water on his head, the teacher said, "*Agua.*" James repeated it. Shortly afterwards, a girl fluent in Spanish who was visiting the class said, to her mother, "*Adiós mamá.*" James repeated "*Adiós mamá*" twice, laughing as he did so.

October 31, as the teacher was counting to three in Spanish, James broke in and completed the "*tres*" before she did. In succeeding days, James regularly participated in counting whenever the opportunity arose. On Halloween, as the children went trick or

treating from room to room, he chanted the last words of *Tricky, Tricky Hallowe'en.* He also said "*Gracias*" after receiving candy.

By November 4, James was able to apologize in Spanish when prompted, "*Lo siento.* " On November 7, when the teacher picked up a broken toy dinosaur and asked, "´*¿Quién rompió el dinosauro?* " James was the first to demur: "Not me." As she gave the dinosaur to the aide to throw away, she said, "*Dígale adiós al pobre dinosauro. Va a la basura,*" and James responded, "*Adiós.*" Later that day, as the teacher was demonstrating a crafts project which involved cutting out a picture of a dog and putting it in a doghouse, she asked where to put the dog:

Teacher: *¿En dónde?*
James: *En la casa.*

At clean-up time, the teacher said:

Teacher: *A lavarse las manos.*
James: *No quiero, no quiero, no quiero.*

At lunch that day, the following conversation occurred:

Child: Do you like chicken?
Teacher: *A mí me gusta el pollo.*
James: I like chicken.
Teacher: *¿Te gusta el pollo?*
James: (nods)
Teacher: (to Tom) *Di 'jugo, por favor.'*
James: *Jugo, por favor.*

During circle time on November 9, the teacher asked James where his name was (taped to the floor): *"James, ¿dónde está tu nombre?"* He moved and pointed at it. He repeated "*poquita goma*"

and "*verde* " after they were uttered by other children. He told the teacher, "I wanna play with *bloques.*"

A week later, James was crying at lunchtime:

> James: I'm hungry.
> Teacher: *Yo también tengo hambre.*
> James: I want that. (crying, somewhat hysterically)
> Teacher: *¿Qué cosa? ¿Qué quieres*?
> Me: *Jugo.*
> Teacher: *Entonces dice jugo. Quiero jugo. Solamente dice que quieres jugo.*
> James: I want *jugo.*

November 21, James asked the aide, "Are we going to go outside and then eat our sandwich?" She replied, "*Cuando terminemos, sí.*" James translated, "My teacher said 'yes'."

On November 23, the children were watching a video of Thumbelina , during which one of the characters said, "*Adiós.*" James repeated, "*Adiós.* " After lunch that day, the teacher directed him to put something in the trash: "*James, esto va a la basura. Basura.*" He complied, repeating to himself, "*Basura.*"

During circle time the next Monday, the teacher was trying to get James' attention. She asked, "*¿Está James escuchando?* " When Amy said "No," James immediately contradicted her, saying, "Yes." The teacher began to read a book aloud to the children. When she showed them the fox and said, "*Lobo,*" James corrected her: "No, it's a fox." On Wednesday, during lunch, he was not eating his applesauce, and when the teacher asked him, "*Vas a comer el puré?*" he shook his head.

Two weeks before Christmas break, James was singing virtually all the words to all the songs. During circle time, he continued to count, but added other words, such as *árbol* and *trineo*. As songs were completed, he often repeated the last word of the song one or more times, to himself.

On December 8, the teacher held up glue and asked, "*¿Qué es ésta?* " James answered, "*Goma*." She held up a picture of Santa Claus and cut-outs of facial features, and asked what they were. When she held up the mouth, James said, "Lips. Lips." The teacher said, "*Esto es la bo---*"with James finishing,"*--quita.*" She asked, "*¿Qué ponemos*?" and James responded, "*Poquita goma.*" He continued to repeat things he heard, as evidenced by the following exchanges:

Teacher: *Mary, en un dedo. No toda la mano. En un dedo.*
James: *Un dedo, un dedo, un dedo.* (12/8/94)

* * *

Teacher: *Ponlo en la basura.*
James: Put it in la *basura. Gracias.*
Mary: *Jugo, por favor. Gracias.*
James: *Jugo por favor. Gracias. Gracias.* (12/8/94)

* * *

Amy: *Rojo. Amarillo.*
Linda: *Rojo. Amarillo.*
James: *Rojo. Amarillo.* (12/12/94)

* * *

Teacher: *Casaca. Y la fila.*
James: *Casaca.* Mine. (12/13/94)

And he responded to more complex commands with the appropriate action, such as, "*Los que están listos, levanten la mano; James, ponlo en el bolsillo; ¿Cómo te llamas?* (he responded, *"Yo me*

llamo James"). While discussing an upcoming candy reward for good behavior, the teacher asked, "*¿Carmen merece un caramelo? ¿Es malcriado? ¿Corre en clase? ¿Grita? "* James said, "*Carmen* walks."

On December 12, during circle time, a child protested that the teacher had forgotten to call James' name. She said, "*No, yo dije James al primero,*" and James concurred, "Yeah." That day, the teacher told him to give his hand to the child sitting next to him, before singing the *Amigos* song: "*James, dale la mano a Karen."* He refused, saying, "No. Her thumb is all wet from her mouth." Later, the teacher was asking the children what they did when they were babies. She asked them if they cried or drank from a bottle: "*¿Qué hacías cuando eras bebé? ¿Llorabas? ¿Tomabas botella?"* (demonstrating). James protested, "No, I wasn't going like that. When I was a baby I played toys."

A few minutes later, the children were noisy and inattentive. The teacher said, "*Hoy día, Uds. son media locos, entonces no vamos a tener dulces. No caramelos."* James protested, "I'm not pickin' *mocos."* And the teacher said, "*Locos. No mocos. Dije locos. ¿Quién sabe que es loco?"* At snack time, James asked, "Where's *jugo,*" and requested some, saying, "*Jugo, por favor.*"

December 14, the teacher asked if a certain little boy was "*un niño o niña.*" James responded, "*Niño.*" As I left that day, James and David called out to me, "*Adiós. Feliz Navidad.*"

A month later, on January 20, the teacher asked if the children had sung:

Teacher: *¿Cantaste?*
James: I did.
Teacher: *¿Te has portado bien?*
All children: I did.

It was David's birthday, and after being served cupcakes and singing *Feliz cumpleaños*, the teacher said, *"Pueden comer."* James exclaimed, "I can *comer* now!"

March 16, after 40 minutes of enthusiastic singing during circle time, James exclaimed, unprompted, "I *escucha*ed." March 17, he announced, "I need to go to the *baño*." When the teacher asked, *"¿Quién se levantó temprano hoy?,"* James and Susan called out, *"Yo!"* The teacher began the *Los días de la semana* song, and then said, jokingly, that there were fifteen days in a week.

Teacher: *Quince.*
James: *No. No quince. Siete.*
Teacher: *¿Qué día es hoy?*
James: *¿Jueves?*
Teacher: *No.*
Many children: *¿Viernes?*

Later on, an assistant said something about her watch: *"Es mí reloj.* " James said, "I don't got a watch or a *reloj.*" A cassette tape was played about the story of St. Patrick's day, but the children were squirming and interrupting. The aide asked, *"¿Qué pasó con la cassette?"* When a bilingual visitor to the class answered, *"Yo no sé,"* James imitated it. They then talked about the story which included a character named Jamie. The aide said, *"El niño se llama Jamie."* James said, "A *niña.* I'm a *niño."*

Following the story, a total physical reponse Simon Says kind of game in Spanish was played to regain the children's attention, in which the aide gave various commands about what the children should do with their hands and bodies: "*Pararse. La pierna derecha arriba. La izquierda. La mano derecha en frente. Afuera. Arriba. Afuera. La mano izquierda. Abajo. Adelante. Atrás.*" James said, while moving his body forward, "*Esto es adelante.*"

Before recess that day, some of the children were painting bags blue like letter carriers' mail bags. The aide said, "*Pinte ésta para hacer la bolsa del cartero.*" James responded by speaking the lines of a song they had learned, "*Cartero. Fiel mensajero.*" When it was time to clean up, she directed him to wash his hands: "*James, ve y bañate las manos, por favor.*" He responded, "I washed my hands." Before recess, he announced that he had to get in line: "I have to get in *fila.*" Finally, after receiving candy for having listened during storytime, the aide asked, "*¿Quién terminó ya su caramelo*?" and James called out, "*Yo.*"

Interview Data

On February 13, 1995, his father reported that James frequently sings in Spanish, talks to himself in Spanish, even in complete sentences, but he

cannot tell what James is saying because he does not know Spanish himself. James often asks the names of things in Spanish (e.g., colors, animals, cars, boats), and his father's response is to look it up in the dictionary and then say the word. At home, Spanish music is

frequently played and the TV is tuned to the Spanish television station on cable TV. James' ears will "perk up" when he hears Spanish, and he will say, "That's Spanish," and then he will ask the meaning of whatever he heard.

MARY

Until Christmas, Mary attended the IS just two mornings a week, but increased to four days a week after Christmas. She was the youngest of the children in the study, at 2;10 when school started. Prior exposure to Spanish was virtually nonexistent, though she did have prior preschool experience (two mornings per week). I observed Mary on only seven occasions: September 8, November 18, December 8, 13, and 14, and March 15 and 16.

Observational Data

Mary's first day in the class was September 8. On that day, at snack time, the teacher was handing out snacks and prompting the children to say thank-you.

> Aide: *Mary, puede decir gracias.*
> Mary: *Gracias.*

Two months later, on November 18, Mary sang whole songs during circle time--*Amigos* and *Gracias, gracias gracias.* During *Juanito*, she said the word for various body parts (*mano, dedo*) at the appropriate point in the song.

During lunch, I asked her:

Me: *¿Cómo te llamas?*
Mary: *¿Cómo te llamas?*
Me: *Mary, ¿cuántos años tienes?*
Mary: *Uno.* I have *uno.*

On December 8, during circle time, she counted up to *ocho* while counting the days of the week, and, in unison with the teacher and another student, identified pictures as *trineo* (sled) and *árbol* (tree). At that time, she sang *Navidad, Amigos,* and *Bravo.*

That same day, in response to multiple prompts by the teacher, rewarded by a piece of candy, the following occurred:

Teacher: *¿Cómo te llamas?*
Mary: *Yo me llamo Mary.*

On December 14, in response to a question by a non-Spanish speaker who was present in the class, "How do you say four in Spanish?, Mary said, "*Cuatro.*" She responded, "*Bien, gracias,*" when the teacher asked her "*¿Cómo estás?* ", and "*Aquí*" when the teacher called roll.

The following day, Mary was chewing on her shirt. The teacher asked her, "*Mary, ¿estás con hambre?*" She shook her head, and the teacher said, "*Uno no come la ropa. No se come la ropa en la boca.*" Mary responded, "You eat food," and the teacher followed up with, "*Comemos comida. Comida en la boca. No vestido. No mocos. No zapatos. ¿Qué comemos? Comida.*"

Later that day, during circle time, Mary joined in singing the *Lunes, martes* song. She also joined in singing *Arroz con leche,* and *Estrellita* . On alternate days of the week, the teacher put a sled or Christmas tree on the calendar, and asked, "*¿Qué nos toca después del*

árbol?" Mary replied, "*Lunes,*" and then, when told she was wrong, said "*Martes.*" The teacher, distracted by a child taking off her shoes said, "Linda, put your shoes on." Mary said, "*Zapatos.*" When asked, "*¿Quién puede cantar la canción de Navidad?*" Mary answered in Spanish: "*Yo.*" When asked if she was a *niña* or *niño*, she responded, "*Niña.*" When offered a muffin, she said, "*Sí, gracias,*" and she requested some juice as follows, "*Jugo, por favor.*".

By March 15, 1995, during a pretend phone call, Mary said, "Hi. Hello. *Hola.*" After the teacher had announced that it was time to clean up, she ordered another child who continued to play, "*A recoger.*" Then, the following conversation took place at the sink:

> Mary: Which is hot, and which is cold?
> Teacher: *La derecha es fría, la izquierda es caliente.*
> Mary: This one's *fría?*
> Teacher: *No, ésta.*
> Mary: *Frío. Y caliente. Caliente.*

During snack time this dialogue occurred:

> Mary: *Más habla. Menos come.*
> Teacher: *No. Menos habla.*
> Mary: *Menos habla. Más come come.*

Interview Data

According to her mother, by mid-February, Mary was singing many Spanish songs at home (including *Yo te amo, Uno dos tres Amigos, Abre cierra, Las ruedas del bus*). She often asks her mother, "What's that in Spanish?" and her mother sometimes invents reponses to satisfy her. She lines up her dolls at home and gives them the names of the other children in her class. In February, her mother

hired a Spanish-speaking mother's helper, and her mother has heard Mary say "*Adiós*" and "*Gracias*" to her. Once, when an item was named in Spanish as "*pescado,*" Mary said, "*No pescado* --fish." Her mother characterizes her as a willing mime who likes to imitate what people say.

SUSAN

Susan, a full-time student at the IS, had the most prior exposure to Spanish of any of the children included in the study, having heard it from her parents and older sister (also a student at the IS). She was 3;4 when school started in September, 1994. Previous school experience consisted of a private in-home daycare setting for a year and a half. Of the 44 days I was present at the IS, Susan was also present 41 of those days. The only days she was absent were October 24 and November 21 and 23, 1994.

Observational Data

Her first day there, she was the first student to place a number on the calendar in accordance with the teacher's request. After recess, she went to the easel in response to the teacher's question, and gesture toward it : ¿"*Quieres pintar?*" Later, when she was doing a puzzle and the piece was upside down, the teacher turned it over, saying, "*Dale la vuelta.*"

At lunchtime, the teacher was telling the children to look for their lunchboxes. She held up a thermos and asked Susan, "*¿Es tuyo,*

Susan?" and Susan responded, "Mine." During that same lunch period, when Susan wanted to eat dessert before eating her main course, the teacher said, "*Tienes que comer algo bueno,"* and Susan responded, "But it's spicy."

The following day, at recess, Susan asked the teacher if she could play in the lower playground. The teacher denied her request, saying, "*No puedes jugar allá,"* whereupon Susan protested, "Yes!"

On her third day of school, during snacktime, the aide asked Susan if she wanted help: *"¿Quieres ayuda?"*, and Susan said, "*Sí."* Before recess that same day, a discussion ensued about which jacket belonged to which child, and the teacher held up a jacket and said, "*Esto. ¿De quién es? ¿Es tuyo?* " and Susan said, "The red one." The teacher's response was, "*OK. La roja es tuya.*"

On Susan's fourth day, the teacher was admiring an art project she had done and said, "*Mira, Susan. Tan bonito. ¿Es tuyo?"* and Susan nodded in the affirmative. The teacher then asked Susan to throw something in the wastebasket: *"En la basura"* (while pointing), and Susan immediately complied. Later that day, the following exchange occurred while the teacher was trying to get Susan involved in an activity:

Teacher: *Susan, ¿quieres pintar?*
Susan: No.
Teacher: *¿Vamos a jugar en la casa?*
Susan: No
Teacher: *¿Vamos a hacer un collar?*
Susan: No.

In the weeks that followed, Susan was very quiet except at snack and lunch times. What little language she produced generally occurred during those times. At lunchtime on September 12, the teacher was encouraging the children to eat their food. She asked Susan, "*¿Quieres más jugo?*" and Susan answered, "No, I'm gonna save the juice." On Friday of that week, during snack time, the teacher asked her if she wanted another cookie: *"Susan, ¿quieres otra?"* and Susan took one.

At the sandbox during recess on September 21, Susan and some other children were making "cakes" out of sand. The following discussion occurred:

> Susan: I'm gonna make another cake for you.
> Linda: I'm gonna make a cake for you too. Two cakes.
> Me: *Dos.*
> Linda: *Dos.*
> Susan: *Dos* cakes.

During the beginning of the fourth week, at lunchtime I asked Susan, "*¿Es tu jugo?*" She replied, "No, my daddy didn't bring me juice, but that's OK." That same week, comprehension (as evidenced by either refusal or compliance) was demonstrated to the following commands: *recoge primero; siéntese; esto para la basura; empuja tu silla.*

September 30, Susan resisted talking Spanish during lunch time. She had asked the teacher to peel a banana for her:

> Teacher: *Por favor.*
> Susan: Please.
> Teacher: *Por favor.*
> Susan: Please.

Teacher *Por favor.*
Susan: Please. But it's not for you.
Teacher: *Tienes que decir por favor.*
Susan: *Sí.*
Teacher: *Amarillo.*
Susan: Yellow.

At recess, she again brought me a chocolate sand cake.

Me: *¿Es chocolate?*
Susan: Yes.
Me: *¿Es chocolate o vainilla?*
Susan: *Chocolate.*

During lunch, on October 3, the teacher told her to eat her yoghurt first: "*Yoghurt. Primero.*" Susan's response was, "That first?" Later, the teacher asked her, "*No le gusta* peanut butter?", and Susan replied, "I don't like it."

Another of Susan's favorite activities was to play doctor with the teacher. On October 7, she told the teacher to "Lay down." The teacher complied, saying, "*Me acuesto.*" Susan echoed her: "You *acuesto.*" At lunch that day, the teacher recited *Tin Marin* rhyme, and then added on "*Es mío.*" Susan said, "*No, es mío.* Not *you-yo. Es mío.*" The teacher said, "*Tuyo,*" and Susan reiterated, "Not *you-yo. Es mío.*" This kind of dialogue was repeated on ensuing days.

By October 12, Susan was able to distinguish personal pronouns even better. The teacher said to her:

Teacher: *Su nombre es...*
Susan: Susan.
Teacher: *¿Cómo me llamo?*
Susan: *Gabriela.*

Later that morning, the teacher asked her to sing a song (*"canta la canción"*), and Susan declined, saying, "I can't 'cuz I'm coloring right now."

Comprehension of more complex directives began to occur. On October 17, the teacher told the children who had moved some chairs to help move them back: *"Llevan las sillas los que trajeron sillas. ...Ayudamos. Con dos manos, Susan. Ambas manos."* At that, Susan removed one hand from her mouth (she liked to suck on her fingers), and moved her chair using both hands. Later that day, Susan brought a doll to show me. I asked her its name: *"¿Cómo se llama el bebé?"* and Susan said, "She doesn't have a name."

The game with possessive pronouns became more complicated on October 17. The following dialogue was recorded:

Teacher: *Este es mi jugo. ¿De quién es el jugo?*
Susan: Juice.
Teacher: *Jugo.*
Susan: Juice.
Teacher: *Es mío.*
Susan: *No, es mío.*
***
Teacher: *¿Qué es esto? Palito. Ponlo en el cacahuate.¿Tuyo? ¿Mío?*
Susan: (pointing to teacher): *Tuyo.*

On October 26, when I arrived at school, it was raining and the children were playing in the gym. Susan had food on her face.

Me: *¿Qué comiste?*
Aide: Muffin.
Susan: Muffin.
Me: *¿Jugo?*
Aide: *Y...*
Susan: Apple.

Aide: *Manzana.*
Susan: Muffin and *jugo* and *manzana.*

On November 7, the teacher asked Susan what she had done: "*¿Qué hiciste?"* and Susan said, "I'm cleaning up the table." After that vocalization, however, there was a period of several weeks during which she said very little. She did respond to commands, getting her coat when asked ("*Susan, chaqueta"*), taking her fingers out of her mouth ("*Susan, los dedos fuera de la boca*"), pushing in her chair, ("*Susan, ven, empuja tu silla* "). During that month, the only Spanish I saw her "speak" was during the song *Juanito* when she mouthed the word "*dedo.*"

It was not until December 7 that I heard her speak Spanish again. During morning circle time, she was still reticent, merely nodding when the teacher greeted her with "*Buenos días, Susan. ¿Cómo estás? ¿Bien?"* Then, during an activity in which children had to identify which items were candy canes (*bastones*) and which were Christmas ornaments (*bombillos*), she responded to the teacher's question "*¿Qué es esto?* " with "*bastón.* " The following day, during roll call, she answered "*Aquí* " when her name was called. When the teacher offered children candy if they would respond with a complete sentence to the question, "*¿Cómo te llamas?"* Susan's response, "*Yo me llamo Susan* " was inaudible, but her lip movements were visible.

On December 12, I observed her joining in with the class while singing (*Lunes, martes*), and the following day she sang along to *Abre cierra, Las ruedas en el bus,* and *Navidad.*

On January 20, Susan brought a piece of candy to me. I thanked her, saying "*Gracias.*" "You open it," she demanded. I said, "*Me abre, por favor,*" and she echoed me as follows: "*Por favor. Gracias.*"

February 24, Susan was a vociferous participant in all of the singing. After singing *Uno, dos, tres, chocolate*, the teacher asked, "*¿Quién puede rápido?* " and Susan raised her hand and then rapidly sang the song again. Then, on March 16, during free playtime, she asked the teacher, "Can I go in *casa* ?" and at snacktime she indicated her desire for a bagel by saying, "*Sí, gracias.*"

The following day, when the teacher greeted her with "*Buenos días, Susan. ¿Cómo estás?*" , Susan replied, in turn, "*Buenos días, Gabriela. ¿Cómo estás?*" Before recess, the teacher was trying to get the children to line up by telling them she would withhold candy from those who did not comply: "*Si no está en fila no merece caramelo.*" Susan immediately said, "I do." And after singing, when the teacher asked, "*¿Quién cantó?* ", a bilingual child who was occasionally in the class answered, "*Yo cantó* (sic)." Susan said, "*¿Yo cantó?*" and the aide corrected the grammar: "*Yo canté.*" Susan repeated the corrected response: "*Yo canté.*" Later that day, the aide was reading a story to the children (*Tu mamá es una llama*). Susan was eager to complete sentences:

Aide: *Tu mamá es un cisne. Tiene alas blan---*
Susan: *...cas.*
Aide: *Que tu mamá es un--*
Susan: *Canguro.*
Aide: *Y mi mamá es una*

Susan: *Llama.*
Aide: *Llama. Muy bien, Susan.*

Interview Data

Her father reports that in the car, she is "like a tape-recorder," singing whole songs in Spanish. Sometimes her sister will correct her on how the song goes. He has heard "nonsensical" talking from her which he characterizes as being similar to babbling--it sounds like Spanish but he cannot discern the words.

If he says something to her in Spanish, she does not ask what it is, but she responds. Sometimes she plays teacher with herself, saying, e.g., "*¿Esto manzana? Esto no es manzana.*" She recites body parts at home, such as "*brazo, nariz, boca* " (arm, nose, mouth).

TOM

Tom was almost three and a half when he started at the IS, with no prior Spanish or school/daycare exposure. He attended school three full days a week. I watched Tom on nineteen different dates: September 6, 8, 12, 19 and 26; October 3, 10, 17, 24 and 21; November 7, 14, 21, 28 and 30; December 8, 12 and 13; and March 16, 1995.

Observational Data

On September 6, during circle time, the teacher introduced the calendar, and had the students put the numbers on the calendar in a TPR kind of activity. He was the third student to be given a number and was shown where to put it:

Teacher: *Tom, ¿quiere poner el cinco? Cinco va aquí.*

He placed the number in the appropriate square on the calendar. A few minutes later, the children were putting clothing on a picture of a bear. She held up a picture of a skateboard and said, "*Vamos a poner los patinetes en los pies del oso.*" Again, Tom put the skateboard in the right place--below the bear's feet.

For most of the rest of the day, Tom was crying for his parents and the teacher held him much of the time, trying to comfort him. She talked to him in Spanish about what he was doing, e.g. "*Tom está triste....Vamos al baño....Mami viene* ." Prolonged crying occurred two days later, on September 8, and again on September 12. On September 12, when Tom woke up from his nap, he asked, "Where's my daddy?" The teacher replied "*Cinco minutos.*" Tom held up his hand to show five minutes. A few minutes later, he said, "My dad's gonna be here in five minutes."

On September 19, Tom cried much of the time and stayed very close to the teacher. At one point, the following interchange occurred:

Tom: Are you gonna sit here?
Teacher: *En un minuto.*
Tom: In one minute?
Teacher: *En un minuto*
Tom: In one minute? One, two, three, four, five, six. Now are you gonna sit here?

As the weeks went on, he continued to stay apart from the class--to watch activities, but not participate, to stay close to the teacher and to cry frequently when she left his sight. On October 3,

when she asked him, at lunch, "*¿Comemos queso?*" , he nodded. On October 10, she asked him, "*¿Un beso?*" When he shook his head, refusing, she turned it into a counting lesson: "*Dos. Tres. Cuatro. Uno. ¿Cuántos? Cero* (gestures showing the numbers). *Beso* (kisses him) *Uno.*"

On October 17, the teacher asked him if he wanted to play with the blocks: "*Tom, ¿quieres jugar en los bloques?*" He shook his head in response. Later that day, she was trying to get him to put down his sheepskin blanket and play with a lacing toy with her:

> Teacher: *Tom, si ves?* You do it. *Pon el* sheepy *en el suelo.*
> Tom: I don't want to.

Later that day, he handed me a paper towel he was done with and said, "Here." When I responded, "*La basura,*" he threw it into the trash. At lunch, the teacher said to him, "*¿Dónde están los besos?*" He immediately gave her a kiss.

During November, there was evidence that he comprehended commands and questions in Spanish. He shook his head "no" when the teacher asked him, "*¿Quieres agua?*" (November 21). He nodded, at lunchtime, when the teacher asked if he wanted help: "*¿Quieres que te ayude?* " (November 28). On November 30, he put on his coat when the teacher said, "*Casaca.*"

By December, the teacher was overtly attempting to get Tom to talk in Spanish and to participate in classroom activities. Despite numerous prompts, he refused to answer her (either in English or Spanish) when roll was called. (December 8). After circle time, the

children were directed to take their chairs back to the tables for the next activity. When she called his name, Tom touched his chair, but waited until the teacher went with him before he would carry it over to the table. On December 13, when she directed him to sit on the floor where his name was written on a piece of tape, ("*Tom, tu nombre*"), he complied. A few minutes later, while the class was singing *Navidad,* I saw Tom mouth the Spanish word for Christams. It was the first time I had ever seen him "speak" Spanish.

Three months later, the contrast was marked. On March 16, Tom actively and enthusiastically participated during circle time. He counted up to 16 (the date that day), sang all the songs, and joined in the class activities.

Interview Data

Despite Tom's evident unhappiness the first day at school, his father reported to me that the same day, at home, Tom had said, "*Hola*" "*Adiós*" and "*Buenos días.*"

According to his mother, he had started asking his parents what words meant in Spanish by October. As of mid-February, he was able to count from 1 to 30 in Spanish, would use phrases such as "*¿Cómo estás?, bien, gracias* and *de nada*". He used Spanish spontaneously at home, played language games with his grandparents, and was eager to label things (e.g., naming fruits, colors) in response to questions. If he was asked a question in Spanish, he would respond in Spanish. He sang Spanish songs in the car, at breakfast, and at bedtime. He

noticed Hispanics on the street. He had told his parents that when he turned four, he was going to start talking at school, and indeed, when I last observed him, in mid-March, he was just a couple of weeks away from his fourth birthday.

APPENDIX H

LYRICS TO SONGS

LYRICS TO SONGS

Buenos días
Buenos días, buenos días.
¿Cómo estás? ¿Cómo estás?
Muy bien, gracias. ¿Y usted? *(9/6)*

Lunes, martes
Lunes, martes, miércoles, jueves, viernes
Sábado y domingo, los días de la semana. *(9/6)*

Abre cierra
Abre cierra, abre cierra,
Las manitas, las manitas.
Todos calladitos. Todos calladitos.
Uno dos tres. Crucen los pies.
Uno dos tres cuatro. Crucen los brazos. *(9/7)*

¿Cómo te llamas tú?
¿Cómo te llamas tú?
¿Cómo te llamas tú?
Mi nombre es _____ *(9/7)*
¿Cómo te llamas tú?

Bravo bravo bravo
Bravo bravo bravo, bravísimo bravo.
Bravo bravo bravo, lo hiciste muy bien. *(9/7)*

Estrellita
Estrellita, estrellita
Me imagino donde estás.
Allá arriba en lo alto
Como un diamante le veo brillar. *(9/7, 10/3)*

Vamos a recoger
Vamos a recoger.
Vamos a recoger.
Es hora de recoger.
Vamos a limpiar. *(9/7)*

Cinco patitos
Cinco patitos se fueron a jugar.
Sobre la colina muy muy lejos.
Mama pata dice cuac cuac cuac.
Cuatro patitos regresan ya.
(Continues counting down to zero)

Ningún patito se fue a jugar.
Sobre la colina muy muy lejos.
Papa pata dice cuac cuac cuac.
Cinco patitos regresan ya. *(9/8)*

Cabeza, hombros, rodillas y pies
Cabeza, hombros, rodillas y pies, rodillas y pies.
Cabeza, hombros, rodillas y pies, rodillas y pies.
Y todos aplaudimos a la vez. *(9/16)*

Pinocho
Pinocho tiene manos con cinco deditos.
Y se lava las manos con agua y jabón. *(9/19)*

Cumpleaños feliz
Cumpleaños feliz.
Te deseo a tí.
Cumpleaños querido _____
Cumpleaños feliz. *(9/19)*

La cucaracha
La cucaracha, la cucaracha
Ya no puede caminar.
Porque le falta, porque le falta
Cuatro patitas para caminar. *(10/3)*

Mi carita es redondita
Mi carita es redondita
Tiene ojos y nariz
Y también una boquita
Para hablar y sonreír. *(10/5)*

Arroz con leche
Arroz con leche
Me quiero casar
Con una señorita de San Nicolás. *(10/5)*

Tin marin
Tin marinde do pingue
Tuta la matara tutara fue
Tú no fuiste fue pingue
Pégala pégala aquella fue. *(10/7; 2/24)*

En otoño las hojitas
En otoño las hojitas
De los árboles se caen
Viene el viento las levanta
Y se ponen a bailar. (dar vueltas, aplaudir) *(10/10)*

De esta manera yo como...
De esta manera yo como yogurt
como yogurt, como yogurt
De esta manera yo como yogurt *(10/10)*

Cuando tengas muchas ganas
Cuando tengas muchas ganas de aplaudir (clap, clap)
Cuando tengas muchas ganas de aplaudir (clap, clap)
Y si no hay contestación
Y si no hay contestación *(10/12)*
No te quedas con las ganas de aplaudir.
(verses substitute *patear, llorar, pelear, aplaudir, gritar, reír,* etc).

Amigos, amigos
Amigos, amigos, uno dos tres
Todos mis amigos están aquí,
Amigos, amigos, uno dos tres
Todos mis amigos están aquí.
Tú eres mi amigo, tú eres mi amiga (etc.) *(10/19)*

Juanito cuando baila
Juanito cuando baila
Baila baila baila
Juanito cuando baila
Baila con los manos
Con los manos, manos, manos
Así baila Juanito.
(each verse add on body part, e.g. *codo, cabeza, nariz, dedo, pies)* *(10/24)*

Caminando
Caminando... *(10/24)*

Triki triki Halloween
Triki, triki Hallowe'en
Quiero dulces para mí.
Y si no hay dulces para mí.
Se le _____ la nariz. *(10/31)*

De colores
De colores *(10/31)*
De colores se visten los campos en la primavera...

Soy la calabaza
Soy la calabaza
La calabaza soy
Tengo dos ojitos
Y los ojos pueden ver.
(la nariz/te puede oler; la boquita/te va a comer/puede sonreír) *(10/31)*

Gracias, gracias, gracias
Gracias, gracias, gracias, muchísimas gracias
Gracias, gracias, gracias por estar aquí.
En este nuestro día con acción de gracias.
Gracias, gracias gracias por estar aquí. *11/4)*

Las ruedas en el bus
Las ruedas en el bus van rueda y rueda,
rueda y rueda, rueda y rueda.
Las ruedas en el bus van rueda y rueda.
Por la ciudad.
(other verses: *puertas/van abre cierra*
ventanas/arriba y abajo
dinero/clink clink clink
chofer/muevense atrás
niños/wah wah wah
mamás/sh sh sh
papás/ ban ban ban) *(11/4)*

Con mis ojos veo las cosas
Con mis ojos veo las cosas
Con la nariz hago 'hachís'.
Y con mi boca puedo comer
Palomitas de maíz. *(11/4)*

Sana, sana
Sana, sana
Manito de rana
Si no sanas hoy
Sanarás mañana. *(11/16)*

Pon tus manos en tus piernas
Pon tus manos en tus piernas en tus piernas
Pon tus manos en tus piernas en tus piernas.
Pon tus manos en tus piernas vamos todos a esperar.
Pon tus manos en tus piernas en tus piernas. *(11/21)*

Navidad, Navidad
Navidad, Navidad, llega la Navidad
Todo el mundo de alegría y felicidad, ja!
Navidad, Navidad, llega la Navidad.
Todo el mundo de alegría ha llegado ya. *(11/30)*
(Tune of Jingle Bells)

Feliz Navidad
Feliz Navidad.
Feliz Navidad.
Feliz Navidad, un prospero año de felicidad. *(12/7)*

Cascabel
Cascabel, cascabel
Lindo cascabel
Con las notas de alegría
Anuncia Noel. (Tune of Jingle Bells) *(12/8)*

Yo soy la viudita
Yo soy la viudita de barrio del conde Laurel
Que quiere casarse.
Y con esta señorita me quedo yo.
Con ésta sí. Con ésta no.
Con esta señorita me quedo yo. *(12/14)*

De esta manera me lavo la cara
De esta manera me lavo la cara
Me lavo la cara, me lavo la cara.
De esta manera me lavo la cara.
Todas las mañanas.
(me cepillo el pelo, me cepillo los dientes, me lavo las manos, sonrío en la escuela) *(1/20/95)*

Dos manitas, diez deditas
Dos manitas, diez deditas
Dos manitas diez deditas
Dos manitas, diez deditas.
Cuéntalos si puedes.
Uno, dos, tres deditos; cuatro, cinco, seis deditos; siete, ocho, nueve deditos,
Y uno más son diez. *(1/20/95)*

Tiptipiton
Tipitipiton.
Este es el sonido que latiga en mi corazón. *(1/20)*

A mí burro
A mi burro, mi burro, le duele la cabeza
El médico le manda una gorrita negra.
Y mueve las patitas
Tapatán tapatán tapatán.
(garganta--bufanda blanca
costillas--chaqueta amarilla
corazón--gotitas de limón
--trozitos de manzana)
Ya no le duele nada. *(2/24)*

Uno, dos, tres, chocolate
Uno dos tres - cho
Uno dos tres - co
Uno dos tres - la
Uno dos tres - te
Chocolate, chocolate,
Bate bate chocolate. *(2/24)*

Lirón, lirón de dónde viene
Lirón, lirón de dónde viene... *(2/24)*
(etc.)

Elena, Elena, Elena la ballena
Elena Elena Elena la ballena
Vivía vivía vivía en el mar.
En el agua azul le gustaba jugar.
En al agua azul le gustaba nadar
Qué hondo, qué hondo, qué hondo es el mar.
Ay mama, mamacita
Qué hondo, qué hondo, qué hondo es el mar. *(2/24)*

Oscar oso
Oscar oso, Oscar oso
Busca miel, busca miel
Encuentra un hoyito
Entra la manita
Coma miel, coma miel *(2/24)*
(tune of Frere Jacques)

Yo te amo
Yo te amo, tú me amas.
Somos una gran familia
Con un fuerte abrazo y un beso para tí
Dime que me amas tú a mí. *(2/24)*

Los días de la semana son siete
Los días de la semana son siete
Los días de la semana son siete
Lunes--uno, martes-dos, miércoles-tres, jueves-cuatro,
Viernes-cinco, sábado-seis, domingo-siete. *(3/15)*

En la feria de San Juan
En la feria de San Juan yo compré un pitío
Piri piri el pitío
Venga Ud., Venga Ud.
A la feria de San Juan. *(3/15)*
(instruments--*pon pon el tambor, tara tara la guitarra, chaca chaca las maracas,* etc.)

Cartero
Cartero, fiel mensajero
Llevas la carta, mi mamá, que tanto quiero. *(3/16)*

Mi gallo se murió ayer
Mi gallo se murió ayer
Mi gallo se murió ayer
Ya no cantará cocorí, cocorá
Ya no cantará cocorí, cocorá
Cocorocorí cocorí corá (2x). *(3/16)*

San Severín del monte
San Severín del monte
San Severín cortés
Como yo soy alegre
Así cantaré
Hacen así. Así las bailarinas (lavanderas, zapateros, señoritas, planchadoras)
Hacen así. Así me gustan a mí. *(3/16)*

En la arena escribí tu nombre
En la arena escribí tu nombre.
Y luego lo borré.
Para que nadie pisara tu nombre
María y Isabel.
(Coge tu sombrero y póntelo
Vamos a la playa calienta el sol.) *(2x)*
Chiririririrí purom pom pom. (4x) *(3/16)*

La araña pequeñita
La araña pequeñita
Subió subió subió
Vino la lluvia,
Y se hundió.
Salió el sol y todo le secó
Y la araña pequeñita
Subió subió subió *(3/16)*

La araña grandota... (etc.)

Sábado y domingo
Sábado y domingo
Qué días tan lindos
Con mamita y papito nos vamos de paseo (2x)
Pi pi pi
En un coche feo
Pi pi pi.
¿Pero eso no importa?
No no no
Porque lleva tortas
Sí sí sí. *(3/17)*