DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 090 544 CS 201 186

AUTHOR Russell, David H., Ed.; And Others
TITLE Child Development and the Language Arts.
INSTITUTION National Conference on Research in English.; National Council of Teachers of English, Champaign, Ill.
PUB DATE 53
NOTE 56p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$3.15 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS *Child Development; *Curriculum Development; Elementary Education; Instructional Materials; *Language Arts; *Language Research; Language Skills; *Literature Reviews; Reading; Teaching Methods; Writing

ABSTRACT

This monograph presents research findings on child development and points out implications for the language arts program, examining both the learner and the learning process. Chapters include "Introduction: The Child Study Movement and the Language Arts Curriculum," which traces the development of child study research and lists five influences on the elementary school curriculum; "Some Sociological Factors in Language Development," which comments on social class and socioeconomic factors and the effect of the mass media on educational planning; "Developmental Characteristics of Childhood Related to the Language Arts Curriculum," which analyzes research in written composition, the development of the mechanics of handwriting and spelling, and the interrelationships among the oral, written, and mechanical aspects of language; "Interrelationships of the Language Arts and Personality," which reviews the relationship between personality and general academic achievements, personality and language, and personality and reading difficulties; and "Putting What We Know about Children's Language Development into Home and School Practices," which examines specific directives provided by the research. (RB)

Child Development and The Language Arts

Prepared by a Committee
of the
National Conference on Research in English

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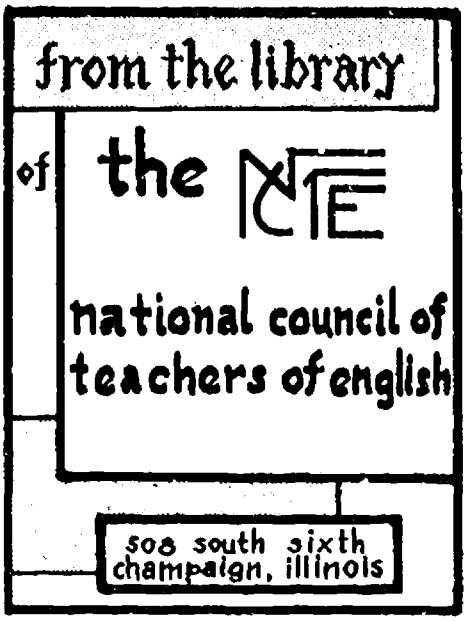

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Introduction: The Child Study Movement and the Language Arts Curriculum

DAVID H. RUSSELL[1]

In a recent professional meeting, a California elementary school principal said, "I don't think teachers know or use facts about children. When I go into our first grade the teacher is working most for quiet. In our fifth grade there is a little Nazi kingdom. How can I get my teachers to know more about children and apply that knowledge to their teaching? What shall I do?"

This monograph is an attempt to make the findings of some research in child development and learning available and meaningful to teachers, supervisors, and school administrators. It attempts to bridge some of the gap between scientific findings about children and curriculum practice in the language arts. Most of the research in child development has been done in universities or related research institutions not directly connected with elementary and secondary schools. Similarly, most of the studies of children's learning of school tasks such as reading, spelling or handwriting have been conducted in public schools and have concentrated upon the process being learned rather than the child learning. This publication tries to give a view of both the learner and the material or process learned and the relationships between the two. Accordingly, it presents research findings about children with some of their possible implications for the language arts program.

The Child Study Movement

Research in child development in the United States has had a comparatively long and an honorable history. It dates back at least to G. Stanley Hall's "The Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School," a study of children's concepts made in the 1880's and published in 1903. Stimulated by the work of Cattell, of Thorndike, of Watson and others, it developed rapidly after 1920. Centers for research were established in such universities as California, Columbia, Iowa, Minnesota, and Yale and in separate institutes such as the Merrill-Palmer and Fels Institutes. The results of much of the research done in these centers has been published in thousands of journal articles, in separate monographs, and in summary form in books on child psychology. Noteworthy collections of research information have been made by Murchison in his *Handbook of Child Psychology* (Clark University Press, 1931 and 1933), and by Carmichael in the volume which supersedes Murchison and is entitled *Manual of Child Psychology* (John Wiley, 1948).

In developing their research programs, the different child study centers have largely followed the interests of the research workers involved rather than cooperating in large projects to provide adequate investigation of all areas of child development. The studies have involved phases of physical, mental and social development usually outside the context of the child's school environment. In general, the research has been of three main types:

(1) *Studies of Individual children.* These studies have been both (a) longitudinal (the same children covering a period of years) as in the California Adolescent Study (9) or Jersild's work on the emotions (6), and (b) cross-sectional (comparing chil-

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dren at different levels) as in studies of children's vocabulary at various ages (13). In such studies effective measuring devices have been developed and results of these measures combined statistically to show norms, deviations, and correlations. More recently, child psychology has placed less emphasis upon broad traits of manifest behavior and tried for depth in the study of children through careful case studies of individuals (8) and through the use of projective techniques such as the Rorschach Test and play situations.

(2) *Studies of children in groups.* Educational psychology has probably concentrated on the individual to the exclusion of the child-in-a-group. Early work such as Furfey's (5) was directed to boys' gangs, and reports of many small studies can be found in social psychologies. More recently the work of Tryon (14) in peer relationships about the sixth and ninth grade levels and applications of Moreno's sociometric techniques by Elliott (4) and many others have opened up new areas of study of children in groups. An example of recent work is that of Cunningham and her associates (3).

(3) *Adult-child relationships.* Studies in this area are important to the school where the adult involved is the teacher. The classic studies of Lewin and his students (10) on the effects of democratic, autocratic, and laissez-faire atmospheres opened up new fields for research. Another recent example of the study of such relationships is the work of Anderson (1, 2) on dominative and integrative behavior of adults in adult-child relationships. A third type of study is that of Witty (15) involving children's ideas of their favorite teacher at different developmental levels.

Sears (12) has suggested five trends or emphases in current child study. These are (1) an emphasis upon molar behavior, or the study of the child as a whole, especially in terms of his motivation; (2) stress upon the learning process at various levels; (3) emphasis upon the social settings of behavior as in the work of the cultural anthropologists; (4) the use of projective techniques such as doll play and finger painting; and (5) the application of child psychology to such agencies as the home, the school, and the clinic. This monograph illustrates each of these trends in part as it traces relationships between developmental patterns and language learnings.

This summary of the child study movement suggests that it has attacked many important problems in child development. It indicates further that many of the research results have implications for the school but that much of the material is not *directly* connected to the language arts curriculum. The monograph attempts to bring the two together in showing child development data as *one* influence on the curriculum. Other influences are discussed below.

Influences on the Elementary School Curriculum

As suggested above, the elementary school curriculum has, until now, been largely unaffected by the considerable body of information discovered by research workers in child development. Instead it has been influenced by a number of other factors such as:

(1) *Tradition.* The vernacular elementary school dates back approximately to the time of the Protestant Reformation. During the centuries it has acquired certain traditions which still persist such as the division of schools into yearly "grades" or the idea that a child must learn to read in the first grade.

(2) *Philosophies of education.* Closely allied to tradition are the ideas of some influential men and women who believed children can be taught best in certain ways. Some writers claim to trace the influence of Aristotle on our schools after two thousand

years. The influence of such men as Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, and Dewey persists in many curricular practices.

(3) *Textbooks.* The elementary school has always been a "reading school" and, especially when teachers are poorly qualified, the textbook has often been *the* curriculum. Some texts have undoubtedly enriched the lives of boys and girls; others have as certainly constricted the school curriculum.

(4) *Subject-matter organization.* Many textbooks are organizations of subject-matter rather than psychological arrangements of material to promote the most efficient learning. Similarly, many school curricula at both elementary and secondary levels have been organized around the logical divisions of a particular area as determined by experts. Elementary teachers are sometimes influenced in their methods of teaching by the last teaching they themselves had, at the university level, although they were adults when they had such instruction. It seems clear, therefore, that the nature of the subject-matter to be learned has influenced the curriculum in both elementary and secondary schools. This is partly as it should be. A program of language activities will always be determined in part by the nature of the language to be learned. However, children and especially elementary school children, are not always mature enough to understand logical divisions of subject-matter, and this approach sometimes fails to motivate their learning.

(5) *Social conditions.* Schools reflect the life about them. If parents and school patrons unite in wanting more music, or more of the 3 R's, or more football, the school must provide it. In a larger sense, the democratic society in which we live requires that children learn to live together in ways which contribute to the common good. The elementary school has always been affected fundamentally by the setting in which it works. Some of the relationships of social conditions to language development and to language arts curricula are stated in the following chapter by De Boer.

These five influences on the elementary school program do not list all the subtle pressures and ideas influencing the school program. They suggest, however, two things. First, that the school curriculum must be flexible enough to respond to a number of influences. Second, that in the past the language arts program has been affected by all factors except the one most concerned—the child himself. This monograph attempts to help the teacher and other curriculum workers use knowledge of childhood to a greater degree than before in planning curricular activities in the language arts.

Few of the sources quoted below attempt to show the strengths and weaknesses of child development data in determining curriculum practice. Mohr (11) begins such an evaluation in a good article on the social studies, and Jersild (7) gives many implications of research findings about childhood. Recent writing suggests that child development data should have less influence on the *what* of the curriculum than on the *how* and possibly the *when* of learning experiences such as those mentioned in succeeding chapters. Further work is needed in discovering the extent to which children's characteristics and needs can affect language arts programs and the relationships of these needs to social demands, subject-matter organization and other pressures on the school curriculum. The following chapters also underline the need for more information about children, particularly in the five to twelve age group, and the great need for experimentation, in schools and in research institutes, for relating child development facts to teaching and learning procedures.

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Some Sociological Factors in Language Development

JOHN J. DEBOER[1]

The Language Development of Children

Language is the primary means by which the child is inducted into the life of society. The growth of the individual, from the time of the newborn infant's "primordial squall" (10) and his non-social babbling to that of the child's later more mature, meaningful, and purposeful expression in language, is marked by a steadily increasing adaptation of his utterances to the needs of communication in his immediate society. While he struggles to maintain his individuality under the increasing pressures toward socialization, he at the same time learns that in order to be more fully himself he must be more fully a member of the group (4:13). The nature of his personality in large measure, and of his language almost entirely, will be determined by the society which surrounds him (1). For this reason, a study of the sociological factors operating in childhood is essential to an understanding of the development of language. This article will summarize research findings and professional discussions dealing with certain of these sociological factors.

Under the encouragement of adults, the child learns to imitate meaningful sounds with increasing accuracy. His babblings, at first a form of play, become differentiated in form and function until they approximate the purposeful sounds of those around him and become an instrument of genuine communication (4:19). As the child matures, his speech becomes less and less autistic and more and more social (11). He makes increasing use of relational words and of complex sentences reflecting his growing perception of the social realities around him (2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9). In this process numerous environmental and social factors affect the rate and nature of growth in language competence.

The purely developmental aspects of language achievement, so excellently described in such studies as that by Watts (12) and others, represent, however, only one phase of the problem. For detailed summaries of research in language development, the reader is referred to the articles by Dorothea McCarthy in *The Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (6) and the *Handbook of Child Psychology* (7), to William S. Gray's annual summaries on research in reading in the February issue of the *Journal of Educational Research*, and to the "Language Arts and Fine Arts" editions of the *Review of Educational Research* for April, 1952 and preceding three-year intervals.

Social Class and Socio-Economic Factors

The relation between social class and language usage was noted by Benjamin Franklin in his *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania* (1749). Emphasizing the need for instruction in the vernacular, he appended a footnote quoting John Locke as follows: ". . . it is convenient, if not necessary, that they should speak properly and correctly. Upon this Account it is, that any sort of Speaking, so as will make him understood, is not thought

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enough for a Gentleman. He ought to study *Grammar*, among the other helps of speaking, but it *must be the Grammar of his own Tongue* . . . Whether all Gentlemen should not do this, I leave to be considered, since the want of Propriety and Grammatical Exactness is thought very misbecoming one of that Rank, and usually draws on one guilty of such Faults, the Imputation of having had a lower Breeding and worse Company than suits with his Quality . . ."

Commenting on a usage doctrine which he calls "obedience to the club spirit," I. A. Richards (23) declares that "it makes the conduct of language subservient to manners—to the manners of a special set of speakers. If you belong to a certain sort of club you thereby enter upon an engagement to behave, while there, in certain ways—or rather an engagement not to behave in certain other ways . . . Similarly, in using a language, you join a more or less select company of correct users of the language. Deviation from their customs is *incorrectness* and is visited with a social penalty as such . . .

"This specialized form of control by usage, this social or snob control over all language, is obviously very wide and vigorous . . . In Shakespeare's age it seems probable that a less derogatory and a more humorous note was taken of differences in speech. There was less need to be scornful. It was because a new stratification of society had arisen that the early eighteenth century began to observe that niceties of pronunciation and expression constituted the most certain differentiation between a gentleman and his valet, between a lady and a mantuamaker. The new effort towards uniform spelling is another aspect of the same change. And it was thus that a preoccupation with correctness . . . became the obsession of . . . those . . . who purveyed instruction to the new gentry about how they were to make it clear that they were really gentry."

Fries (15) points out that language practices vary among different social classes. He draws the analogy between levels of language usage and clothing. "With our present habits of dress the clothes connote or suggest . . . certain information concerning the wearers . . . In like manner language forms and constructions not only fulfill a primary function of communicating meaning . . . they will also suggest that (one) habitually associates with those social groups for whom these language forms are the customary usage . . ."

Schlauch (25) makes the comparison between language usage and clothes, citing Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. "But," she observes, "Carlyle is wrong. Even with the badges and uniforms stripped away, something would remain as a guide, as sure if less ponderable, to . . . social position . . . Even a naked Duke of Windlestraw, upon opening his mouth, would speak the English language with a certain air, an accent and intonation inextricably associated with his rank and authority."

That social class characteristics apply also to children appears from an interesting recent study by Khater (20). He found that upperclass children of kindergarten age speak more about themselves and their own possessions, while lowerclass children tend to speak more about the outside world of people and things. He found further that in speaking about their experiences the upper-class children tend to draw from both the immediate and the remote in place, and from the past and present in time, while the lower-class children tend to draw mostly from their immediate present environment and to project themselves into the future. Upper-class children are "inclined to

listen to each other and comment upon each other's speech freely and spontaneously, while the latter are inclined to remain silent until they are drawn out of their shells . . ." In discussion, although most of the children from both classes have been concerned with the problems under discussion, more of the upper-class children tend to concentrate on the problem and to contribute to its solution, while lower-class children tend more to drop the problem from their minds and devote more attention to the narration of personal experiences. As for language patterns, Khater reports that patterns of language used by upper-class children are, in general, more mature. Pronunciation among them is on an adult level, and the structure of sentences is more mature and nearer to "Standard English." Nothing was found, however, to suggest the existence of a separate dialect or even a group of consistent habits from either the upper or the lower class. Khater observed a common developmental pattern, with an increasing proportion of compound and complex sentences and a comparable distribution of the parts of speech. All children were concerned with the mastery of the subordination and coordination of ideas.

A number of valuable studies dealing with the relation between socio-economic status and intelligence and personality have been made in recent years (14, 16, 17, 19, 26). While few of these are explicit on the subject of language development or language usage at the various socio-economic levels, they suggest a number of interesting observations concerning various phases of communication.

Lazar (21) found that although school facilities in New York were roughly equal as among the various socio-economic levels, the bright group had, in general, better home environments than either the average or the dull group, and the average group had better opportunities than the dull group. She found a close relationship between the number and quality of books and magazines in the home and socio-economic status. Bright pupils ranking lowest in socio-economic status, were interested in reading, but the quality of the material was inferior. It is reasonable to conclude from her findings that environmental factors had a powerful effect upon the nature and extent of the children's reading choices.

In this connection, Russell (24) lists as one of three basic factors which determine what a child or an adult will read, the accessibility of the material, in a world where radio, movies, sports, club work, and hobbies compete for one's time.

Numerous other studies indicate that, according to currently available measures, students from families in lower socio-economic groups perform less well on tests of intelligence, vocabulary, and reading (13, 16, 18). It appears that urban children, in general, excel rural children in performance on existing intelligence and reading tests, although, of course, there is considerable overlapping between the two groups (18). Of interest is the observation made by Maddy (22) that, although children of professional families average higher in IQ than children of semi-skilled workers' families, "children of professional families living in economically poor neighborhoods have slightly lower intelligence test scores than the average for their occupational group, while the reverse is the case for children of semi-skilled families living in wealthier areas."

Some of the problems arising from differences in social status are cogently described by Havighurst (17),: "During the course of this study, the school has emerged as a factor of great importance in the formation of character and personality of

these children. It combines with the family to create the social environment of the child. The school is essentially middleclass in its values, its teaching, and its staff. The middle-class child finds the school re-inforcing the goals, attitudes, and habits he has been taught in the home. On the other hand, the lower-class child finds the school attempting to teach him ways of behaving and believing which are not entirely what he has been taught at home . . ."

The inferior performance of students from the lower social-class groups on intelligence and language tests may be accounted for in part by differences in cultural environment and experience. Allison Davis makes the observation that learning and language standards in school are derived primarily from middle-class norms. "The present intelligence tests," he asserts, "offer one of many instances, to be found in the public schools, of the arbitrary restriction of the goals of the pupils' learning to a very narrow range of activities. The people who devise and teach the curricula of the public schools are nearly all middle class . . . Like any particular culture, that of the middle class emphasizes a rather narrow range of mental abilities and problems.

"The culture of the school, therefore, selects only mental problems which are highly valued in middle-class life, and which appear to provide adaptive training for those who wish to learn the skills and values of the adult culture . . ." (14)

Bi-Lingualism

The problem of bilingual children, which for a time declined in importance with the restrictions on immigration, is once more coming into prominence in American education. While the teaching of children in Spanish-speaking communities, particularly in the Southwest, and of children of other national origins, both on the mainland and in outlying possessions of the United States, continues to be pressing, the arrival of children of displaced families has also given new urgency to the problem.

An extensive literature on bilingualism, ably summarized by Manuel (28), has developed in the last three decades. While the rapid development of transportation and communication has increased the value of bilingualism in our interdependent world, children who come from foreign-language speaking homes appear to be at a disadvantage in schools employing English as the language of instruction. Manuel quite properly points out, however, that the problem of measurement is complicated by such factors as inferior socio-economic status, unfavorable school facilities, and the emotional problems arising from minority status. The inferior performance of bilingual children on intelligence tests may probably be assumed to be due, at least in part, to language factors. The finding of Darcy (27), reported since Manuel's summary, certainly suggest the validity of such an assumption. The children in his study made significantly higher scores on the Pintner Non-Language Test than on the Pintner Verbal Test.

The problem of measurement may be substantially simplified with the use of a new series of tests to be known as the Co-operative Inter-American Tests and to be published by the Educational Testing Service (29). In the preparation of these tests English-speaking and Spanish-speaking specialists have worked together to select materials as free as possible from linguistic and cultural bias.

The Mass Media of Communication[2]

An earlier bulletin of the National Con-

[2]Acknowledgement is made of the valuable assistance of Mr. Fred Godschalk, advanced graduate student at the University of Illinois, in the preparation of this section.

ference on Research in English reported on the mass media of communication in their relations to education (39). Other recent publications, of a somewhat more popular nature, are a pamphlet of the Public Affairs Committee (44) and another of Science Research Associates (76). This article will undertake to bring the earlier Conference bulletin up to date with respect to certain significant particulars.

Motion Pictures. General attendance at motion picture theatres, as reflected in paid admissions, declined from a peak of $1,512,000,000 in 1946 to $1,342,000,000 in 1949 (52). Meanwhile annual profits declined during the same period from $322,000,000 to $125,000,000. Dale (38) estimates that each week some 85,000,000 attendances are recorded at the box office of some 15,000 motion picture theaters. In an earlier study (37), confirmed ten years later by Fleege (42), he found that 2 per cent of the movie audience were under the age of 7; 11.8 per cent were 7-13 years of age; and 22.1 per cent were between the ages of 14 and 20. Boys and girls in the upper grades and high school averaged one movie a week, and children in the primary grades about one movie in every two weeks. Most commentators attribute the decline in attendance since 1945 to the advent of television.

No detailed studies of the effects of attendance at commercial motion pictures have been made since the monumental Payne Fund investigation of the early thirties, the results of which were summarized by Charters (33). Numerous charges have been made concerning these effects. White (72) listed the following as undesirable influences of the films: (1) overemphasis of false values, (2) exaggeration and caricature of life, (3) destruction of taste, (4) lowering of moral standards, and (5) the downright and utter banality of the films. Other influences charged to the movies, according to White, were failure in school, maladjustment in the home, juvenile delinquency, and major crime. Mitchell (60) found a higher rate of attendance at motion pictures, especially in the evening, among delinquent boys and girls, but did not conclude that motion pictures cause delinquency. She pointed out that a lack of "parental control, favorable home conditions, and directed interests" sends the child to the "bright streets, seeking his own amusement," and that opposite factors, "proper supervision, wholesome environment, and guided recreation," promote attendance at times which "interfere least . . . with home study, sufficient sleep, and outdoor recreation." Lack of play space, too, was cited as a factor, especially in districts from which the largest proportion of delinquents come. Blumer and Hauser (31) believed that films were a factor in the delinquent or criminal behavior of about 10 per cent of the male and 25 per cent of the female offenders studied. They, like Mitchell, concluded that the pictures "play an especially important part in the lives of children in socially disorganized areas" and are related to "the weakness of the family, school, church, and neighborhood."

Films have been shown to exert a powerful influence upon the attitudes of viewers. Peterson and Thurstone (62) examined the possibility of changing the social attitudes of children by the showing of films which had propaganda content. The effects were significant and positive. Cumulative effect was shown when two pictures of like type produced no effect singly, and persistence of effect was high. During World War II, effective use was made of films with members of the armed services, not only in the training of technicians, but also in the shaping of attitudes toward the objectives of

the war. In undertaking to determine the effectiveness of the orientation series of films on "Why We Fight," Howland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield (51) found not only that the films changed the attitudes of the viewers, but that apparently the effects of the films were greater after a nine-week lapse of time than after only five days.

Radio. Despite the rapid growth of the television industry, the number of radio homes in the United States is greater than ever. The estimate for 1952 is 42,427,000, as compared with 37,000,000 in 1947 and 22,868,500 in 1937 (32). It is safe to generalize that radio is available in the homes of all but the merest handful of children. Even these are accustomed to it in the homes of friends, in automobiles, in taverns and lunchrooms and the crossroads store. The radio is everywhere (40).

The average amount of radio listening has been variously reported as from a minimum of 5¼ hours per week to a maximum of 18½ hours (49). According to Clark (34), peak listening for adolescents came between the ages of twelve and fifteen. NBC figures for 1948 confirm Clark's figures by reporting 91 minutes per day average of radio listening for the fifteen to nineteen year age group (61).

Children's programs in the sense of programs created specifically for children (preadolescents) have a limited appeal and are dropped for adolescent programs before the average child reaches his teens. Designed for the very young, they have gradually been discarded by national advertisers (69) and remain on local stations as transcribed on regional network sustainers, fill-ins for the unpurchased 15 or 30 minutes between five and six. A few are sponsored by the local or regional bakery, the tot's shop or the toy shop, depending upon the enterprise and salesmanship of the local station's manager.

Criticisms of programs to which children and adolescents listen have resulted in considerable effort at improvement on the part of both parents' groups and industry representatives. The Radio Council on Children's Programs, organized in 1939, produced two surveys: *Broadcasting to the Youth of America* (53), by Dorothy Lewis, and *Survey of Research on Children's radio Listening* (49), by Herta Herzog. Miss Lewis produced evidence that local stations created programs for children and youth, but that national network programs left something to be desired. Speaking of children's programs, Dorothy Gordon declared, "Although an occasional show may be acceptable for network production, the picture of broadcasts for children . . . is a sorry one indeed" (45). Willey and Young (73), writing in 1948, think that there has been a significant change for the better. But, Siepmann (65) in 1950 says, "The main evil of our system of broadcasting is not so much the currency of cheap or insignificant material as it is the absence of any counterweight of excellence." Siepmann listed the network programs for one afternoon (April 6, 1949), on which one network showed a schedule of 19 daytime serials. On this April afternoon, from 3:30 to 5:00, the youngster just home from school could listen to "Pepper Young's Family," "Right to Happiness," "Backstage Wife," "Stella Dallas," "Lorenzo Jones," and "Young Widder Brown," just prior to the "children's hour" of four more beginning with "When a Girl Marries."

Space will not permit a report here on the interesting earlier literature on the effects of radio listening. In a fairly recent study, Mitchell (59) found that the reading achievement of a group of sixth grade pupils was adversely affected by a variety

radio program, but not by a musical radio program. She found no differences in this respect between boys and girls, but she discovered that pupils with IQ's above 100 were not adversely affected by the variety program, and made significant gains in reading achievement during the musical program. Hall, in a more recent study (48), found that, "within certain limitations," substantial aid to reading comprehension results from the use of background music at the eighth and ninth grade levels. She reported that students below average in intelligence and achievement receive more benefit from musical background than those above average. Her findings parallel those of studies of the effects of music on factory production.

Earlier studies of the effects of radio on children, which revealed sleeping and eating disturbances, nail biting, and other emotional reactions as a result of listening to radio "thrillers," have not been repeated in recent years.

Television. Television is the most rapidly growing of the mass communication industries. During 1951, the 108 television broadcasting stations in the United States "sold time" to advertisers at a total price of $217,046,000—240 per cent of the figure for 1950, and 789 per cent of the figure for 1949 (66). The estimated number of receivers in use rose from 3,395,000 at the beginning of 1950 to 14,964,000 at the beginning of 1952, when television homes were estimated at 36 per cent.

Numerous estimates of time spent by children in viewing television have been reported, ranging from 20 to 25 hours per week—almost as much time as children spend in school (35, 47, 54, 58, 64, 78). Lewis (54) found a decline six months after television programs first became available in the community—perhaps, as he suggests, as a result of parental control, novelty wearing off, and both children's and parents' recognition of "the time consuming factors involved." Witty (75) likewise noted a decline in viewing among Evanston pupils after one year (about 11 per cent).

Some efforts at television program analysis have been made. The Southern California Association for Better Radio and Television monitored programs on Los Angeles stations between 6 p.m. and 9 p.m. for one week (63). One station had no crime programs. On the other stations there were these totals: 91 murders, 7 stage holdups, 3 kidnappings, 10 thefts, 4 burglaries, 2 cases of arson, 2 jailbreaks, 1 mass murder, 2 suicides, 1 case of blackmail. Assault and battery, brawls, drunkenness, crooked judges, crooked sheriffs, and crooked juries were commonplace. The Federal Communication Commission published the tabulations made by a group of San Francisco women (68). Their findings resembled those of the Los Angeles group. "One mother clocked 104 gun shots during a half-hour serial; another found sudden death 'shudderingly described' 14 times in 20 minutes."

"Television," says Cluett, "offers some pretty shoddy material, and you've got to shop around the channels to find the pleasing programs; but there are quite a few good ones." He objects to the TV salesmen. "These smooth purveyors of tooth paste, coffee, cigarettes, and deodorants are already in your living room. Another foot or two and they'll be sitting in your lap" (35).

Some critics think that commercial television programs, poor at first, have shown rapid improvement in the last two years.

Reports of the effect of television on the reading habits of children are contradictory. Gould (46) reports that library circulation among children and sales of children's books have gone up. On the other hand, li-

braries in Detroit, Los Angeles, Phoenix, Providence, and San Francisco reported a decline. Others showed slight decreases followed by recovery. Gould reports that some librarians believe children's reading to be stimulated by TV.

The same writer reported a decline in attendance at motion picture theaters in some cities of from 20 to 40 percent. Witty found that 35 per cent of the pupils in his study reported less attendance at movies. Lewis (54) found that there was an average decrease of five per cent in the school grades of TV viewers. Witty, too, holds that "excessive viewing of TV may be associated with somewhat lower academic attainment." He found no significant correlation between IQ's and hours devoted to television (74).

In McDonagh's study (57), interviewers discovered little or no difference in the educational status or age of parents living in television and non-television homes. In the California town in which this study was conducted, the television families interviewed reported less movie-going, less radio listening, and less reading as a result of television. Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborne (71), however, after interviewing a sample of 5,657 city dwellers, suggest that the time spent in televiewing has been taken largely from radio listening and only in slight degree from reading.

Whatever the facts about the effects of television, many parents and teachers are worried about it. They believe that "the children are tired nervously, physically, emotionally, and mentally; they show the effects of eye-strain; they have acquired erroneous ideas; and their minds are so completely engrossed by television, that the have no capacity for learning" (63). Yet in one community a large majority of the parents approved of children's television programs (74).

Comic Books. The great popularity of comic "books" or magazines justifies their inclusion in a discussion of the mass media. Frank (44) estimated that about 600,000,000 copies were sold in 1949, and the number may be higher in 1952, although Allwood (30) figured a decrease to about 512,000,000 for 1950. Comic book readers include many adults. Waugh (70) says that buyers of comics "for a steady reading diet" include in the 18 to 30 age group 41 per cent of men and 28 per cent of women, and in the group aged 30 and up, 16 per cent of men and 12 per cent of women. He points out that ten times more comics were sold in post exchanges during World War II than the total combined numbers of *Life, The Reader's Digest,* and the *Saturday Evening Post sold* in exchanges. Wolf and Fiske (77) studied a group of young people from age 7 to 17, whom they classified as 37 per cent "comic book fans" ("compulsive" readers), 48 per cent moderate readers of comic books, and 15 per cent indifferent or hostile to comic books. Wlf and Fiske found that children progress through three categories to comic books. Wolf and Fiske found that "funny animal" comics; (31) fantastic adventure comics; and (32) true and classic comics. Although there is much overlapping, the first type tends to be preferred by children 10 years of age and younger, the second by children 11-12 years of age, and the third by children 12 years of age or older.

Frank finds the common ingredient of all comics to be action, with subjects similar to those of children's reading now and in the past: adventure, fantasy and magic, crime and detective, westerns, humor and nonsense, humanized animals, adolescent jitterbug capers, stories about real people, and history and current events (44). Discussing the technique of the comics, Martin says, "The ordinary comic does not help

the reader to adjust his imaginative concepts to actualities. It is the exploitation of the elemental apeal of power, action, and color, taking the place of the appreciation of more subtle human qualities which great literature develops in its readers" (56).

Sweeping generalizations about the comic books should be avoided. The Cincinnati Committee on the Evaluation of Comic Books, formed in May, 1948, with the assistance of the voluntary codes of several publishers, classified (July, 1951) 417 comic book titles as follows: No objection, 142; some objection, 121; objectionable, 114; very objectionable, 40 (41).

Malter (55), who classified 185 comic book titles according to type of content, distinguished the following categories: Westerns, adventure stories, animal antics, love stories, detective stories, "Superman" stories, adult antics, jungle stories, children's antics, and sport stories, in that order of frequency. He found that the per cents of pages devoted to humor and crime are approximately equal, and that approximately one-third of all comic-story content is devoted to humor. He concludes that general attacks on the comic magazines are unwarranted, since there are both good and bad examples.

The effects of comic book reading on children has been the subject of much debate. Expert opinion tends to favor the view that comic books serve the maladjusted child as an escape device, but are not in themselves a cause of delinquency. Some psychiatrists hold that comic books may reinforce and give direction to anti-social attitudes and conduct. Dr. Augusta Alpert (43) thinks that, "Comics of the 'thriller' variety make aggression too easy and too colorful, and in that way threaten the eruption of the child's own precariously controlled aggressive impulses." Hoult (50) found that delinquent boys and girls reported reading more "questionable" and "harmful" comics, and raised the question whether such comics "tend to help keep the 'spirit of crime' alive in delinquency areas and aid the delinquent child in rationalizing his own actions." Thrasher (67) is skeptical of a casual relation between comic book reading and delinquency. In this view he supports the opinion expressed by Edwin J. Lukas, Director of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, who declared that he knew of no "scientifically established relationship between the reading of comic books and delinquency" (44).

Parents look with suspicion on comic books in general. Zorbaugh (79) reports 65 per cent of parents in a New York University study believe that newspaper comics are suitable, but only 35 per cent believe that comic books are suitable. The problem appears to be one of making a proper distinction between desirable and undesirable comic books, and of providing effective competition in the form of high grade children's literature.

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Developmental Characteristics of Childhood Related to the Language Arts Curriculum

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I. INTRODUCTION

Interest in the study of language development and activities as strands in the pattern of total growth of the child is a phenomenon of the recent past and of the present. In an earlier day, psychologists considered language as a means of expressing mental content; educators regarded language primarily as a body of skills, and the exclusive emphasis in instruction lay in imparting these important skills of literacy. Probably Piaget (29), more than any other psychologist, has stimulated interest in language as communication and as a means of studying the child himself. Both psychologists and educators today have come to look upon language as a vitally important form of behavior through which the individual adjusts himself to his social environment. Accordingly, the field of language activities embraces the entire range of childhood interests and experiences. Some emphasis on language activities as arts (36) and greater attention to the language arts as communicative activities (9, 17, 28, 39) have enriched the modern concept of the language arts.

This broadening concept not only adds to the variety of language activities in home and school but brings language behavior closer to other forms of behavior. Communication of ideas in a social setting involves language abilities, purposes for communication, thinking, physical equipment to use in communicating, and social relationships with an individual or group. Thus language activity and development is closely related to other activities and to general mental, physical, and social development. Some of these relationships are traced below to illustrate how different language abilities appear with the increasing maturity of infancy, childhood and youth. The evidence presented emphasizes the elementary school years and is restricted to growth patterns in language since physical, mental, social and other growth characteristics have been ably summarized in a number of child psychology texts. The first sections below trace growth in various phases of language. A final section emphasizes the interrelationships of such growth and implications of it for the language arts curriculum.

II. THE LANGUAGE ARTS IN THE TOTAL GROWTH OF THE CHILD

A. The Development of Oral Language

Research workers in child development have called attention to the enormous amount of learning which goes on prior to a child's entrance into school and continues in many out-of-school activities. The child who enters kindergarten or first grade brings with him a substantial vocabulary, a set of language patterns, and a background of experience which has served to encourage or discourage the active seeking of information and the building of concepts through asking questions, through exploring his environment, and through travel beyond the immediate geographical confines of his neighborhood. Seashore (38) states that the child at the age of six is likely to

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know 17,000 words plus 7,000 derivatives and that he can reasonably expect to add approximately 5,000 words each year thereafter for a considerable period of years. Seashore's estimate, based upon the research of M. K. Smith, yields a very high estimate of the total vocabulary of the first grader. Other more conservative authorities agree that the vocabulary comprises several thousand words rather than several hundred, the number educators once thought the child of this age could use.

In addition, the child of six uses every part of speech and every form of sentence. From the age of twelve or eighteen months until he enters school, he has had constant practice in the use of language. His need to communicate has been so great that he has acquired patterns which his environment has furnished without regard to their correctness in the eyes of later teachers. Anderson (1) states that the child's spoken language has reached ninety per cent of its mature level when judged on the basis of sentence structure before the child knows that grammar exists. He goes on to say that the significant period for acquiring spoken language in childhood is from two to eight years of age, that while vocabulary still increases and some additional skills in the use of sentences appear after the age of eight, the essentials of spoken language are already present by that age.

Anderson also states that a study of articulation indicates that the only child performs better than the singleton and the singleton better than twins. He also points out that improvement in articulation comes slowly and that early defects in articulation persist longer than defects in content. (2)

The child's hearing affects growth in other language abilities. Rossignol (33), in investigating the relationship among hearing acuity, speech production, and reading performance, states that hearing acuity reaches its maximum in children between the ages of ten and fifteen years. Rossignol's research, involving 229 first and second graders, indicates that there is a significant relationship between hearing acuity and speech production as measured by an articulation test and a sound repetition test. While the pronunciation of familiar words in the child's speech repertory is unrelated to hearing acuity, the pronunciation of new words varies with hearing acuity. Since children retested on consonant sounds made significantly better scores when they could see the face of the examiner, Rossignol concludes that visual clues are very important to the young child in learning new words. Thus finer distinctions in speech production may be lost when visual clues are not present. Rossignol also found that reading performance varied significantly with speech production, both for articulation of sound in familiar words and for skills in repeating nonsense syllables. Anderson (2) cites as evidence that hearing acuity is related to quality of speech a study of nine- to fourteen-year-old children who took standard hearing and articulation tests. No child with better-than-normal hearing was found to have articulation defects; of the children with average hearing, only a small proportion had such defects. However, of those with below average hearing some had speech defects, and of those with very poor hearing, many had such defects.

School life, which usually inhibits some language and motor activity, may bring disturbances in oral language development and in the motor activities associated with it for some children. The age of six marks the onset of stuttering in a small number of children. Travis (43) says that about eighty per cent of all stutterers begin to stutter during the second, fourth, or sixth year of life, periods which correspond with important

stages in language development. The age of six, for example, marks the beginning of the complicated speech, manual performance, and behavior restrictions required of the child in adjusting to the school situation. Boys, perhaps less tractable than girls and slower in language development, are in almost a two-to-one majority among stutterers. One study (43) found 202 boys to 119 girls in a group of speech defectives, and in another group forty-three boys to twenty-two girls. Stuttering has been associated with many possible causes including inconsistent, unstable hand usage, but the relationship between these phenomena is not clear. Handedness is likely to be well established by the age of four. However, since left handedness is likely to be less of a pronounced trait than right handedness, retraining above the fourth year is possible; whether to attempt it depends upon the child's age, temperament, learning ability, extent of the preference and methods used. It is easier for the child to learn a new skill such as writing with the non-dominant hand than to retrain the non-dominant hand in a skill already learned. (20)

In these and other language skills it is difficult to overestimate individual differences in patterns of language development and facility in dealing with language situations. McCarthy (25) states that language is one area in which more marked and more striking degrees of individual differences can be observed than in almost any other. Probably the best single index of the child's language development at the primary level is average length of response. McCarthy states that average length of response, a measure which has been used satisfactorily in many major investigations, "is a highly sensitive index that reveals developmental trends from infancy to maturity and reflects sex, occupational, and intellectual group differences with remarkable consistency." (25:167) A number of studies indicate also that accuracy of speech sounds exhibits a strong degree of relationship to measures of length, completeness, and complexity during this period. The researches of Sister Mary Shire, E. A. Davis, and J. G. Yedinack all point to the key importance of satisfactory command of articulation in furthering vocabulary development, reading readiness, and all other language activities. Yedinack's research, for example, indicates that at the second grade level there is a strong relationship between reading disability and articulation defects. (46)

B. The Development of Written Language

Studies of growth in composition abilities indicate that there are developmental trends in the use of written language which the teacher may employ as guideposts. Hoppes (21), in a study of the writing of 386 pupils in grades three to six in a Chicago public school, found that growth in this area might be summarized as (a) growth in the number of sentences used in a composition, (b) growth in the length and complexity of sentences, (c) decline in the use of "run-on" sentences, although this type of error was uncommon, (d) decrease in unpleasant repetition of words and phrases, (e) growth in the use of inverted order of subject and predicate, indicative of the ability to give emphasis to an idea by increasing the prominence of its position, (f) increase in the proportion of abstract nouns accompanied by decrease in proportion of specific, concrete, individual nouns, and (g) decline in the number of sentences whose subject is "I," possibly marking a decline in egocentrism. Hoppes also found that in all grades girls tend to write more than boys.

Bear's study (6) of the written compositions of almost 12,000 children in grades one through eight in the St. Louis public

schools indicates that the number of sentences used by a child in telling a story varies from an average of three sentences in the first grade to an average of approximately ten in the sixth grade. The length of the composition remained approximately the same from grade six through eight. The average number of sentences used by girls in all grades was slightly higher than the number used by boys. Bear regards the number of sentences used as an elemental factor in language growth. She also reports that complex sentences were used more commonly than compound, although both types were employed at all levels. She concludes that the use of the complex sentence appears to be another of the elemental factors in the growth of language usage, and to correlate as closely as any other factor with maturity in language ability. There were few children who used incomplete sentences in this study, but the percentages of pupils using "run-on" sentences increased rapidly until grade five. The percentage dropped slightly from fifty-nine in grade six to fifty-one in grade eight. Bear's research would indicate that this phase of language usage deserves consideration in the written language program of the elementary school.

Creative writing, which may be partly an individual and partly a group affair, can give opportunity for vocabulary growth, sociability, sensitivity to meanings, and probably some growth in order and sequence in relating occurrences. (32, 45) However, the child's capacity for organizing and relating experiences in logical or connected fashion is limited by maturational factors. Typically, not until a child is nine or ten can he give a reasonably accurate account of what happened within a definite period of time. (2)

Swenson and Caldwell (40), who analyzed 680 letters written by pupils from grade four through twelve in a typical midwestern community, report that pupils' letters showed an encouraging improvement in communication skill from grade to grade, that performance of individual children at each grade level varied widely enough to correspond to average performance at several grade levels and that variation within grades was fairly consistent from grade to grade. They report that there was evidenced a general positive relationship between ability in written communication and intelligence, and a trend toward increasing differentiation of writing ability by intelligence level with more years of schooling. The same writers, in reporting on spelling in the same group of letters, state that an increase in the average length of letters and a reduction in spelling errors were both marked between the fifth and sixth grade groups. This reduction, they feel, may indicate some association between mastery of mechanics (spelling in this case) and freedom of written expression, as evidenced by the amount written. (41)

An earlier study by LaBrant (22) was concerned with the problem of how skill increases in the ability to subordinate ideas in written composition. LaBrant's research, which involved 986 public school children enrolled in grades four through twelve, indicates that the ability to subordinate is a function of chronological as well as of mental age and is markedly influenced by chronological age when mental age is held constant. This finding again points to the importance of maturation in attaining mastery of the use of language. LaBrant also found that while the length of clauses remained constant between the ages of eight and sixteen, the context of subordinate clauses became more exact with increasing maturation of the writers. Except for the fact that girls wrote longer compositions than boys, sex differences were relatively

insignificant in the abilities tested in this study and at these grade levels.

The research of Frogner (15), which included an analysis of the compositions of approximately one thousand seventh, ninth, and eleventh grade boys and girls indicates that increased use of complex sentences from one grade level to the next is a mark of increasing maturity rather than of superior intelligence. Frogner found that in all grades adverbial clauses have the highest percentage of usage, followed by noun, and then by adjective clauses. From grade seven to eleven there was a decrease in the proportion of adverbial clauses of place, manner, concession, and condition. Frogner also found that the use of dependent clauses was partially dependent upon the type of writing done. Thus exposition contained the highest number of dependent clauses, and narration contained a higher percentage than did letter writing.

C. The Development of the Mechanics of Handwriting and Spelling

While reading requires certain motor and perceptual skills controlled always by meaning, handwriting makes still larger demands on the neuro-muscular system. The ability to write, unlike reading, depends chiefly upon motor control. It is thus a developmental process which cannot be hurried by artificial means. The amount of readiness activity which can be undertaken profitably in other areas is here limited by the factor of the maturation of the child's nervous system. (19) One of the soundest reasons for the use of manuscript writing in the primary grades is the fact that it is better suited to large muscle activity than is cursive writing, since it makes use exclusively of unjoined letters involving only straight lines and curves, resulting in reduced strain upon the young child. A second major advantage of manuscript writing over cursive is its closer resemblance to the printed word involved in reading. Children of the six-to eight-year age span are in a stage of gradual transition from large muscle to small muscle use. This transitional process cannot be hurried before the child is ready in a neuro-muscular sense to use the hand-wrist-finger movements demanded by handwriting. For these reasons, handwriting, when it does come, should be limited initially to the blackboard or widely ruled paper and to pencils and crayons of large circumference.

Psychological readiness for handwriting consists of the child's having something to say and an urge to say it in writing. Dawson (13) has pointed out that handwriting should not be taught as a "subject" in its own right, but rather as a means to a desired end. Today's emphasis is away from the push-and-pull, oval drill of yesteryear and toward functional handwriting used as a tool, with emphasis on legibility and reasonable speed and with the encouragement of the development of some individual style rather than slavish following of this or that handwriting "system." Within this framework, handwriting still needs to be practiced, and such practice can result in decided gains in both legibility and speed.

In terms of spelling, too, psychological readiness is largely a matter of giving the child the words he needs when he needs them and when he is able to learn to spell them. In functional spelling, as in handwriting, the child needs to have ideas to express and to know the meaning of an adequate number of words. Artley (3) has pointed out that growth in reading, writing, or spelling is contingent upon depth and richness of experience which provides ideas and the opportunity for the use of words. Spelling readiness, according to Artley, in-

cludes the following abilities: (1) auditory perception and discrimination, or the ability to recognize the sounds that are heard in a word, to associate with them their appropriate letter symbols or phonograms, (2) visual perception and discrimination, or the ability to analyze a word visually, noting its arrangement of letters, the presence of familiar prefixes or suffixes, syllables, or of already known "little words" and the visual similarity of the new word with an already familiar one, (3) accurate pronunciation and careful enunciation, (4) clear recognition of the meaning, since a word whose meaning is unknown is not going to be used by the child in either spoken or written discourse, and (5) accurate handwriting and proper letter formation.

Russell's study (37), carried on in Canada, resulted in these significant findings, among others: (1) spelling readiness was acquired in the high first grade by most of his subjects, (2) spelling success was facilitated by attention directed toward phonetic analysis, configuration, sound of words, syllabication, and recognition of word families, (3) spelling abilities in the second grades studied were found to be closely related to abilities in recognition of words and capital and lower case letters and to visual and auditory perceptive abilities, and (4) a constellation of language skills, which can be taught and which seems basic to success in the language arts, at least at the primary level, was identified.

A further reason, in addition to the natural sequence of the child's language development, for delaying more formal spelling instruction until the later primary period is the fact that the intensive word study required by spelling is essentially in direct conflict with the efficient teaching of beginning reading, which today emphasizes meaningful phrase reading rather than parrot-like word-by-word or, worse, letter-by-letter analysis. The answer to this problem, as Cole (10) has said, is not to return to cumbersome and inefficient methods of teaching reading but to modify the initiation of the formal spelling program.

III. SOME INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF THE LANGUAGE ARTS

The separation of language growth into oral, written and mechanical aspects of language in the three sections above needs to be corrected by an emphasis upon the interrelatedness of all phases of language development. Some of the research showing relationships has been summarized by Hildreth (18) and by Artley (4).

The interrelatedness of language growth shows first in the sequential patterns of language development discussed above; i.e., the child listens with comprehension before he speaks with meaning; he develops a substantial oral vocabulary before he reads; he makes considerable reading progress before he writes; and he usually begins to spell when he needs spelling in his own writing.

Reading is regarded as one of the most important academic achievements of the early elementary years, but successful reading depends primarily upon the development of a stock of clear and accurate concepts and upon the continuing development of general speech skills in articulation, enunciation, and phrasing, all of which can best come through practice in group situations devised and guided by a skillful teacher. An understanding of the function of language in conveying meanings, developing ideas, sharing experiences and feeling, listening so that the listener may develop his own ideas or feel as the speaker feels, is enhanced through emphasis upon communication in an audience situation in oral reading

and speaking. Since usage depends upon language habits learned by ear, the teacher would do well to concentrate upon gross errors which occur in the child's speech patterns, being aware that her own speech must serve as a model for correctness in grammar, enunciation, articulation, pitch, and phrasing. The interrelations of the language arts involved in handwriting and spelling readiness have been pointed out in the preceding section of this chapter.

At the later elementary level, reading is likely to furnish much of the material for oral or written conversation and discussion. Despite the competition of movies, radio, and television, reading is still an important key to the child's acquiring an understanding of the broader world which lies beyond the home and the neighborhood and about which children in these years are increasingly concerned. The teaching of usage at this level, as at the early elementary level, will depend upon the teacher's ability to diagnose and correct those errors incurring the greatest social penalty in the group. Artley (4) has pointed out the close relationship that reading comprehension bears to other language abilities.

Beery (8) has indicated that reciprocal relations between reading and listening includes these: (1) pupils will listen better if they expect to use what they hear; (2) listening needs to be reinforced by other modes of experience; and (3) since comprehension improves when pupils are encouraged to check themselves on the ideas gained from reading, listening probably needs similar checks. Several writers, including Beery have emphasized the fact that listening as a development skill needs to be explored by research.

While speaking and writing are closely allied arts, students of language development and teachers must be aware that the two are very different processes, so different as to constitute almost different arts. Anderson (1:252) has summarized the differences in the way they are acquired thus:

> 1. Rate of acquisition: . . Skill in spoken language builds itself up rapidly, whereas skill in writing comes slowly.
>
> 2. Quantity of experience: . . The amount of practice in writing from the first to the eighth grade is at the outside not more than the equivalent of two weeks' practice in oral expression had by the child at the age of four or five. . .
>
> 3. Excessive criticism: . . If we calculated the proportion of criticisms made by the most critical mother to the total number of words spoken by the child, the resulting figure would be very small indeed, but if the same comparison were made for written language in the classroom, the figure would be very high . . . my point is essentially that the excessive criticism to which the child's writing in its early stages is subjected, is exactly the opposite of the situation which facilitates the acquisition of spoken language in the young child. . .
>
> 4. Ease of assignment: . . All the children in the classroom can write, while all the children cannot talk at the same time. Hence written work can be used to keep children busy whether or not it makes any contribution to their well being.
>
> 5. The audience: . . The greatest difference between written and spoken language, however, comes when we think of the audiences to which they are addressed. Spoken language is a form of social intercommunication in a *person to person* relation. It takes place in a functional situation in which it is used to secure effects or to influence other people. The written composition on the other hand is for the teacher and gets its entire mean-

> ing from the teacher's reactions. . . from the developmental point of view, an audience to be influenced or changed by the language is the most important feature of the process of intercommunication. (1)

Although such differences exist in terms of usual classroom procedures, it is still true that the child's different language abilities tend to grow together and to be positively related to one another.

In addition to the interrelatedness of the various language arts as demonstrated in developmental sequences, the close relationships among them are illustrated in correlational studies showing how various phases of language are related to factors such as mental ability, socio-economic status, sibling status, and sex. Some of these relationships, such as those involving socio-economic background, are developed more fully in other parts of this series.

The child's language is probably the best means of studying his mental ability and his thinking. Curti (12) believes that perceptual and ideational meanings develop side by side and that they are related to intelligence, social status, and the stage of cultural development attained by the society in which the child lives. While many of the conclusions of Piaget are open to question in the light of current research evidence, he did call attention to the fact that much of children's thinking is characterized by egocentrism, absolutism, animism, and a lack of understanding of cause-and effect relationships. Many of these characteristics of children's thinking persist into adulthood. Research tells little about the ages at which children can learn key concepts which are necessary to a development of social and scientific understandings and attitudes. We do know that accurate and reasonably complete concepts do not appear until the later years of childhood. This slowness, however, may be due to the great number and complexity of situations which the child must master rather than to an inner "maturational" level. (12)

The study of Biber and associates (7) of the school life of a group of seven year olds confirms the assumption that the period from seven to eight years marks a decline in egocentrism and is a period when the child is most clearly oriented toward acquiring "the control, the power that are the by-products of establishing functioning relations to an expanding environment." Biber found that this group of ten children used language more as a means of communication of ideas than as a means of expression of feeling. In general discussion, they showed a tendency to connect a general topic of discussion with personal happenings in their own experience. Gaining knowledge thus functioned as an extension of the self. Their emerging concepts were active and involved active, observable ideas.

Baker (5), in his study of children's free discussions in grades two, four, and six in three schools in the New York metropolitan area, found that children's free discussions tend to be factual and concerned with the present. There were gradual grains apparent in the fourth and sixth grades in terms of the attention given voluntarily to adult activities and interests. The higher the grade, the greater the dependence upon vicarious experience. Baker found second graders to be almost entirely individualistic in expression with little give and take as compared to fourth and sixth graders.

Baker's study also pointed out some interesting differences between groups of varying socio-economic status. Groups with higher economic status, although not significantly higher intelligence quotients, devoted less attention in discussion to books,

radio, and movies, but gave evidence of having more information, probing more deeply, sticking to the point, and having better vocabularies and superior value systems.

The evidence of the differences between status groups points out not only the differences in language development, but also important differences in interests and values. These may arise in the case of the child of lower status from what Lewin (24) has termed "the early and sharp separation of reality and unreality," which he defines as being unfavorable to the child's development.

Plant's observation (30) that the effect of poverty, and particularly of overcrowding, on the personality development of the growing child was to break illustions, to destroy "goal images" soon after they are formed, to make children realistic on the negative and discouraging side, is perhaps an amplification of Lewin's point and an explanation for the differences which are so apparent in the discussions of the groups which Baker observed.

The most obvious differences in language development at all school levels are those differences in speech patterns associated primarily with differences in socio-economic status. All measures of linguistic maturity as well as conventional standards indicate the superiority of children from the upper social levels. A child exposed to a large vocabulary and skill in its use soon develops, by observation and imitation, facility of expression, exactness of meaning, and correct grammatical form. A child from poorer circumstances can hope to acquire these skills only with considerable effort and much conscious unlearning and relearning of language.

Finally, faulty speech articulation is related to sex differences, size of family, hearing acuity, and emotional and mental maturity. Sex differences in favor of girls in the matter of comprehension ability in speech, as in all other aspects of language growth, appear at an early level. According to E. A. Davis, girls retain up to the nine-and-a-half-year level superiority in articulation as well as in word usage, length, complexity, and grammatical correctness of sentences. Two studies indicate that sex differences in comprehensibility of speech are more marked among children of the lower socio-economic levels. (26)

The sample findings given above indicate that personal and environmental factors are likely to influence all forms of language behavior. As in the case of the child's developmental sequences, the results indicate close relationships among the various phases of language behavior and achievement. Such relationships have not always been fostered by a school program which divides such activities as reading, spelling, and writing into separate, even water-tight compartments. Other articles in this series indicate some specific directions the language curriculum must follow if it is to be guided by these child development data.

This chapter has indicated the importance of such ideas as the broad range of communicative activities, developmental patterns in various phases of language and the variation from child to child in different language arts abilities resulting from individual personality factors and from the child's social environment.

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Interrelationships of the Language Arts and Personality

DAVID H. RUSSELL[1]

Language is a form of behavior so closely related to mental and social development that it should be intimately related to personality. Other articles in this series indicate the close relationships between various forms of language behavior and other developmental characteristics and environmental conditions. The review of some two hundred fifty references in preparation for this article indicates that although language activities and personality are theoretically close, research evidence about their relationships is frequently spotty and vague. Certain topics such as interrelationships of language arts difficulties and personality difficulties have been rather thoroughly explored. Other areas, such as the positive contribution of language abilities to personality development or the relationships between certain types of personality and different forms of language activity, have been relatively untouched.

Previous Summaries

Some mention of work on interrelationships of language and personality is made in the two comprehensive summaries of McCarthy (91, 92) on child development in language. Witty (165, 166, 167) has three articles summarizing work on the relationships between reading and emotions or adjustment factors. In a chapter entitled "The Relations of Language and Speech Acquisitions to Personality Development" LaBrant (84) has a number of wise suggestions to teachers for broadening the usual language arts program, but little research evidence to quote. Anyone interested in the topic should read her discussion of the growth of language behavior, language as an outlet for creative urges, and influences of literature upon adolescents. LaBrant points out that, by the time the child comes to school, his language behavior is already so organized that it is hard for the teacher to recognize its psychological significance. She points out, also, that schools are largely concerned with the child's knowledge of external language materials, printed and written, and the degree to which he conforms to conventional language patterns. Other summaries of previous research are of a more specialized nature and will be mentioned in appropriate sections below.

A survey of available references leads to the conclusion that the dearth of specific evidence about interrelationships of language behaviors and personality is due, not to lack of knowledge about language development, but to lack of success in defining and measuring personality, particularly in the elementary school and secondary school age range. As a result of two analyses of available personality questionnaires, one including a 360-item bibliography, Ellis (35, 36) concludes that personality questionnaires are of questionable value in group diagnosis of individual adjustment or personality traits. Other difficulties in personality measurement have been pointed out by Goodenough (52), Gough (55), McShea (95), Sullivan (144), Traxler (151) and others. The newer projective and so[illegible]-

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metric approaches to personality measurement have been described, and in some cases tried with school children, by Bonney (16), Frank (42), Havighurst (65), Inkeles (74), Kuhlen (82), Sargent (126) and Symonds (145). Such methods offer promise of better methods of personality measurement of preschool and school children and youth. When current problems have been studied more thoroughly, such as that of the examiner confusing his own projections with those of the child, more complete analyses of the interrelationships of personality and language behaviors can be made. The current scarcity of adequate personality measures seems to be one important cause of the paucity of specific evidence about the interrelationships of language and personality.

Although the term *personality* is sometimes in doubt, a search of the literature reveals considerable evidence about the relationships between personality and achievement in general, including language achievements. Many studies of the interrelationships of personality and reading achievements have also been made. These and related topics are considered below.

Personality and General Academic Achievements

Investigators have frequently been interested in reasons for school success and failure and in emotional and personality influences upon achievement, including language achievements. General discussions of emotional and social behavior in relation to learning have been presented by Anderson (5) and by Jones, Conrad and Murphy (78). A number of texts in educational psychology, such as that of Pressey and Robinson (112) differentiate between the effects of mild emotion and strong emotional frustration upon learning. Later research on school achievements and personality has been summarized by Tuddenham (152) and by Seagoe and Cooper (128). A good historical introduction to the topic is presented by Wolf (169), who summarizes forty-two studies (and mentions eighty-one in her bibliography) of the relationships of personality to success or failure in school work. The first study mentioned is one by S. L. Pressey on the relation of character traits to success in school, published in 1920. Most of the studies reviewed involved subjects at the college level and non-standardized ratings of personality were frequent. Many of the studies involved cases where there was a disparity between intelligence records and academic achievement and a number suggest that anxiety states and other emotional disturbances may affect both intelligence scores and achievement scores. In another study of two matched groups of girls at the sixth grade level Wolf (168) 1947, found that six of seven personality tests showed differences favoring the good achievers in various school subjects.

Later studies of factors other than intelligence which affect school success in language and other areas are those of Tyler (154), Gerberich (48) and Owens and Johnson (107). Early disparity studies include those of Laird (85) and Stone (141). Other studies of personality factors in learning and achievement are those of Bird (13), of Keys and Whiteside (79), of Stagner (139), of Murphy and Ladd (103) and of Gough (56). Rorschach responses of successful and unsuccessful students have been studied by Margulies (96) and Osborne and Sanders (105). Failures of gifted pupils were studied by Van Alstyne (155), Conklin (26), and Cohler (24) and the educational achievements of "problem children" by Paynter and Blanchard (109). Some recent articles on personality and learning by McCarthy, Hildreth and others have been collected in an American Coun-

cil on Education publication (4).

The common finding of many of these studies that personality affects learning and achievement has been questioned by Rosen (117) who found no difference between children diagnosed as neurotic and as normal and by Thurstone (150) who feels that "too much attention has probably been given . . . to personality adjustment in the reading problem" and that more attention could profitably be given to problems of perception. In a somewhat more detailed study Hendrickson and Huskey (69) found that at the sixth grade level, extroversion is positively related to achievement and negatively to intelligence for boys and practically unrelated to those factors in the case of girls.

The studies on interrelationships of personality and general academic achievements, including language abilities, leave the reader with a feeling that satisfactory data have still to be uncovered. There is little doubt that strong emotions and more permanent maladjustments may interfere with learning and achievement in many cases but specific evidence of relationships is lacking. Difficulties in personality measurement have contributed to the uncertainty of the findings. Somewhat more satisfactory answers have been achieved in the more specific studies of the interrelationships of personality difficulties and reading difficulties which are reviewed two sections below.

Personality and Language

Language and personality have been associated by many writers, with varying amounts of supporting research evidence. In her text Strickland (143) says, "The language of an individual is in a very real sense the mirror of his personality . . . The spontaneity, fluency and control he shows in his speech indicate quite clearly how well his growth is progressing." The child who acquires language easily usually makes social adjustments easily. Some writers support the stereotype that a person's personality can be judged by his voice—the soft, quiet voice indicates a shy person, etc. There is little evidence against hypotheses such as these but there is also little or no general evidence showing the exact relationships suggested. Some of the available studies in speech and in written language are mentioned below.

The standard reference to speech education, Thonssen and Fatherson's *Bibliography of Speech Education* and its supplement (147), (148) is a good source for articles and books on speech and personality. For example, the supplement covering 1939 to 1948 lists some thirty theses and fifty articles on the topic. Most of these, however, are concerned with adults and with formal aspects of speech. The other indispensable reference is Stanford's review (125) of over one hundred books and articles in the field. Sanford believes the two main developments in the study of speech are a movement toward a quantitative description of linguistic phenomena and a study of the functional relation between language and nonlinguistic behavior. In regard to the second he says, "Man, the sign-using animal, makes many of his adjustments by devices purely linguistic, and his intellectual functions are in large part dependent upon words. If we set up the hypothesis that a study of the individual's verbal behavior will disclose a facet of his personality, it appears unlikely that we are weaving a rope entirely of sand." (125: 814) He concludes that much work needs to be done in exploring relationships between speech and personality but that "there are many indications that language is a vehicle of personality as well as thought."

More specifically, in the young child language is closely related to socialization. It

should be noted that the young child's oral language becomes effective about two years of age but that true co-operative play does not usually appear until four or five years of age. Major adjustments in the child's life may affect his language development. There is some evidence that learning to walk delays the appearance of first words and adjusting to school in the first year or two may slow down rate of vocabulary growth (28). Spriesterbach and Buck (138) suggest that speech development involves (1) speech sound development (2) speech fluency (3) language development and (4) voice. They and other writers warn that defective articulation (by adult standards) is normal for the three or four-year-old and that hesitations and rhythmic difficulties may occur normally in children's speech for years thereafter. The causation of stuttering is still in dispute. Johnson (77: 178) states that "the most defensible general conclusion to be drawn from this research, to date, would seem to be that stuttering is a specific form of learned anxiety-motivated behavior." Richardson (114) found few differences between adult stutterers and non-stutterers on the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Tests and Ainsworth (3) stresses the theory of multiple causation and "widely variant causes" of stuttering. Hahn (61) has shown that the content and form of children's speech must be related to the social setting in which it takes place.

A considerable number of studies of college students, such as those of Gilkinson (49, 50), of Cantril (21), Dunkel (34), and Duncan (33) have shown some relationship between personality test scores and certain aspects of speech, especially quality. However, as Spriestersbach and Buck (138) suggest, in associating voice and personality listeners are usually only declaring their own stereotypes and personality estimates on voice alone seem to be little better than estimates of intelligence based on facial expression.

The established relationships between children's writing and their personalities are also meager. That spelling difficulties may be related to emotional difficulties has been suggested by Schonell (127), by Russell (118), and by Spache (137). That graphology is not entirely a fake has been suggested by Victor (158) and others. But probably the most fruitful approach to the study of language and personality is now being started through analysis of the content of children's oral and written language.

Older studies of children's conversation such as those of Zyve (171) and Dawson (30) were content to analyze the child's written materials in terms of favorite topics at various grade levels. If the normative topics, such as those found by Dawson (games and sports, personal experiences, trips, pets, family and friends, etc.) were compared to one individual's conversation some clues as to his peronality could possibly be derived. Similarly, early analyses of children's writing such as those of Fitzgerald (40) and Bellows (10) could be carried to the place where they shed some light on personality. A beginning on this type of study has been made by Leary (88) and by Caldwell and Swenson (20). Cole (25) and Burrows (19) both suggest some of the diagnostic and therapeutic values of children's creative writing.

A discussion of personality and language would be incomplete without mention of the pioneer in the field. The classical studies of Piaget, especially his early works (110, 111) stress the relationship between a child's language and his social development. Piaget stresses the "prelogical" and "egocentric" nature of the child's language before seven or eight years of age and the social nature of his language and concepts

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several of the language arts has been the use of psychodrama and sociodrama in the treatment of adjustment difficulties. Del Torto and Cornyetz (31) have a 26-item bibliography on psychodrama and Shoobs (131) reports on its use in the schools. The Shaftels (129, 130) have two descriptions of the use of sociodrama in the intermediate grades. McGann (94) reported gains in reading competence and attitude as a result of a series of sociodramas devised to treat personality problems simultaneously with reading problems. The smphasis in such studies upon a combination of therapy and remedial instruction rather than concentration on reading teachniques alone offers new possibilities for clinical and other remedial work in the various language arts fields.

Summary

The studies summarized above, nearly two hundred in number, reveal many gaps in our knowledge of the interrelationships of personality and language behavior. There are numerous accounts of child development in the areas of preschool language and of reading especially, but only a few of these relate language behavior to personality factors. This paucity of effective correlation seems to be due in part to lack of adequate instruments and other difficulties in measuring personality traits of children and adolescents. Some progress has been made in studying children's personalities through the *content* of their language productions and, usually in test situations, through the *structure* of their language responses. Some of the newer projective techniques (usually involving language) and more skilled observations of children's general behavior offer hope that more rewarding studies of interrelationships of language and personality can be made.

Although results are still meager, there exists some evidence that amount and type of language behavior is often closely related to other phases of personality. At present the most detailed analysis seems to be in the area of social-emotional disturbances as related to reading difficulties. A promising lead has been opened up in the influences of reading, discussion, sociodrama, etc. on personality not only as catharsis and therapy in difficult cases but as procedures with normal children. Language activities are causes, concomitants, or results of personality factors but many detailed relationships must be explored if teachers and parents are to have the help they sometimes need in guiding growth in both language and personality.

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(1) The above generalizations probably apply to the other language arts as much as to reading. They should all be regarded as hypotheses for further scientific study.

c. Positive Values of Reading and Literature

From at least the days of the music and literary schools of ancient Athens, teachers have always used literature in an attempt to influence the personality and character of their students. Much of the modern writing on the subject continues to be speculative or hortatory, with titles such as *What Can Literature Do for Me?* (132) or *How to Improve Your Personality by Reading* (149). A beginning on the scientific study of the problem seems to have been initiated in the United States by Moore (102). A brief summary of some of the available studies has been made by N. B. Smith (135) who also reported on the results of a "free-response" investigation in which children were asked to write about any reading material which had changed their thinking or attitudes (134). Witty (165, 167) has contributed at least two summaries of research on the values or effects of reading. W. S. Gray (58) summarized thirty studies of the effects of reading on such things as information and belief, attitudes and morale, public opinion and voting. The most complete summary dealing with bibliotherapy as such seems to be that of Russell and Shrodes (123). Worthwhile general articles are those of Bryan (18), L. Gray (57) D. V. Smith (133) and Wenzel (161).

The more specific studies of the effects of reading and literature deal with various types of reading material and different age groups. Waples' (160) studies are concerned with the reading habits of adults but have implications for understanding children and youth. Loban's (90) and Meckel's (97) doctoral studies are concerned with the effects of reading short stories and a novel on adolescents. Wampler and Garrison (159) suggest books useful in understanding problems of adolescence. Hegge and Voelker (67) suggest reading materials for "non-academic" pupils. Stoughton and Ray (142) found that children in the second, fourth, and sixth grades seldom named a character from a book as the person they would most like to be like." Russell (122) found that a group of teachers could recall various influences of books on themselves during childhood. Child and others (23) have an interesting analysis of possible effects of third-grade readers on children using them. Sister Mary Agnes (2) and Groves (60) suggest possible influences of children's poetry. Goldman (51) feels that the values of fables in character education may be overrated and Lawler (87) suggests some personality values for participation in communication activities.

One of two recent developments has been the planned use of different therapeutic techniques with retarded readers. Many of the older studies of remedial programs, such as those of Kirk (80), Hegge (66), and Monroe and Backus (101) reported personality gains as a correlate of reading gains. The newer emphasis is on therapy for its own sake. Axline (8, 9) has two descriptions of play and non-directive therapy and Kunst (83) described psychological treatment of reading disability cases. Bills (12) found significant changes in the reading ability of eight third grade children as a result of play therapy experience and Goodman and others (53) reported improvement in over half the cases of a group of elementary-school children treated for nine months with a combination of psychotherapy and specific remedial work. Meyer (98) reported, from a psychoanalytic point of view, an experiment in story-telling used as therapy.

The second recent development involving

factor in reading difficulties.

One facet of the relationship of reading to adjustment is the study of reading abilities of delinquent children. Some evidence on the academic achievements of delinquents is given in the National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook (104) dealing with delinquency. In 1936 Fendrick and Bond (39) found a group of delinquent boys in New York City to be markedly retarded in reading ability. Feinberg (37, 38) verified this finding in two other studies and Ash (6) reported discrepancies between reported schooling and academic achievements of adolescent delinquents. Thomas (146) and Klumb (81) found that reading interests of delinquent boys are not as varied or mature as those of non-delinquent boys. A careful unpublished study by Wickham (162) found the most fruitful data for distinguishing groups of delinquents and non-delinquents in the emotionally charged relationships between parent and child and teacher and child. The delinquent groups were much below average in school grades and 58 per cent of the group stated a dislike for one or more school subjects with English being the most disliked. Wickham, Harris (104) and others stress that a constellation of causal factors is frequently associated with delinquency. The studies quoted do not establish poor reading ability as a direct cause of the maladjustments labelled delinquency but do indicate that the two are often associated.

While there is still some uncertainty about the influence of personality factors upon success or failure in groups of children, there is no doubt that personality factors may affect reading achievement of individuals. Current study may be most profitably directed toward how and why the two are related. In this connection observations made by Gates (47) in 1941 still seem to be pertinent. Some of his findings with other generalizations added are:

(a) Personality difficulties are frequently but not universally associated with reading difficulties.

(b) In cases where they occur together, personality difficulties may be causes, concomitants, or results of reading difficulties.

(c) Emotional difficulties usually appear as part of a constellation of difficulties causing reading retardation.

(d) There is no single personality pattern characteristic of reading failure and there is no proved one-to-one relationship between type of adjustment difficulty and type of reading disability. For example, feelings of insecurity resulting from undue home pressure for achievement may result in low reading achievement marked by withdrawal, compulsive, anxious reading marked by frequent errors, or higher achievement in reading than would be expected from mental level.

(e) Symptoms associated with reading difficulties are commonly aggressive reactions withdrawing tendencies or general insecurity and apprehension.

(f) If emotional, adjustment disturbances are one of a group of primary causes of reading difficulties, retardation in other academic learnings often occurs.

(g) If reading difficulties are a cause of emotional difficulties, skilled remedial work in reading may clear up rather easily a considerable number of difficulties. If deep-seated personality difficulties are a cause of reading difficulties, ordinary remedial work is likely to be ineffective and more intensive therapy is required.

(h) Diagnosis and remediation in reading are often more acceptable to children and to parents than they are in fundamental personality maladjustments. Accordingly the reading aspects of a problem may be emphasized in the beginning stages of treatment.

ing ability, social acceptability, intelligence and general school achievement. She concluded that "extensive reading is a significant factor in children's social acceptability." Heisler (68) found that 600 comic book and non-comic book readers made much the same scores on the California Test of Personality.

The importance of social and emotional adjustments in reading readiness has been attested in a number of studies. Smith (136), has summarized 136 studies dealing with readiness, including some thirty-five titles dealing with emotional and social readiness. More general discussions of the role of social and emotional factors in readiness have been presented by Harrison (63) and by Hildreth (70). Since readiness is a factor in reading achievement at all grade levels, the above references underline the close relationships between social and emotional adjustments and reading success throughout the elementary and secondary school.

b. Interrelationships of Reading Difficulties and Personality Disturbances.

Of all the specific relationships between language and personality the area of reading difficulties related to emotional and personality difficulties has been most thoroughly investigated. Early summaries of some of the research include those of Tulchin (153), of Wilking (164) and at least three articles by Gates (45, 46, 47) which also included original research findings. Russell (119) reported studies with some conflict between the results of group investigations and individual case studies. Witty (165) used the same classification of over twenty studies and added a section on the place of therapy in remedial work. He concludes that evidence of close relationship between emotional difficulties and reading difficulties comes from four sources: (1) case studies by analysts, educators and physicians (2) comparisons of groups of retarded and successful readers (3) studies of individuals over long periods of time and (4) remedial work emphasizing therapeutic methods. In a careful study of 22 cases of extreme reading disability Robinson (115) found nine cases with emotional difficulties, as defined by a psychiatrist, and also reviewed the literature in this area.

The present writer has been unable completely to verify Witty's finding that group comparisons of retarded and successful readers provide evidence of a causal relationship between emotional difficulties and reading difficulties. Witty himself stresses multiple causation in reviewing case studies (165:291). In tabulating forty research studies involving the relationship of reading difficulties and personality disturbances the writer found fifteen that claimed intimate or causal relationships and twenty-five which discovered no significant differences between groups of retarded and normal readers or which included personality difficulties as only one of a constellation of related causes. Little or no relationship was found in studies such as those of Sister Mary Vera (157), Gann (44) and Betts (1). Close relationships were found in small numbers of case studies reported by Blanchard (14, 15), Tulchin (153), Gates (46), Hardwick (62), Vaughn (156), Missildine (99), Lantz and Liebes (86), Wiksell (163) and Stevenson (140). Representative studies giving emotional difficulties as only one of a group of possible causes include those of Castner (22), Leland (89), Parker (108), Gates (47), Jackson (75), McCaul (93), Robinson (116) and Young (170). Osburn (109) believes that such factors as lack of auditory discrimination and lack of readiness at school entrance are primary factors in reading disability but classifies emotional difficulties as a secondary

after eleven or twelve years. A number of investigators in the United States such as Abel (1), Deutsche (32), Huang and Lee (72) and McCarthy (92), have questioned some of Piaget's specific findings in regard to animism and causality but not his general hypothesis of close relationships between language and social development. McCarthy points out the importance of the situation in which language is recorded. Most of Piaget's later work, not all of which is available in English translation, has been concerned with children's concepts rather than specific aspects of personality.

Personality and Reading

The continued interest in the study of reading, almost an undue emphasis compared to what has been done in oral language and listening, means that many more research results are available connecting personality with reading than with any other language art. There are in the literature known to the writer approximately a hundred references to interrelationships of reading difficulties and emotional difficulties alone. The present summary mentions only some of the more important references, divided as follows: (a) studies of general relationships between reading and personality (b) studies of interrelationships of reading difficulties and personality disturbances, (c) studies of positive values of reading and literature.

a. *Reading and Personality: General Relationships*

Gray (59) and his co-authors have suggested many ways in which reading may contribute to social and personal development. Havighurst (64), and the Shaftels (129, 130) related reading to the "developmental tasks" of childhood and adolescence, the latter using a sociodrama technique. Goodykoontz (54) and Horn (71) have given general suggestions for language arts and reading programs stressing child development. Auerbach (7) and Russell (120) have sugested conditions which must be met before reading can influence personality effectively. The Franks (43), Daniel and Hinds (29), Husband (73) and Russell (121) have all emphasized the importance of the process of identification if reading is to influence personality adjustments. Bossard (17) and Russell (124) have suggested that teachers be aware of culturally induced problems if they are to help personality adjustment through reading.

The relationship of reading interests to personality offers many opportunities for research. Cottle (27) has shown that interest scores are related to personality scores at the adult level. In a study of Scottish children using a pictures test, a poem test, books and films preferred, a story completion test and other language activities Foulds (41) concluded that a child's "fictional choices are predictable, since they cohere with other observable characteristics of his personality." In an intensive study of two sixth grade classes in California Reed (113) used such measures as an interest inventory, lists of books read, Mental Health Analysis, sociometric scores and reading achievements. He found that the top quarter of the group on the Mental Health Analysis were three times as accurate as the lowest quarter when their stated reading preferences were compared to their actual reading. At this level both high and low quartiles on a combination of personality measures read animal and adventure stories but the low group read more on family life and sports. The hypothesis suggested was that this group read more in these areas for feelings of security and achievement. The correlation between amount of comic books read and popularity (measured sociometrically) was .80. In a larger study of sixth grade pupils Mitchell (100) reported relationships between read-

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Putting What We Know about Children's Language Development into Home and School Practices

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Previous chapters have stressed the relationship of child development to language development, and the importance of this relationship as a factor in determining what teachers and parents can do to foster such growth. The purpose of the present chapter is to examine the specific directives provided by this proposition for the educational practices of the home and school.

Directive Number One: *It Is Important to Record Continued Observations of Children and Their Language Activities.*

The broad generalizations that development is continuous, interrelated, and differentiated provide the outline within which the language development of Mary, John, Nancy, and Peter can be observed and studied. It is only through day-to-day observations, however, that this skeleton framework of ideas can be clothed with the flesh and blood of real language experiences.

Simply stated, this directive means that the basis for any practical attempt to relate language development to the broader development of children is to start observing real children, keeping some kind of continuous observation record of what one sees and hears.

Naturally, there are a number of cautions for both teachers and parents to observe in making such observations. Previous chapters have indicated the following:

1. The observations should be focused on children as they talk, write, read, and listen in the context of their on-going experiences at home and at school. The purpose of such observations is to collect information about their actual language development, not to verify a previously-held conviction as to what that development should be.

2. If the purpose of such observations is to get at *development*, they must be made more than once. Development in language takes place over time, and the character of its direction and velocity can be determined only by observing over a period of time the nature and speed of change in reading, writing, and speech patterns, and in other aspects of language. Records of language activities noting the nature and velocity of changes become essential to the educational program. Fortunately, much of such recording can be done by collecting language products—or better, by helping the child do this observing and recording himself. Teachers, however, need to add to such collections of the things children read and write some systematic observations of language experiences not reflected by these materials. This need is especially important in the areas of speaking and listening.

3. Because of the interrelatedness of language with social experiences, observations

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should be made of children over the range of their speaking, reading, writing, and listening behavior in the variety of social situations in which these language functions are used.

Many would want to extend this observation to all forms of creative expression—expression through plastic and graphic arts forms, physical movement, music, as well as the usual speech forms. Anyone who has watched a child fingerpaint, and then has listened to him tell the meaning of his experience will sense the importance of this additional kind of observation.

4. Observations soon become unmanageable in terms of the complexity of items included; records kept on any continuous basis soon bewilder even the most conscientious parent or teacher. Observational records of a child's language activities, therefore, must be looked at frequently and organized around some framework which ties together his developing overall pattern of language development with his immediate day-to-day use of language in both home and school.

Unfortunately, workers in the field of language arts have not been very skillful in devising such organizing frameworks, and therefore in this area much constructive work remains to be done. (7, 13)

5. Observational records of children's language behavior form one of the important bases for the evaluation of the language growth of individual children and for the general understanding of the language development of a class group. Records of the language behavior of a child cannot be confused with norms and national averages. They represent a day-to-day statement of the actual growth of a child's language as he uses it to meet a variety of communication needs.

Directive Number Two: Plans for Language Arts Curricula Must Consider the Experiences Children Have in the Home and Outside School.

It is easy for teachers to forget that the child has spent five to six years learning and practicing his speech and listening patterns prior to his entering school. It is equally easy to forget the large amount of time the child spends outside the school in using the kind of language forms that enable him to get along comfortably and effectively with his associates. Since one function of both home and school is to help the child become increasingly effective in dealing with his language needs, parents and teachers alike need to have a broad perspective of all the agencies and experiences that are influencing the child's language development.

DeBoer, in his review of the social factors in language development, has indicated that in addition to the difference that frequently exists between language forms of the home and those emphasized by the school, different social groups within the same community confront the child with widely differentiated language patterns. (See 8, also) One of the child's big language problems is learning how to select the right language forms and speech patterns to deal effectively with particular social situations.

The important role that social situations outside the school play in the child's language development suggests the following considerations for teachers and parents:

1. From contacts with his family, playmates, and neighborhood, each child has developed a speaking and listening language pattern before he comes to school. (3, 11, 16)

2. The school assumes an immediate responsibility for first developing the child's

reading ability and next, his writing skill. This sequential pattern of developme .t is based on his oral language background and his growing need for the use of language to acquire and extend meanings growing out of his broadening expe'ience. (17)

3. By the time the child is nine, this first pattern of development is finished, and further development is dependent on the many situations in which a variety of language skills are used. (1) (It should be noted that the sequence is determined by the social and educational factors in the child's language development and not by his own physiological and biological maturation.)

4. The child has greater use for speaking, listening, and reading outside of school than he has for writing, and the standards for each language function vary widely according to social situations and social class. The school is frequently the major force for the many "approved" language forms which the child is compelled to recognize.

Both parents and teachers need to relate their language-arts teaching to the language experiences the child is having outside school—on playgrounds, in groups, or through radio and television. Parent-Teacher conferences (2), community surveys of adult language patterns and use, adult education programs, and recordings are all resources and activities which should prove valuable in promoting further language development.

Directive Number Three: *The Ideas Held by Teachers and Parents of the Nature and Function of Language Arts Are an Important Factor in Determining the Nature of Language Development in Children.*

It is likely that every teacher, upon a little reflection, realizes that the language arts provide a means for the communication of ideas, feelings, and aspirations, and that this communication is basically a social process—demanding some kind of common meaningful social experience and interaction. This idea does not mean the same as 100 per cent correct spelling or using "good grammar." Only when the developmental experiences of the child are used by parents and teachers as bases for language instruction, can ideas, language froms, appropriate skills, conventions, and people get together. Then, and only then, will the continuity of ideas, the conventional forms of language, individualized expression, and the existing interrelations among these factors become apparent to the child, his teacher, and parents.

There have been some clear demonstrations of the value of basing language instruction upon the child's own functional use of language. Howell (9), in her study of spelling in relation to the writing of second-grade children, found that (1) in addition to using the words found in the usual spellers, children used words found in vocabulary lists for grades below and above them (from the first 500 to the 20th thousand in Thorndike's list); (2) they used many more words in writing than those in the spelling lists (over seventy-five pre cent of the words used were not in any spelling list); (3) their writing vocabularies were to a large extent individual (of the 1,539 words recorded in the study, only 24 words were used by all twenty-five children); and (4) they employed a number of avenues for learning to spell the words they needed to use—never just one.

In the fourth grade, Van Beek (18) found that emphasis on writing caused significant gains in the vocabulary development of the "functional" group, and indicated some evidence of a greater willing-

ness on the part of these children to write more extensively about a common topic than the spelling group taught by more formal methods.

The problem of the functional relationship of language forms to the learner's conception of the task has great implications for both teachers and parents. It is just as important to try to sense *what* the child is trying to say and *to whom* he is saying it as it is to pay attention to *how* he is saying it. Sometimes the *how* becomes understandable only in relationship to the *what* and the *to whom*. The above point is gradually gaining additional substantiation in a study of handwriting which is in progress at the University of Wisconsin. This study indicates that the individual's handwriting varies according to his conception of the task, knowledge of time limitations, and his inferred level of social consequence. The child's language reflects the personal and intimate expression of the child himself (10, 15, 19) and the social setting in which it is being used.

The usual listing of the elements of language arts includes reading, writing, speaking, and listening. (5) Less frequently are realized the relationships between these functions—writing with reading; speaking with listening. The speaking and listening functions, because of their face-to-face nature, are more intimate and interdependent than are the functions of writing and reading. The reader is not aware of the writer—one can be disassociated from the other. All that is known about the interrelationships of language development suggests that as much attention be given the above relationships as to the specific development of any given function. Indeed, it would seem that any given function can be developed most effectively by using other functions of language as supporting and related resources.

Another way of suggesting the interrelationships of the language arts is to look at any learning situation involving language as having at least three important aspects:

1. A social situation with people, purposes, content, and communication needs.
2. A variety of language media having approved social forms—such as conversations, talks, notes, outlines, letters, telephoning, etc.
3. Related mechanics, skills, and usage agreement and conventions.

The problem of language growth, then, is more than simply developing correct spelling or a wide vocabulary or a neat letter. It is determining how all aspects of language can be organized around some vital learning center whereby each can be developed in some meaningful relationship to all others.

This conception suggests the following conclusions: (1) all of these aspects of language development should be a part of every learning experience; (2) it does make some difference where you start—it is more difficult to go from a specific isolated skill to a meaningful social situation than it is to go from a social situation to a specific skill; (3) the curricular problem involves learning how to pay the attention necessary to all language aspects at the time when this attention will be most efficient, significant, and meaningful.

Directive Number Four: *Child Development Is Especially Important in Determining (A) the Nature of the Developmental Sequences, (B) the Adaptation of Learning Experiences to a Wide Range of Language Abilities, and (C) a Concept of the Developmental*

Tasks of Language Involved in the Child's Growing Up.

In dealing with problems in the language arts, there is a common tendency to use glib statements about the "whole" child, or to use principles and generalizations of child development to justify and support practically any method or procedure of teaching. What we know about child development needs to be examined specifically and constructively in relation to its contribution to the critical instructional problems of language development.

Child development seems to make a contribution to the teaching of language arts in the following ways:

A. As a Means of Determining the Nature and Rate of Developmental Sequences in Language Activities.

The problem of sequence in teaching is a serious and difficult one. This problem is further complicated in language by the fact that there are no logical teaching sequences in language itself as there are in arithmetic, history, biology, geography, and other content areas.

Any ordering of the way in which language should be taught either has attempted "the reduction to the simplest element" procedure (i.e., stories are made up of paragraphs; paragraphs, of sentences; sentences, of words; and words, of letters; therefore, we should first teach the letter, then the word, then the sentence, then the paragraph, and finally the story) or has postulated stages of growth which indicate the nature, order, and degree of development one would expect in language development at any one time. Supporters of the latter procedure feel that these stages, rooted in the development of the child, offer a sure clue to when certain language forms and abilities can be taught, and when others cannot.

In 1925, W. S. Gray made a genuine contribution in the N. S. S. E. Yearbook, *Report of the National Committee on Reading*, in which he discussed the stages of reading development, thereby broadening the perspective of teachers who were accustomed to thinking about reading in the limited terms of one-grade development. Unfortunately, Gray's stages may be based more upon a logical analysis of our present programs of reading instruction than on the process of language development as far as children are concerned.

Child development has made no contribution to the definition of the learning task in the sense of defining the nature of reading. Child development has been used, however, to accomplish the following ends:

1. The identification of activities children enjoy, so that these interests may serve as motivation for the reading materials via names of children, pets, and plots for stories.

2. The obtaining of some judgment relative to the range of maturity found in groups of children at the various grade levels, so that the degree of difficulty of learning experiences and materials may be accurately gauged.

3. The development of understanding of factors related to reading readiness.

4. The obtaining of some evidence on how rapidly children can move through various steps in becoming competent readers and in using other means of communication.

These four points illustrate the problem of relating child development to language programs based on series of instructional materials. These materials have to borrow

their stories, interest centers, and activities from the lives of real children if they are to have any significance at all. Teachers and parents have a much better opportunity to identify interests and experiences in the lives of their individual children than do the writers of instructional materials developed for all of America's children.

Child development has indicated that while general levels of maturity can be obtained for large groups of children, yet the range for any group is so great that to say that certain material is fitted for second-grade children is to say that it is likewise fitted for first and fourth in terms of the maturity levels of that group. The problem of knowing how fast to progress through the various steps of language development (even if one knew exactly what they were) can best be determined by a particular group of children—the resource best available to a teacher.

Etill, Dawson (1) and Strickland (17) in their recent books emphasize Gesell's growth gradients for elementary school children as a guide for determining problems of sequence, level of development, and velocity of movement in language-arts programs. These growth gradients are stated in the following terms:

5 years: a settled interlude for consolidating earlier gains

6 years: a dispersive aggressive, non-modulated period

7 years: introspective, assimilative, feeling-centered time

8 years: an expansive, acquisitive, high-geared period

9 years: a self-motivated, businesslike, well-organized year

10 years: a relaxed, casual, yet alert attitude, broadening social interests

11 years: a period of competitive socialization (4)

Since the argument here is that an aggressive year is followed by a year of assimilation and organization of experiences, it follows that the teacher should push hard in the dispersive aggressive period, and then let the learning consolidate in the introspective, assimilative, feeling-centered time. This proposition has led to programs of teaching children to read so that they can read to learn later, and to master arithmetic skills so that they can solve problems later.

Any teacher who works with children from six to twelve knows that the development of children and language does not proceed at a constant rate. There are times when a child seems to spurt ahead and other times when he seems to be consolidating and reorganizing previous gains. Looking at their fourth graders, however, teachers have a hard time relating their knowledge of these individual children to Gesell's general characteristic of "relaxed, casual, alert" attitude. Similarly, all third-graders do not fit Gesell's "self-motivated, businesslike, well-organized" stereotype. More likely, children can be found in any grade typifying all Gesell's characterizations. Certainly any language-arts program which bases its sequential development solely upon these growth gradients would be hopelessly lost. The following points seem pertinent:

1. Any attempt to characterize a year out of the lives of all ten-year-olds by a single phrase is an oversimplification of the complex problem of developmental sequences. Any child is just not that simple.

2. There is little evidence to suggest that

these cycles of activity and consolidation operate on a yearly basis, although it is known that growth is neither linear nor constant.

3. Gesell's knowledge of the six-to-twelve period does not match his knowledge of the child from birth to five. Data for the six-to-twelve period would be improved by observing children over time in the many varied situations in which they use language—especially if we are interested in developmental language sequences.

4. In fairness to Gesell, one should recognize that the term "gradient" means the rate by which a variable magnitude increases or decreases. Gesell was trying to indicate merely the direction and velocity of growth rather than fixed and distinguishable stages.

Although growth gradients do not give conclusive answers, it is possible for teachers and other curriculum makers to utilize some knowledge of developmental sequences. By examining cultural patterns and the role of children in them, it is possible to identify, for example, a sequence in the different vocabularies learned — listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The clarity of this pattern usually disappears by the third grade and this order is probably a composite of maturity, cultural, and language factors. Any examination of the development of vocabulary, sentence structure, and the variety and form of language tends to support the following conclusions about language sequences and their role in child development:

There are developmental language sequences through which all children are expected to pass. These sequences are known only in general and in broad outline. What they are for particular children is established by each teacher who observes this development over time on the part of specific children. It is known, however, that these sequences are not so specific as to warrant teaching the simple sentence in the fourth grade, the compound sentence in the fifth, and the complex sentence in the sixth. In fact, a one, two, three sequence in the skills or vocabulary development seems to exist only in the minds of writers who develop instructional materials for large groups of children. A concept of sequence of patterns of interrelationships operating differentially over time is probably closer to the truth.

B. As a Source of Suggestions for Adapting Learning Experiences to a Wide Range of Language Abilities

One of the most important understandings for parents and teachers to gain from the study of child development is growing appreciation of the nature and extent of differentiation in language development. Parents and teachers should *expect* and *respect* differentiation in language development.

In looking at variation in language development, it is helpful to remember that this variation is important in the following respects:

As to beginning and end points

Children start their development in language at different points. When they come to school, their levels of development are as different as their names. The possible ceilings on their development are equally different. There is no reason to believe that any two individuals either start or end their language development at the same point. This kind of differentiation in language is to be expected and regarded as perfectly natural and appropriate. In fact, it can be a resource that enriches and broadens the learning experiences of the group.

As to rate of development

The teacher and parent should expect not only that different aspects of language in the same child will develop at different rates, but also that the rate of development of one aspect over time will vary considerably when one period is compared with another. In reading, for example, the rate of initial development in the first grade should not be compared with the period of rapid extension of this skill, whenever this period occurs for a given child.

As to organization and complexity of pattern

Observation of children will reveal wide differences in the organization and complexity of the developmental language patterns of children. The relationship of language functions for each child and the diversity and complexity of language development and usage must be recognized and understood by the teacher, if the child is to grow effectively. The organization and patterning of language development has not been emphasized to the same degree as have the differences in beginning and end points and in rate of development; yet this concept has importance in understanding some of the major instructional problems of the language arts.

As to emphasis

It is commonly observed that a child is more proficient in telling what he knows than in writing it. Frequently this difference is one of patterning of developments at that time—his talking is ahead of his writing. Sometimes, however, this difference is one of emphasis evolving either from the child's selection of speech as his major vehicle of communication or from the social setting which demands it. All patterns of development have foci around which other aspects tend to center.

As to sex and cultural background

Differences in language because of sex and cultural background have long been emphasized. Initial and continuing advantages for girls have been established by research. However, perhaps the differentiation because of social and economic background is more important in understanding differences in language-arts development than is the fact that the individual is a boy or girl.

Finally, a child's language patterns differ greatly from those of one of his peers because his language reflects his growing conception of himself. Russell, in his review of the interrelationships of language and personality, has pointed out that central in the development of language patterns is the child's evolving sense of self. One important avenue for self-development is through language. Parents and teachers are just beginning to use this avenue of expression, via creative writing, bibliotherapy, choral speaking, etc., in order to further the child's self-development through his use of language. Horn has frequently said that one of the most important things the school can do is to develop a sense of purpose. In helping a child use language effectively, a sense of purpose is a prime requisite. Important in a sense of purpose is a sense of self. Research in child development frequently emphasizes that the core of any developmental pattern at the cognitive level is the developing sense of self which gives consistency, organization, and direction to all the rest.

C. As a Means of Determining a Concept of the Developmental Tasks of Language Involved in the Child Growing Up.

Looking at a child and trying to understand his behavior creates the problem of organizing all the observed specifics into some kind of meaningful framework. A

number of terms—"needs," "personal-social needs," and "developmental tasks" (6)—have been used to furnish one important part of such a framework. These terms stand for some of the problems a child has to face and solve in some fashion in order to grow up, and the related motives which give such behavior direction and significance.

Developmental tasks are a composite resulting from the action of three kinds of forces upon the individual: the forces and tensions which result from a maturing physiological organism, the demands being made upon that organism by a dynamic social environment, and the purposes and goals which evolve from a growing concept of self. All these forces operating in some kind of relationship to each other create the tasks which have to be met by children in some fashion in order to grow up. Language is always the result of the interaction of an organism with maturing speech and language mechanisms, dynamic and demanding social environment and institution (home and school), and an individual who has ideas and purposes of his own. Language needs and their resolution result from the individual's constant attempt to interpret and organize effectively these three dynamic interacting forces at any one time. Parents and teachers who are a part of these forces and are making demands in this complex matrix of factors need to understand better what the problem is and to see more clearly what they can do in helping the child meet his many developmental tasks.

This concept of child development can help in language development in the following ways:

1. The developmental tasks related to language are of long duration, appear in sequence, and are defined primarily by the social forces and environment which act upon the individual.

This point reinforces the importance of continued observations and recording of the child's language development as the foundation for wise teaching. This concept of development is the basis for realizing that language development is a long-time process where no magical changes are made on the basis of a series of short-time periods of training. Major changes in language development are made via long-time effort and practice over a broad front of activities. Both parents and teachers need to realize the need for continuity in educational experiences which involve language.

2. It is very easy to underestimate the influence of the child's peer group and social class environment on the formation and development of language patterns. As the child moves through the elementary school, his peer-group relations tend to become more and more important to him. Consequently, the speech and language patterns of the peer group assume a dominant role in influencing what a pre- and post-adolescent says, listens to, reads, and writes. At the same time, his play and living space is constantly extending to include a broadening contact with people on many levels engaged in many different occupational activities. The child must learn to understand and relate his communicative skills to the social situations in which he operates. His parents and teachers who understand this need can help him make wise choices about how to relate his language to the functional situations in which it must be used. Most important of all, the child needs help in seeing how his language standards grow out of a constant effort to examine their effectiveness in meeting his broad array of communication needs.

3. A knowledge of what a child is trying

to say and of what he is trying to accomplish by that expression is the basis upon which oral and written speech can be improved. The teacher and parent should see this as a necessary part of both instruction and evaluation.

Directive Number Five: *The Adequacy of a Child's Language Development at a Particular Time Must Be Measured in Terms of His General Developmental Level.*

The problem of evaluation in language is complex because of the number of factors involved in its development and the different standards which may be used to judge its adequacy. The problem is not to arrive at a single all-inclusive basis for evaluating language development, but to attain some sense of the different facets and standards which are properly a part of the social scene in which language development takes place. School people must accept the fact that standards *other* than the child's are going to be used by the child, his teacher, his parents, and certainly by his peers and adults to judge what he says and writes. He, himself, will use some of these standards to appraise what he hears and reads. The broad problem of evaluation, then, is to identify and use the proper standard at the proper time and in relation to the proper language objectives by all concerned. At the same time, the child should realize that different standards are applied to his language development both by himself and by others; and that one of his real problems, in addition to recognizing these different standards, is to adapt to them in flexible language patterns.

Of *first* concern in the evaluation of language is the evaluation the learner himself makes of the adequacy with which his speaking and writing achieves his communication objective, or of the effectiveness with which his reading and listening meets his needs. Child development emphasizes the importance of this first aspect of language evaluation—the effective selection and use of language in achieving the communication purposes of the learner himself.

A *second* important part of the evaluation problem is the standard applied by the receiver of the language. The achievement of the learner's purpose, while of primary importance, must also be considered in relation to the fact that someone else is always involved and is judging the adequacy of the communication, too. This social evaluation of language is complex and multiple. For example, a person may make himself understood by what he says, but he says it so poorly that his listeners are sure that he is academically uneducated, socially uncouth, or very likely unintelligent. Many such judgments, made on the basis of the language product, are probably in error or should not be made, but the point is that they are a part of the social scene in which language expression takes place, and should not be ignored. The child should recognize that these judgments are being made and that he must learn to deal with them realistically. Often teachers and parents can do more to help by wise counselling rather than by formal language instruction.

More familiar is the evaluation which teachers and parents make of the language products of children as either correct or incorrect, above or below some preconceived standard. In an educational sense, this problem is the degree to which children should be able to practice a defined language form at any time. Here the purpose of the learner, while still important, is not the primary basis upon which the evaluation is made. The task defined for the child —putting periods at the end of simple de-

clarative sentences, spelling "receive" correctly, forming the letter "h" with the high loop, recording exactly what is said—is a major aspect of this evaluation; another aspect is the extent to which we expect first graders or third graders to accomplish these tasks. The level of this expectancy is determined primarily by what other groups of children of similar training and maturity have been able to do.

Parents and teachers, when evaluating language products, frequently look at the first aspect—the misspelled word, the mistakes in grammar, the sloppy handwriting—and judge accordingly. This kind of evaluation can be highly arbitrary, yet teachers and parents use it with confidence and security. After all, the word was misspelled, the comma was omitted, a double negative was used. Some of the lessons of child development are beginning to be used in evaluation, however, when the language tasks we wish children to perform are seen in the larger context of the communication purpose to be achieved; children are beginning to be used as a referent to determine the degree to which one has a right to expect accomplishment.

One step in this direction is to compare and evaluate the child's language products on the basis of his development in language up to that point. Such evaluation considers the child's accomplishment in reading in relation to his progress in other forms of language and in relation to his pattern of development. Study of the past history and relative placement of reading to other language forms and areas of accomplishment affords a better basis for indicating the kind of educational experiences necessary and the nature and velocity of future development in reading. Unfortunately, few schools have the records and techniques for making such analysis and interpretation of the language development of a child. Parents, because of their day-to-day association with a child over the elementary school period, are aware of this development and are in an excellent position to work with the teacher in a cooperative evaluation of the child's progress in language development.

Of particular importance in evaluation is for parents and teachers to sense what is happening to a child developmentally when he overcomes a reading handicap, stirs an audience with creative writing, has an article accepted by the school paper, meets an obligation on a committee report. Here are opportunities to celebrate personal and educational victories of problems faced and contributions made. This kind of evaluation and celebration gets closer to the real place of language in children's personal and social development than do most of the usual evaluation procedures.

Child development, then, makes the following suggestions for evaluation of the language arts:

1. *Take the Long Look.* The language activities today have to be seen against the background of their development. Future progress has to be judged against (a) what this developmental picture seems to indicate for a given child, (b) what we know the general sequences of development in language to be, and (c) what we know about the range and extent of developmental language patterns in children of the same age.

2. *Take a Look at the Communication Goals.* A child's language skills are better evaluated if he is helped to relate his growth in such skills to his improved ability to achieve his purposes of communication. Parents have just as important a place in this kind of examination as do teachers.

3. *Take the Comprehensive Look.* The child's development in one aspect of language is not separate from his development

in other forms of language. Better judgments are possible when a comprehensive examination of a number of related factors is made than when one single aspect is studied in isolation.

4. *Take the Constructive Look.* If the intent behind the evaluation is to judge and convict, then the evaluation problem can be considered in a negative fashion. If, however, the intent behind the evaluation is to help the learner find better ways of meeting his communication needs and of achieving a better understanding of his educational development, then this positive concept will dictate different ways of evaluating, different roles for the learner to play in the evaluation process, and different ways of following through on the appraisal made.

Summary

An examination of child development provides the following directives for parents and teachers in their efforts to guide the language development of children.

1. It is necessary to keep some continued record of the child's language development as a basis for understanding his present progress.

2. The language experiences children have in the home and outside school are important factors in their language development. Schools must know about and influence these experiences if effective program of language development are to be maintained on a community-wide basis. Many activities such as community studies of language use, analysis of content in mass media, parent-teacher conferences, examination of community resources, etc., should grow out of any attempt to put this directive into effect.

3. The conception held by parents and teachers of the nature and function of language arts is an important factor in determining the nature of language development in children. If language development is seen as consisting solely of the mastery of spelling words, grammar, letter forms, and sight words, then there is little opportunity for the knowledge of child development to make any real contribution to a child's growth in language other than helping to indicate how fast the teacher can go. If, on the other hand, language development is seen as a process of communication involving people, ideas, thinking, feeling, language processes, and appropriate social action, then knowledge of child development can make many significant contributions.

4. Child development cannot solve all the problems of language development, but it is especially valuable in determining (1) the nature of developmental sequences; (2) the conditions of learning that will promote effective language growth, especially in relation to a wide variety of language abilities; and (3) the developmental tasks in language that the child will have to face and resolve in some fashion in growing up.

5. The adequacy of the child's language development for him is dependent upon the nature and velocity of his developmental pattern at that time. The different standards of people on many levels of educational and social consequence for the child are a part of the day-to-day evaluation of his language development. It is important for him to recognize and learn to cope successfully with the broad range of bases upon which his language products are being appraised.

If the motive behind the evaluation is educational and developmental, the question of adequacy can be examined only in relation to the child's developmental pattern at that time and in terms of the constructive steps that he can next take to become increasingly effective as a person and as a member of this social group.

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