

## After Decoding: What?

Carol Chomsky

Not long ago a third grade teacher friend of mine sounded a repeated and familiar distress call. "Can't you *do* something? These kids are at a complete standstill in reading. Nothing I can think of seems to make any difference."

She was talking about the five slowest readers in her class in a middle class suburban school on the outskirts of Boston (Franklin School, Lexington, Mass.) These three boys and two girls were 8 years old, of normal intelligence (IQ's of about 100), had no apparent speech or language problems, but all were reading one to two years below grade level.<sup>1</sup> It was now January of the school year, and their teacher's concern was that everything she and the reading specialist were doing seemed to be beside the point for them. They were making no progress. It was clear that the same treatment in ever more concentrated doses was getting nowhere.

These children were not non-readers. They had received a great deal of phonics training and had acquired many phonetic skills.<sup>2</sup> They met regularly with the remedial reading teacher with whom they had worked intensively since first grade. After much effort, they could "decode," albeit slowly and painfully. What was so frustrating was their inability to put any of this training to use, their failure to progress to even the beginnings of fluent reading. They

hated reading, avoided it whenever possible, and consistently met the many opportunities for meaningful reading with a total lack of response. All this in a good school where reading is taught well, where the methods used work fine for most children, and where their teachers, the reading specialist and the school psychologist had invested a good deal of time and energy in trying to help them. For some reason, it hadn't taken. In spite of their hard-won "decoding skills," they couldn't so much as read a page of simple material to me. The attempt to do so was almost painful, a word-by-word struggle, long silences, eyes eventually drifting around the room in an attempt to escape the humiliation and frustration of the all too familiar, hated situation.

What struck me was their extreme passivity with regard to reading. Clearly there is far more involved in learning to read than can be "taught" to a child, whether by the linguistic method, phonics, language experience, whole-word, or what have you. The intricate internal organization of the material that has to take place requires active participation on the child's part. These children had ceased participating and in effect were in retreat. Something radically different would be required to get them started again.

What they needed, it seemed to me, was an approach that would both *capture their attention* and *make large amounts of textual material available*. When I say make materials available, I don't mean simply to see to

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it that interesting books were at their disposal. I mean to provide textual inputs in large quantity in an interesting and truly accessible form, so that the mind is engaged in interacting with the print. For a long time these children's minds had been elsewhere when it came to grappling with the written word.

I decided to use "memorization" of a book to get them started in dealing with large amounts of connected discourse. Through repeated listening to a tape recorded storybook while following in the text, they were to become familiar enough with a book to read it through, either aloud or silently, with complete ease. This would provide a semblance of fluency, artificially, as it were. Later, rote recognition could be supplemented with explicit discussion of orthographic features.<sup>3</sup>

"Memorization" of a text in this fashion is not necessarily as mechanical and empty an activity as it may seem at first. Memorization of books by very young children before they know how to read is a common enough occurrence among children who are read to a great deal. Young children who watch the page as they are read to often end up knowing a favorite story by heart after repeated listenings. It is then amusing for parents to watch the child sit alone with the book and "read" the story aloud, turning the pages at the proper time, rendering the story accurately and with expression, and looking for all the world as if he were actually reading. Indeed, this type of activity often contributes to early reading, and occasionally turns up as a contributing factor in cases of children who teach themselves to read. Huey (1908) refers to a similar type of activity in what he calls the imitative method of teaching reading.

When it comes to memorizing a book, these 8 year olds are in a very different position from the pre-reader. They have already had two years of drill in word analy-

sis, long and short vowels, word endings, blending, and so on. They can sound out words and have a fair sight vocabulary. They are beyond needing introduction to the alphabetic nature of the English writing system. What they need is to shift their focus from the individual word to connected discourse and to integrate their fragmented knowledge. It is the larger picture that they need help with, in learning to attend to the semantics and syntax of a written passage, and in developing reliance on using contextual clues from the sentence or even longer passages as they read.

The overall plan was as follows. The children listened individually to tape-recorded stories, simultaneously following along in the written text. They set their own pace, reading and listening repeatedly to the same story until fluency in oral reading was achieved. The text was then to be analyzed extensively through a variety of language games (described below), designed to lead the children from rote recognition of the written material toward an active interpretation of alphabetic and phonological features of the writing system. These included sentence analysis, word analysis and composition involving the textual material.

I obtained five tape recorders and two dozen story books recorded on tape.<sup>4</sup> The books were a set of children's soft cover picture books—some fairy tales and some original stories—attractively printed and illustrated and easy to handle. They ranged from about second to fifth grade reading level. Most of the books were 20 to 30 pages each; a few were considerably longer. The tapes of these stories were excellent recordings in the style of a good dramatic presentation, with different voices for the different characters, and interspersed music and song. They were lively and interesting to listen to.

I had the children look over all the books

and make their own selection. I explained to them that they would continue listening to the same book until they knew it well. Since they would work with such concentration on the book of their choice, they were to pick one that was too hard to read straight off, but not so hard as to be out of range entirely. Four of them chose among the easier short stories, and one girl chose a long, relatively difficult book, planning to do just the first chapter, some twenty pages, as a start.

The children were instructed to listen to their books every day, using earphones, following along in the text as they listened. They were to listen to the whole book through at least once (a 15 minute procedure), and then go back and repeat any part that they cared to prepare more carefully. They could also record themselves reading along with the master tape<sup>5</sup>, or record themselves reading aloud independently. When I came back, I told them, I would listen to as much of the book as they had ready.

I came into the school each week to check on their progress and worked with each child individually for about half an hour. The children were also seen individually once a week by a graduate student working with me as research assistant.<sup>6</sup> In our sessions with the children, we listened to as much of the story as they had prepared, and worked analytically on the passages they knew (see below). We also provided the children with notebooks in which they were to do their writing and drawing connected with the stories.

The course of their progress was interesting. At first the going was slow. The children took some time to get accustomed to working the machines, and at the start kept losing their place in the book. Although the narration and dialogue on the tape were fairly slow, it took practice for the children to coordinate their eyes and

ears and be able to follow in the text exactly where the voice on the tape was reading. When they "got lost," which happened frequently while still unfamiliar with the book, they would have to rewind the tape, go back to the beginning and start over. Once they became familiar with the book, however, keeping the place was no problem. By the end of the first week they had passed this difficulty.

It took four of the children approximately 20 listenings to achieve fluency in reading their first book orally. This was about a month's work. They enjoyed it. They were excited by the machines, the new books, and the special treatment, and found the whole process intriguing. One child, Jimmy, was ready sooner. Within two weeks he was able to read his entire book aloud, smoothly, with expression, and with ease. Best of all his pronunciation was natural, a far cry from the stilted artificial pronunciations that usually characterized his halting attempts to read aloud under pressure and without comprehension.

It was a big event the first time Jimmy read that whole book aloud to me. I was taken by surprise, as he knew I would be. He was so obviously pleased with himself that we went straight to his teacher and he reread the whole thing for her. She was amazed. She called the reading specialist who had been working steadily with him for almost two years now, and he read the book a third time to all three of us. By this time he was grinning from ear to ear, slightly hoarse and pretty much exhausted, but flushed with success. It was a tired but bouyant Jimmy who went home that day.

Jimmy's teacher had a great deal to say about his progress and involvement. I could not possibly realize, she insisted, what this meant for Jimmy, who in his whole life had never read so much as an entire page. The sense of accomplishment for this child, she said, who had known only frustration and

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failure for two years, was indescribable. Suddenly he could do it! It transformed him in the eyes of his classmates as well. She had him read his book to the class the next day, and it was a triumph!

What was the nature of Jimmy's activity as he "read" his book aloud? It was not true reading, for he would have been unable to make headway had he not been exposed to the text through repeated listenings. Nor was it pure memorization, for clearly he could not recite the book verbatim without looking at the text. It was some sort of combination of the two, and for the time being it would do.

One of the other boys, Tommy, perhaps put his finger on how it felt to the children themselves. His mother reported to me that he loved working on the machine. "It helps when I can hear it while I look at it. It makes the hard words as easy as the easy words," she quoted him. And indeed it did. It took all the struggle and frustration out of getting going with a book. And in addition the activity comes to assume something of the quality of experienced reading. In a sense it permits the child to get the feel of real reading before the ability has been gained. For a turned off 8 year old accustomed to failure, it was a welcome switch.

The postures that the children assumed while listening were interesting, too. They were comfortable and relaxed. The children liked to carry their tape recorders to a corner of the room and sit on the floor with them. Sometimes I found one or two of the children in the corridor installed under a big hall table, lying on the floor, listening and reading, oblivious to the clatter of voices and traffic going by. The earphones effectively block out noise and they were in a world of their own. Once I entered the classroom when no one happened to be there, or at least it appeared to be empty. Jimmy, I soon discovered, was stretched out on the couch in the reading corner lis-

tening and reading, engrossed, head bent over his book, just as a boy lost in a book ought to look. Natural enough for many children, perhaps, but for Jimmy a totally new thing.

In addition to the work at school, each child took a tape recorder and several books home for a month or so. They particularly liked having the machine at home and worked with it daily quite faithfully. In the course of the four months that the children took part in this project (February to June 1973), all five of them made considerable progress. The big hurdle was the first book, which required up to a month's work. Then the pace picked up and subsequent books took less and less time. By the time they were on their fourth or fifth book, they were able to finish it in a week's time. By the end of three months all the children had finished six books or more. Six story books that they could "read" fluently and naturally. Sue, who had chosen the longer, more difficult book at the start, was into her third chapter. She preferred to stay with the one book throughout.

What about the children's real reading during these months? Memorized books are one thing, but what transfer is there to new material? Unless the children find themselves better able to undertake reading new material, there has been no real progress. On this score I received many reports from their parents and from their teacher. All were positive.

The parents reported changes in behavior at home. Sue's mother was "thrilled with the change in Sue" who was now reading books at home that had been lying untouched. Also Sue was writing stories and had started a cartoon book. She was eager to read to people whenever they would listen. "She even reads to the dog and cat," her mother went on. When she was home sick one Monday she read three books to her mother; she had taken to reading the

commercials on TV and the cereal boxes on the breakfast table. As her mother summed it up, "She's proud of herself and not ashamed anymore." As I told Sue's mother at the time, this is the stuff of which reading is made. No one, no matter how competent and well-meaning, could teach her daughter to read in twenty-minute sessions at school. It was something she had to take on herself and make a part of her life. Sue was now on her way.

The other mothers reported similar improvement. Rick's mother said he had begun to pick up hockey magazines at home. He even brought a book to the breakfast table one morning. She started to take it away from him (he was already late), but she thought better of it and let him keep it. Linda's mother reported that Linda was picking up more books at home. Three different mothers repeated the story about reading the cereal boxes on the breakfast table.

And at school the same increase of interest was displayed. The children picked up books voluntarily and sat down to read them. Their teacher kept emphasizing how different this was from the way they had ever behaved before. They went so far as to choose reading *during free time*, she reported, which was entirely new for them. Sometimes they read to each other, and sometimes they read silently. They wrote and illustrated stories and hung them on the display board. Altogether the change was dramatic.

The writing that the children did seemed to play an important role in their progress. They wrote stories, question and answer sequences, sentences using words from the stories, and some even made up little tests for themselves. Whether the writing itself contributed to the progress in reading, or whether the greater fluency in reading made writing more accessible to the children, is hard to tell. At any rate, it became

apparent along the way that the two activities were closely interrelated in that the children who progressed the most progressed in both reading and writing.

Just what accounts for the shift in attitude that these children displayed? Surely there was added motivation when someone came in from the outside with shiny machines and new books, and made the five of them the focus of special attention. The other children in the class kept asking "Why can't we use the machines? Why do they get to use them and not us?" For once they had something good that the others wanted, instead of being as usual at the low end of the totem pole. But I think in a serious way there was much more involved than just the flurry of newness and special treatment. Their teacher and the school psychologist, who, of course, knew the children far better than I, felt that most important was the built-in feature of success. There could be no failure in undertaking a book, you simply listened until you knew it. For these children, the relief was staggering. They finally had something they could *do*, instead of meeting frustration with the many separate, sequenced reading tasks that they simply could not perform.

Kagan states it very well in a recent article where he discusses the principle that

... individuals will cease investing effort in a problem if they doubt their ability to solve it—if they have no expectation of success. Much of the time the only way a child can tell if he is progressing adequately toward a goal is by checking to see how other children his age are doing. If he is advancing at the same rate as they, he feels confident and continues to work. If he perceives that he is far behind, he is apt to conclude that he is incompetent and ceases investing effort. (1974, p. 81)

This would seem to be a good description of what had happened to our five children. Having fallen behind, they remained there until a form of success made it worthwhile once again to begin investing effort.

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It was very well in a recent article that discusses the principle that children will cease investing effort in a task if they doubt their ability to solve it and have no expectation of success. At that time the only way a child can be motivated is by progressing adequately toward a goal. Checking to see how other children are doing. If he is advancing at the same rate as they, he feels confident and continues. If he perceives that he is far behind, he is apt to conclude that he is incapable and ceases investing effort. (1974,

It is not to be a good description of what happened to our five children. Behind them, they remained there until success made it worthwhile for them to begin investing effort.

In addition to added motivation and guarantee of success, the question is, what in the nature of the activity itself contributed to improvement in learning to read? The children obviously began to find reading easier and more pleasurable because they sought out other books and began to interact with print in general in the world around them (note the cereal boxes and the TV commercials). I think the main factors are the two that I mentioned earlier—radically increased inputs and concentrated attentiveness. The child is *bathed in inputs with which he interacts*. The mind is active, not passive, and the material on which it has to go to work is available in large amounts.

The support activities in which we engaged in our weekly work sessions with the children are of some interest. The overall purpose of these sessions was to supplement rote recognition with explicit discussion of orthographic features, that is, to move from sight recognition of whole sentences to exploitation of the alphabetic and phonological nature of the orthography. To some extent the memorization allowed the children to treat English as if it were Chinese, as if they were interpreting an ideographic writing system rather than an alphabetic one. What they needed was to develop their sense of the relations between letters and sounds and to build up a system for exploiting the whole complex network of these relations in dealing with new materials. The activities were in the nature of games involving sentence analysis, word analysis and synthesis, and writing involving the textual material.

In these sessions with the children we worked only on pages that they could already "read" fluently in their semi-rote fashion. One type of activity was to identify those words that the children could not recognize out of context. I isolated words on the page by making a frame out of four

index cards with a small window in the center. This makeshift frame covered everything on the page except the word or phrase in question, and could be moved about easily with the window size adjusted as needed. We moved about on the page in this fashion, exposing different words until we hit one that the child couldn't recognize. Removing the index cards allowed the child to scan from the beginning of the sentence which, of course, gave away the word. The child then copied the word onto a flash card. In this way the children built up personalized inventories of flash cards for each book, a page yielding anywhere from no flash cards up to seven or eight.

The collection of flash cards that each child gradually accumulated was then available for his/her own specific purposes: word recognition, dictionary construction, and composition work. For word recognition, whatever games one wishes to devise with the flash cards serve the purpose, it seems to me. Sometimes the children would simply flip through the pack and read the words off. When they missed a word they would find it on its page in the book in order to identify it. It was always fun to see the light dawn as they located the word in context on the page. A surprised "Oh!" was usually the reaction when they realized they knew it after all.

Sometimes the children enjoyed speed games with the flash cards. They would record themselves reading through the cards rapidly, and try to race against themselves on a second round. Since they could hear the old recording while making a new one, they could keep this up until top speed was reached. The tempo of this game was always lively.

Sometimes we worked with the page as a whole. I would say a word and the child would find it on the page. Rick at one point suggested that *he* read the word and *I* find

it. It takes some doing, I discovered, to find a word on a page of some ten lines, and the search certainly feels like a useful and relevant activity. Or we would choose one line and I would give him clues for finding a specific word: "Find the word that rhymes with *small*" or "Find the word that begins (or ends) the same as *sprinkled*." Or again, he would create the tasks for me to perform. Any games of this sort that focus attention on individual words or parts of words in a familiar context are useful.

We also spent a great deal of time composing and analyzing words using a set of wooden letters. When the children had trouble with a specific word, I would have them build it up on the table with the letters. Then we would work on why it said what it did. For example, Jimmy once read the isolated word *lonely* as *lying* which appeared elsewhere on the page. I had him compose *lonely* and *lying* with the letters. Many activities are possible here. For example, take *lonely*. First he broke it into syllables. Working with *lone*, I said "What do you have to do to it to change it to *bone*?" No problem. He replaced the *l* with a *b*. He was able to change it to *bone*, *cone*, *tone*, and then to *line*, and *lane*. This can be continued as long as it is interesting. *Lying* was easy. He knew the *-ing* ending. It was easy for him to change it to *trying*, *spying*, and *crying*.

These two words, *lonely* and *lying*, happened to present a convenient opportunity for bringing out the importance of context for interpreting and pronouncing certain letter combinations. There on the table were the two words which Jimmy had separated into syllables:

lone	ly
ly	ing

The two morphemes *-ly* and *ly-* happen to be spelled alike, which probably contributed to Jimmy's error. The *ly*, of course,

represents different forms in these two words. We could discuss the difference in its function in the two words, how you tell the two forms apart according to context, and the resulting difference in pronunciation. This is useful because it brings out the reader's need to identify the word before he can decide how to pronounce its component parts. I think this is an important point. It places the emphasis on word recognition without forfeiting reliance on alphabetic and phonological principles. I think this emphasis is important in general for children learning to read, and in particular for these children who had been so heavily over-drilled in the particular brand of phonics that produced, time and time again, such artificial and mechanically mouthed sequences as buh-ee-tuh for *beet* and uhll-eh-tuh for *let*.

The spelling with the wooden letters was popular and we used it a great deal. The children occasionally came by and played with the letters on their own. One day, I noticed Jimmy and a friend doing something surreptitiously at the window near the letter box. When they ran off giggling I discovered they had spelled out *after school hockey* on the window sill. (Their favorite activity, I learned later.) Since there were only two alphabets in the set, they used up the *O*'s in writing *school* and had none left for *hockey*. They had improvised by using the two *I*'s end to end to form an elongated *O*:  
H I I C K E Y. Quite innovative.

As the months went by, we began to put less and less stake in the importance of the follow-up analytic work. After a time the children seemed to be moving along all by themselves. By the third month or so, the most they wanted to do when we met was to read the pages that they had ready, talk about the story, show what they had written, do some more writing perhaps, and move on. It began to appear superfluous

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	Group test, school administered				Individual tests, project related														
	METROPOLITAN ACHIEVEMENT TEST				WRAT Reading subtest					GATES-MCKILLOP DIAGNOSTIC TESTS					DURRELL ANALYSIS OF READING DIFFICULTY				
	Oct. 3rd gr. 1972		Oct. 4th gr. 1973		pre		post		Flash Presentation					Oral speed					
	rdg.	wd. knowl.	rdg.	wd. knowl.			words		phrases			pro		post					
						(alt. form)	(alt. form)	pre	post	pre	post	pre	post	pre	post	pre	post		
Jimmy	2.2	2.2	2.8	2.8	3.0	3.1	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.1	4.2	lo/med 2	lo 3	lo/med 2	lo 3	lo/med 2	lo 3		
Sue	1.9	2.6	2.3	2.5	3.6	4.1	3.5	3.0	3.9	3.0	3.9	hi 1	lo/med 2	lo 3	med 3	lo/med 2	lo 3		
Linda	1.9	1.5	2.7	2.7	2.5	3.1	3.6	5.1	5.4	3.5	3.9	lo/med 2	lo 3	lo/med 2	lo 3	med/hi 2	med/hi 2		
Rick	1.7	1.2	2.9	2.0	2.6	3.3	2.9	3.9	3.9	2.9	3.5	lo 2	lo 3	lo/med 2	lo 3	lo/med 2	lo 3		
Tommy	-	-	-	-	2.6	3.5	3.5	3.3	4.2	3.3	4.2	lo 2	lo 3	lo/med 2	lo 3	lo/med 2	lo 3		

Table 1 CHILDREN'S GRADE SCORES ON READING TESTS BEFORE AND AFTER TAPE-RECORDER WORK  
 Pretest: March 1973 Grade 3 week one  
 Posttest: June 1973 Grade 3 week fifteen



and somewhat arbitrary to put them through analytical work that they almost did not need. My research assistant independently reported the same shift in her assessment of the children's needs. This change appeared to be a sign of progress and we found it encouraging. So the sessions after a while became times when the children simply read their books aloud and discussed the story, did some writing, or discussed stories that they had written. Writing became the dominant theme of the sessions for several of the children, and they produced quite a bit of good writing over several months' time. Occasionally we also read to each other from new books that I would bring along for them to take a look at.

### Conclusion

How then to assess the overall impact of this trial approach to improvement in reading?<sup>7</sup> I felt that the children had been given an access to reading that they had not managed to provide for themselves earlier in the game. Mechanical as the idea of memorization may seem in itself, it gives these children practice in reading connected discourse, and it put them in touch with a variety of books. They had a feeling of success right from the start, and a sense of progress as book after book was added to their repertoire. The fact that the tape recorder work was supplemented by frequent independent writing and language games based on the familiar texts, helped to keep the reading from deteriorating into a mechanical activity. Throughout, the repeated listening was treated as a background preparatory activity which served the function of getting the child a step closer to the real activities that contribute to literacy: interacting with print in the world at large, willingness to undertake reading new material, and original writing.

Over the several months that the children

were involved in this project, their passivity about reading declined dramatically, confidence increased, and they began to pick up new books of their own choosing. Fundamentally the basis for progress now existed, in the form of confidence to move forward on their own. And this, to my mind, was what these children needed the most: the chance to get started that they had missed the first time around.

### Footnotes

1. On the Metropolitan Achievement Test administered by the school (written group test) in October of 3rd grade, their grade-level scores ranged from 1.7 to 2.2 on the Reading subtest, and from 1.2 to 2.6 on the Word Knowledge subtest. See Table 1 for individual scores.
2. A variety of reading tests administered individually in March of 3rd grade, shortly after I started to work with the children, showed average or low-average ability in word recognition and word analysis tasks and fair to poor reading speed and comprehension. See Table 1 for selected individual scores on the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT), the Gates-McKillop Diagnostic Tests, and the individual Durrell Analysis of Reading Difficulty.
3. Other listening-while-reading work has been reported by Heckelman (1969), Hollingsworth (1970), and Neville and Pugh (1974). Their methods varied, but these studies involved a single listening to a text (or at most two listenings). Their purpose was to cover more material than the present study, which involves repeated listening to individual stories until fluency is achieved. Dahl and Samuels (1975) report using repeated oral reading of short passages to increase fluency, without listening assistance.
4. I am indebted to the TEC Company, Ltd. (Tokyo English Center) of Japan, who provided the tape recorders, tapes and books for this project from their Labo materials. Their materials are designed for use in teaching English as a foreign language to Japanese children, but many of the tapes and books are quite suitable for children who are native speakers of English.
5. Similar to the impress method of teaching reading reported on by Heckelman (1969) and Hollingsworth (1970).
6. I am grateful to Betsy Madsen for long hours of work with the children, and for her imagi-

(Continued on p. 314)

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in early linguistic readers and traditional basal readers). Second, the oral reading atmosphere may be so anxiety provoking that they learn that it's better to suffer a *little* embarrassment by saying dumb things than it is to endure a *lot* of anxiety by trying hard to read what is on the page. Third, no one may have ever pointed out to them that oral and written language, while differing in form and precision, stem from a common source, their experiences.

In terms of providing help to a student who has developed such an attitude toward reading, the model would suggest that initial instruction might very well occur in listening mode. One strategy is to purposely read to the children sentences or paragraphs containing anomolous words, asking them to stop you when they hear something that makes no sense. Another is to give them the correct text and have them circle the words on which you make errors when

you read the specially prepared text.

Finally, when evaluating the seriousness of any error or error pattern, you will be likely to apply this criterion: Does the error interfere with the child's understanding of the story? A good way to test this out is to ask the child, after finishing a selection, to tell you what he or she has read. Another strategy is to ask a question which requires an understanding of a miscued word. Many times a child will misread a word, but in retelling the story, say it accurately. Perhaps it was a slip of the tongue. Perhaps later context triggered a mental correction.

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- native ways with them, especially in the area of independent writing.
7. Pre- and post-test scores on several reading diagnostic tests (cf. fn. 2) at week one and week fifteen of the study showed some encouraging gains. On the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT) Reading subtest, the children averaged a gain of 5 months; the Durrell Analysis of Reading Difficulty showed gains in oral speed of several months to one year. Interestingly, the Gates-McKillop subtest *Phrases: Flash Presentation* (alternate form given on post-test) showed the highest gains of all—up .9 in grade score for two children, and 1.1 for a third child. See Table 1 for individual scores. On the Metropolitan Achievement Test administered in October of 4th grade, five months after the end of this project, the children showed grade-score gains of from .6 to 1.2 over their scores of a year earlier (cf. Table 1). While these 4th grade scores are still well below grade level, half of them show a substan-

tial increase in rate of progress during 3rd grade, as compared with grades 1 and 2.

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