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Stitts, Dane Harry

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DIALOGICAL MIND: A NATURALISTIC STUDY
OF TWO CHILDREN'S LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND MENTAL
DEVELOPMENT

The Ohio State University

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DIALOGICAL MIND: A NATURALISTIC STUDY OF TWO CHILDREN'S LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND MENTAL DEVELOPMENT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University

By

Dane Harry Stitits, B.S., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1985

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To Our Family
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This dissertation came about because I became interested in the relationship between thought and language while I was teaching English at Franklin Roosevelt Junior High School in Cleveland, Ohio. Roosevelt was an all black inner city school the first year I taught there and went through desegregation the following year. During the two years I taught at Roosevelt I was both intrigued and disturbed at the high level of illiteracy I found in my students. Many students I taught could not read well enough to read their text books, and my ability to understand their expressions of complex thoughts was limited. What resulted, was that I had to learn the student's own word meanings and connotations for my standard English words in order to teach the children what I knew. Many times I had to depend upon one or two students in class, who happened to be attuned to my own language usage, to help translate my meanings for their peers and their peers' sense for me. It was at this point that I wanted to return to graduate school and try to discover what was going on culturally and personally in these children's lives so I could go back into the community and become a more effective teacher. You see, the
students at Roosevelt deeply touched my heart by their eagerness to learn and their faith in the teacher, but I needed to learn more to justify that faith.

When I first returned to The Ohio State University as a graduate student my advisor, Dr. Donald Bateman, suggested I read Paulo Friere's Pedagogy of the Oppressed to get a sense about the socio-cultural conditions that attribute to the psychological make-up of people from lower socio-economic classes. At the same time I took a course in cultural anthropology from Dr. Ojo Arewa, and a course in qualitative research from Dr. Donald Sanders. The anthropology course and Friere's work introduced me to some very accurate overviews about the children I taught and my own values, but Friere's Marxist solution to the literacy problem was unacceptable and traditional anthropology did not offer the solutions I sought. What traditional anthropology did offer was a qualitative methodology to uncover patterns of social behavior. I realized that I first had to learn how to uncover the proper questions, before I would be able to begin to work on the solutions to the problems I encountered in the inner city.

For the next two years I took a few courses in qualitative research and studied qualitative research
Independently under the direction of Dr. Gary deVoss. Also during this time, I took a number of seminars by my advisor, Dr. Donald Bateman on L.S. Vygotsky, A.N. Leontiev, and a few other Soviet psychologists. These seminars examined the relationship between thought and language from a Vygotskian perspective and held my interest because from my experience as a white middle class teacher in a predominantly black Inner city school, I knew that external experiences played a role in the development and organization of individual thought processes.

Despite the enthusiasm of some of my peers about a Vygotskian approach to problems in psycho-linguistics I was disturbed about some critical missing pieces in the perspective of the writings coming out of the Soviet Union. For one, the Soviets never seemed to talk about the role of the subconscious in the organization of human behavior. I suppose to a Marxist, something you can not see materially is dismissed into the realm of phenomenological fantasy, but, I read Freud's works at age fourteen and saw the world from a conscious Freudian perspective through high school. Since I knew that the subconscious did exist and certainly influenced behavior, I turned my back on the Soviet literature and started studying traditional neurophysiology and neuropsychology. Dr. Marlin Languis helped direct my
studies in this area, and for awhile the novelty of a hard
science approach to the study of behavior held my full
attention. I learned about neurons and different
neurological theories about the workings of the human brain,
but nobody seemed to be addressing the subject of thought
itself, so I turned to the writings of Karl Pribrum and
David Bohm searching for the touchstone that would explain
everything.

Pribrum and Bohm represented the macro-perspective on
human thought processes, where everything is ultimately
connected to everything. This macro-perspective offered me
some worthwhile insights about the human brain, but it was
so expansive that ultimately its tenants were as useless to
me as the micro-perspective of traditional
neuropsychologists.

At this point I started reading A.R. Luria's Higher
Cortical Functions in Man and realized that I had found a
perspective that tried to combine traditional
neuropsychology with contemporary psycholinguistics and
sociology. Despite some of the omissions in Luria's book
(the neglect to mention the subconscious is one example),
Luria writes about language and behavior in ways that make
sense to a person with my background. To summarize a Lurian
perspective here would not be appropriate, but he does get a
lot of his ideas from Pavlov and Vygotsky. He shares the perspective with Vygotsky that language is primarily social in origin, and Luria also shares Pavlov's perspective that much of human activity is somewhat reflexive in nature. Luria says that "From the point of view of modern psychology, the higher mental functions are complex reflex processes, social in origin, mediate in structures, and conscious and voluntary in mode of function."

These were the ideas I was thinking about relative to the children I had taught in the inner city, when the opportunity came my way to investigate some of the questions that such a perspective raises. At this time my two year old daughter was just beginning to use language, so I decided to do a qualitative research project on her language development. I had attempted such a project with my older daughter a few years before, but I did not know enough about qualitative methodology to successfully complete such an undertaking. This time I was more prepared.

My motives still were to learn more about the children I had taught in the inner city in Cleveland, and I felt that if I could uncover how my own daughters learned language and the relationship between thought and language, then maybe I would discover some of the questions and answers I was looking for.
What follows is a naturalistic study of some aspects of my two daughters' language development. I feel that the study did teach me many valuable things about the relationship between thought and language and also taught me the value of qualitative, naturalistic research.

Presently I am back in Cleveland teaching English at East Technical High School, and have started an ethnography trying to uncover why city children are so far behind in reading and writing skills. This dissertation will not address the literacy issue, rather I will try to show the reader how a qualitative approach to language and behavior study can uncover some interesting data, and will present that data and what I learned about thought and language in the process.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Overview

This dissertation, titled The Organization of the Dialogical Mind: A Naturalistic Study of Two Children's Language Acquisition and Mental Development, is a naturalistic study of two young children's language acquisition and development. I chose to use a qualitative methodology for data collection in order to penetrate meanings at various levels of communicative interaction and to examine some of the relationships between thought, language, and activity as my daughters were acquiring language.

Choosing a naturalistic approach for the study of language acquisition is not without its critics and I quickly discovered merits of the criticism. For example, Alison Macrae in Language Acquisition states that some researchers believe a naturalistic approach for the study of
children's language acquisition has the following bias:

To add an adult's description of the context to an account of the child's utterance is simply to reinforce the adult-centered nature of the exercise, since it is a description of the adult's view of the event, not the children's view, and it is the latter which would be the source of the utterance, not the former.²

This criticism may have partial merit, but the argument carried to the extreme would mean that an adult would rarely realize the intent of a young child's utterances, and communication would be virtually impossible. In these studies, I found the opposite to be true in most cases, and communication usually did occur between child and adult, although understanding did not always occur through a single utterance.

I believe that thorough qualitative data collection is the best rebuttal against critics who question the merit of naturalistic language studies. This means the researcher must collect all the present and immediate information possible in a single communicative episode and contextualize the information in a written tapestry of pertinent historical detail.³,⁴,⁵

Some psycho-linguistic researchers have used audio and/or video recorders to attempt to capture a thick description of communicative interaction, but I found at the beginning of my own data collection that no matter how accurately I tape recorded data, if I did not immediately contextualize the observations, meanings were often
misconstrued or forgotten and could not be recaptured due to the nature of evolving human activity rooted in personal and familial past experiences. The passive qualities of tape recorders did not help reconstruct the historical contexts to which many of my children's utterances were inextricably linked.

Audio recorders were particularly bad in this respect. When I first began collecting data from the interactions of Alisha, our firstborn, I had just begun to learn about qualitative research. Consequently I was overly dependent on an audio recorder and I did not use enough notes to collect the necessary and pertinent details which infuse language with meaning in any context of ongoing familial activity. I would record the language interaction, but when I went back and listened to the recorded utterances I found the surface structure of the language did not reflect the understood meanings in the communicative episodes.

The intuitive nature of familial interaction and communication is evident if one examines the data in this dissertation. The reader will see that not only are children's activities inextricably linked to their utterances, but the adult's awareness of deeply embedded familial customs plays a fundamental role in communicative interaction. It took a while to realize this aspect of adult/child interaction in the familial environment, but once realized, the audio recorders were put away and I began
the tedious routine of collecting qualitative data long-hand.

At one point, video recordings were used but were found to present similar problems. I could video tape the immediate context, and capture almost all of the surface structure of activity, but meaning faded if the video tapes were not immediately reviewed and the context of word sense reconstructed by writing down a thick description of the ever evolving familial customs and associated word meanings. Two nearly identical activity episodes, with very similar dialogical interactions, sometimes could mean something different in a three week time span because family members have shared new experiences that have altered the subtle nuances of evolving word meanings. Unfortunately, I did not become sensitized to this perception until our first daughter Alisha had passed through the early language acquisition phase I had wanted to investigate. As a result of my experiences with Alisha, when our youngest daughter Staciana started using language to express her thoughts, I was prepared to undertake the tedious activity of capturing by long-hand as many aspects of her language development that I could manage to scribble down in my notes.

To facilitate this task I had placed notebooks, clipboards, pens, and pencils in almost all the rooms of our apartment, and in our car. The tools of qualitative data
collection were always ready to be used, even though I often was not ready to take notes due to the duties of househusbanding, a role I assumed because my wife was a first year medical student at the time. She was often engrossed in her studies, so I had to play both roles of father and mother for our two children. This turned out to be a blessing, because if I had not been forced to do traditional motherly household tasks, I would have probably been too much of an outsider to the familial situation to capture many of the meanings I managed to preserve.

Not only did my role as surrogate-mother have positive benefits for the collection of qualitative data, it had negative aspects as well. Due to the demands of exigent circumstances that often arise as a result of childhood accidents or deep felt emotional needs of children, at times, my children's needs were more important than the collection of data. Consequently there are gaps in some of the episodes I tried to accurately portray. At other times, the children demanded my attention to the point where I didn't record anything for a week or more in order to help our family through a traumatic crisis.

It is also important to state at this time, that the brunt of my studies at The Ohio State University centered around theoretical and practical aspects of conducting qualitative research. I did not study traditional linguistics beyond a few introductory undergraduate courses.
At the time I was conducting this research my primary interest was neurophysiology which seemed to have little relationship to psycholinguistics. My primary intent in studying the language development of my children was to look for connections between thought and language, and see if I could discover the role language plays in the organization of human behaviour. My interest in this area was aroused by my readings in neurophysiology and anthropology and by the writings of L.S. Vygotsky and neurophysiologist A.R. Luria, who both seemed to address the relationship between thought and language without divorcing language acquisition from its historical context.

In my readings, I discovered that many scholars were limited in their investigative scope due to the confining paradigms of their fields. Although their research is thorough and the researchers have uncovered many interesting axioms, the gaps between the fields are so large that many critical questions about human development are not only left unanswered, but even more fundamental, are left unquestioned. The reason I chose to conduct a naturalistic study of my children's language development was to uncover patterns of behavior, that often lie buried beneath the surface structure of everyday behavior. Consequently I chose to use the constant comparative method of qualitative data collection.
The constant comparative method of qualitative methodology involves the recording of as much data as possible in a given activity, without making initial judgements as to the importance of any piece of data over another. This method is designed to compensate for the selective bias of the researcher. Early on, I realized some of my own biases, since upon re-examination of some of the recordings, I realized I had only been recording data that seemed to strike me as being unusual. This was particularly true with the data I recorded from my first daughter. Consequently, at the beginning of the research I had a collection of useless anomalies. Fortunately, when my second daughter reached the phase of her language development I wanted to investigate, I was prepared to record everything I possibly could. Curiously, what I had considered to be unimportant in my first daughter’s language development, turned out to have much importance in my second daughter’s language development. This fact did not surface until I studied the data as I wrote this dissertation.

In the traditional constant comparative methodology, the researcher starts out by recording as much as possible and withholds judgement on the data until enough data is collected to reveal emerging patterns of meaning, which are then categorized. Once categorization begins to occur, the researcher begins to analyze the data and form hypothesis which, if later verified, becomes the foundation for a
developing theory. I had fully intended to use the above outlined methodology at the beginning of the qualitative research, but I found that being a surrogate-mother hardly left me enough time to record accurate data, and my household responsibilities left me little time to start a thorough analysis of the data. So for an approximate five month period I collected all the communicative episodes I could, then put the raw data away for a time in order to take care of family business. Since my graduate teaching associateship expired during this time, I took a position teaching English and developmental reading at East Technical High School in Cleveland, Ohio, and was unable to review the data until the public school summer vacation, nearly one and a half years subsequent to the data collection.

At first I was slightly befuddled by the data, despite the fact I tried to capture as much context as possible. The capturing of deeply embedded familial customs was an inextricable part of the qualitative methodology, and similar to the process of getting a feel for the archaic meanings and sentence rhythms of writers living in past historical times, it took a while to begin to get into the sense of the recorded episodes. After I had rewritten some of the language episodes I began to get a feel for the data, and I organized the language episodes chronologically to bring to light developmental aspects of my daughter's language acquisition. I believe this approach was
successful, because I did manage to uncover different aspects of cognitive and language development.

In the discussions of the evidence I try not to stray too far into the realm of free association as I analyze the data, and let the evidence generate my thought. Hopefully the speculative aspects of the discussions will find support as the reader studies the evidence.

Data Collection and Analysis Methodologies

As stated in the Overview of this chapter, I had many false starts as I was learning how to collect qualitative data. With my first daughter I was overly dependent upon an audio recorder and found that transcribing the audio tapes was not only beyond my time limitations, but I found it difficult to make sense out of the communicative interactions without reconstructing evolving familial customs. Consequently, I had to resort to writing everything out in long-hand as the episode occurred.

The usual methodology occurred as follows: I would be in the apartment taking care of my two daughters, ready to record the language interactions. Sometimes this meant flipping burning hamburgers with one hand, while I tried to write on note paper attached to a clipboard with the other. At other times, for the sake of accurate recordings, I had
to ignore a spilled glass of lemonade dripping from the kitchen table, while I hastily scribbled down a communicative episode.

In trying to accurately capture the immediate context of activity, replete with an accurate transcription of the participant's utterances, I had to make decisions about the importance of the plethora of information available in any communicative episode. For this reason I found it best to record the actual language interactions first, then go back and fill in the activity in which the language interactions occurred.

I also made the decision early on that what my daughters said, needed to be accurately recorded. This meant I would often write down what they said before going back and recording my response to what was said. This method usually took place as follows: 1. One of my daughters would say something, which I then recorded. 2. I responded verbally to her utterance as I was writing down the child's utterance. 3. My daughter would respond to my own utterance, that I had begun to write down. 4. I would stop writing my previous response, and try to record her response verbatim. 5. I would go back and finish recording my response to her initial utterance, as I was responding to her second utterance. 6. The interaction would evolve as I continued going back and forth between interacting with my daughters and taking notes, until the activity episode would end.
Then I would go back and fill in the contextual details of the activity, and also record my perceptions of what the language interactions meant relative to past familial activity.

Fortunately, I found in doing the research that human activity is often episodic in nature. Ongoing activity seems to have natural breaks similar to paragraphing breaks in prose writing. For example, an episode of recorded activity may revolve around one of my daughters being hungry, and she would make a request that I get her lunch. The overall episode has a theme, which is "lunch", and within the episode there are activities that are analogous to paragraphs in prose. A typical activity-paragraph would involve one of my daughters requesting bologna from the refrigerator, and we would engage in a dialogue revolving around the bologna, until the intentions of my daughter were understood, and acted upon by myself. Then a new activity-paragraph would begin, possibly extending the theme of "lunch". For example, typically my daughter would ask if she could eat the bologna in the living room while she watched television. Then the focus of the activity would shift to one of many possible choices, depending upon my response to her request.

I found myself writing furiously between the activity-paragraphs, because I knew the natural lull in the communicative interaction would soon be broken by another
string of utterances revolving around the central theme, or the episode would shift to a different thematic focus altogether.

Fortunately, there are ongoing themes in familial activity, so a few words often spontaneously tunes the family members into a historically based communicative context, and meaning is ascertained through the awareness of different family member's word usage signifying an intent. If I had not assumed the role of surrogate-mother during the time of this research I am afraid much of the meaning that lies deeply embedded in the surface structure of my daughters' sentences would have fallen on deaf ears. At times, I had to depend on other family members as interpretive aides in order to understand what was meant by a particular utterance. Some of the vignettes will give examples of this, and the discussions address the importance of adult and child misunderstandings to children's language development.

Data Analysis Methodologies

As stated in the Overview of this chapter, traditional qualitative researchers recommend that data analysis should start to occur when the researcher begins to see patterns emerge from the data. I did see emerging patterns as I
collected the data, and wrote some essays analysing the data towards the end of the data collection. These first seeds of analysis blossomed into some of the ideas found throughout the discussion sections of this dissertation.

When I started to write the dissertation itself, I found that becoming totally immersed in the data provided for a more fruitful data analysis. As I wrote the first draft of this dissertation I discovered the experience was not unlike that of writing an extended piece of fiction. Much of my undergraduate training was in creative writing, and I have found that when one is involved in writing a story, the characters often start having a life of their own that even surprises the writer. My data in this instance became the characters; and, although the data remained true to the ethnographic notes, the ensuing discussions seemed to build upon each other until the ideas started to interact amongst themselves. At times it became necessary to hold a tight rein on the ideas in the discussions lest they wander too far from the intent of the dissertation, which was to learn some things about children's language development, and uncover some relationships between thought, language, and human activity.

This dissertation taught me much about conducting qualitative research and I have uncovered what I think to be some interesting phenomena in children's language development. I believe the research uncovers some questions
that need to be investigated and presents ideas that should be debated.
CHAPTER II
VIGNETTES: STACIANA

Introduction

The first series of vignettes were taken from various periods of data collection and were put in their own chronological sequence. I organized these potty training vignettes in this way because one is able to chronologically follow certain aspects of a young child's language development as it revolves around a single activity: i.e., potty training. This series has ten vignettes.

Vignettes 11-41 are in chronological order, except for vignettes 35, 36, and 37, which are presented in a series to examine our older daughter Alisha's role in our younger daughter Staciana's language development. Vignettes 11-41 follow Staciana through her developmental phases starting with simple one and two word utterances normally centered around requests, until the final vignettes show where
Staciana has begun to use language to express her growing sense of causality. This rapid transformation in her thought processes occurred in a five month period, and in between I present evidence and discuss the role language plays in the organization of her young mind.

**Vignettes 1-10**

These vignettes revolve around Staciana's potty training and are presented chronologically. At the top of each vignette is the date of the episode and Staciana's age. The family interactions are then presented, followed by a discussion.

**Vignette #1  21 December 1982**

**Staciana: age 1 year, 3 months**

We brought out the small potty chair, that our oldest daughter Alisha had used for her potty training one night last week because Alisha was extremely constipated. Alisha spent a long time (one-half hour or so at different times) sitting on the potty chair in the middle of the night trying to evacuate. At around 4 A.M. she managed to "go" and our household activities returned to normal.

We neglected to put the potty chair back into storage, and during the following week, at times, when I was sitting on the regular commode, Staciana would lift the lid and sit on the small potty chair. She would not remove her diapers
but did manage to sit on the pot.

Judy and I decided at this point to see if Staciana was ready to be potty trained, so we started directing her to sit on the small potty chair, and would tell her to go "pee-pee." A few nights ago she went pee for the first time in the pot and everybody congratulated her. This morning, while I was sitting on the toilet, Stace came in, lifted the lid on the potty chair and sat down with her diapers on. I removed her diapers and she sat back down, got up and walked around, sat back down, then got up and walked around (etc.). I was coaxing her to "pee-pee" whenever she sat on the pot, and she finally did pee in the pot. Judy, Alisha, and myself made a big deal about it, and congratulated her. Stace then got off the pot, walked around and sat down again. I could tell by her expectant expression she wanted to be congratulated again. It seems she has not connected the act of peeing with the congratulations. It also appears that Staciana has not yet separated the actual act of peeing from the overall activity involved in peeing.

The separation of act from general activity is an important part of learning. Words help separate overall activity into a series of separate acts, and meaning of a specific act would be difficult to understand if speech was not used as a signifier to give overall activity a specific focus.
It could be argued that Staciana could be potty trained through our body language and learn to associate the specific act of peeing to our positive responses without the accompanying verbal signifiers, i.e., "pee-pee". The positive response and our body language would serve to teach the child to use the potty chair. Regardless of the validity of this argument, words are in fact used by the adults in our house, and the words are intertwined with ongoing human activity.

For example, when Staciana comes into the bathroom, the communication usually takes place as follows:

"Do you have to go potty Stace?" I ask as I search for some sign of communicative response in her expression or mannerisms. (Stace does not talk yet.) Then I will add: "Come on, Stace. I'll help you go potty", as I remove her diapers. Stace will then walk over to the potty chair and lift the lid. Sometimes she needs help, and I tell her: "Like this, baby", as I show her how to lift the lid. Stace then turns and positions herself on the potty chair, sometimes at the edge, but other times centered correctly. I make sure she is centered, then tell her "O.K., go pee-pee Stace. Go pee-pee." Sometimes she pees and I excitedly proclaim: "Hey Mommy, Lish- Stace went pee-pee. Look, Stace went pee-pee." Then we show Stace the urine, and say "Look, Stace, pee-pee. Good girl, pee-pee."
By repetitively using the words "pee-pee" in the above example the adult focuses the child's attention on the act of peeing, and this central focus allows the child to separate the actual act of peeing in the pot, from the overall context of her activity. The next episode was recorded by my wife Judy on 23 December 1982, two days after we started to potty train Staciana. Judy takes a similar approach.

**Vignette #2 23 December 1983, A.M.**

**Staciana: age 1 year, 3 months**

I took off Stacy's diapers this morning, and as I have been doing for the last few days, I encouraged her to sit on the potty chair and pee. She sat down once or twice quickly but did not pee. Then she walked around the apartment with a bare butt, as she likes to do lately, and went to the living room closet, which was open, to discover whatever. I was ignoring her at this point. Approximately 1 or 2 minutes elapsed since she failed to pee in the pot, when I heard a discontented cry come from the closet. As I approached the closet, I saw Stacy standing in a puddle of pee, and said, "No, Stacy, don't pee on the floor, pee in the potty chair. Go ahead, Stace." Stacy immediately walked to the bathroom and sat on her chair, once, then got up and sat down again, but she did not pee. Then I said "O.K. Stacy, let's go clean up the floor. Come on, let's
go." She followed me back to the closet floor and we sponged up the pee with a diaper.

Discussion

In both of the above potty training portrayals the adults in the activity use language to convey their intentions. The repetitive use of the word "pee-pee" provides a central focus to the activity, and we transform the noun "pee" into the verb "pee-pee", which is then used to signify the act of peeing. Staciana does not talk at this age, so she does not respond verbally, but she does understand the intent of our language as evidenced by her response to the utterances.

The next potty training vignettes were recorded on and after 21 November 1983, about a year after we began her potty training. By this time Stace had learned to pee in the potty chair and had also begun to use speech.

Vignette #3 21 November 1983

Staciana: age 2 years, 2 months

Staciana had walked into the kitchen to the potty chair and was undoing the snaps on her pajamas. Stace looked at me and said "pee-pee" under her breath, although audible. I nodded encouragement to her and she lifted the lid of the potty chair, then pulled down her pajama bottoms one leg at a time. Stace turned around, looked up at me for approval,
sat down, and promptly peed. As she remained sitting on the toilet I asked:

"You done?"

Stace put her hand on her pants, as if to get off the pot when I asked:

"Still go poopy?" To this question, Stace settled back down and sat there as she moved rhythmically to the sounds of an Eric Clapton song on our stereo.

The episode began at 8:14 A.M. Judy then saw Staciana sitting on the potty chair and Judy added:

"Good, you're going potty. Are you done?"

Stacy shook her head no.

"O.K." Judy said in response. "Let Daddy wipe you, when you're done." Judy left the kitchen at 8:17 A.M.

Stace then got off the pot, and walked towards me. I got up, got the toilet paper, congratulated her on the "poopy" I saw in the pot, wiped her butt, and pulled up her pajama bottoms. Stace then walked quickly into the living room to join her mother.

Discussion

In this episode, Staciana used the word "pee-pee" as she began the activity of going potty. Stace said the word to herself, and it seemed to be uttered in direct connection to the activity itself. Almost a year has passed since Judy and I started to potty train Staciana by focusing our
intentions and Staciana's attention on the act of peeing with the help of our use of the word "pee-pee". In the ensuing year, Stace had begun to use language, and in this case the language she used seems to have been directly linked to the language experience that accompanied the initial activity.

Staciana had internalized the adult's language usage and she uses the signifier "pee-pee" as an aid to accompany the activity. It appears that words, when learned with a series of acts to form a complex activity, are inextricably linked to the activity. Words, first external agents of adults, used to signify an intent, become internalized agents of a language learner used to organize the different parts of the organism into a single functioning integrated unit.

In the next potty training vignettes we see a subtle shift in word usage, the word "potty" gradually taking prominence over the word "pee-pee". I believe this shift has occurred because at the beginning of Staciana's potty training she needed a concrete signifier to denote the act of using the potty chair. Once the act had become an internalized part of Stace's behavior, the emphasis in the potty training shifted because Judy and I wanted Staciana to learn the series of acts involved in going potty independently, (such as pulling down her pants, going "pee-pee" or "poopy", wiping herself, pulling up her pants,
etc.). The general term "potty" comes to signify a more accurate description of the overall activity and begins to replace the specific term "pee-pee". This shift does not occur suddenly, but takes place gradually, as can be seen in the following vignettes.

Vignette #4 Sometime between 24-27 November 1983
Staciana: age 2 years, 2 months

Judy and Staciana were in the bedroom when Stace told Judy she had to go potty. Judy said:
"You better go then," and Stace left the bedroom.
"Go poopy, Daddy?" Stace said with a questioning tone in her voice as she walked down the upstairs hall towards me. Stace was naked except for a thermal undershirt. She clutched a pair of socks in one hand.
"You have to go poopy, Stace?" I asked.
"Yes." Stace said as she happily nodded.

I put Staciana on the full-size toilet in the bathroom, and carefully balanced her so she would not fall off. Judy came into the bathroom and sat in front of Stace, said something to her that I did not clearly hear, then helped her off the toilet.
"She go poopy yet?" I asked, wondering if Judy had taken Stace off the toilet too early.
"No, she just had to go pee-pee." Judy answered.
"No, potty!" Stace said.
Discussion

In this episode Stace no longer is referring to the activity of using the toilet as going "pee-pee", rather she has begun to use the more expansive signifier "potty" for the activity of using the toilet. The next episode I recorded occurred about three weeks later and she has made the transition from using the signifier "pee-pee" to the word "potty".

Vignette #5 19 December 1983 7:07 P.M.
Staciana: 2 years, 3 months

Judy and I were sitting at the kitchen table, trying to figure out why everybody in our family seems to wait until vacation breaks in the school schedule to get sick, when Staciana walked into the kitchen and said:

"Potty."

"O.K., go potty." Judy responded as Staciana pulled down her own sweat pants and underwear and then bent down and lifted the lid of the potty chair. She then made a grimacing expression (one of revulsion) and closed the lid of the potty chair. I then remembered I had neglected to clean out the pot from an earlier use, so I told Judy why Stace had grimaced.

"Poopy?!!" I stated to Stace in a tone somewhere between a question and an exclamation.
"Yuccy." Stace said, verifying my suspicions as she pulled up her pants.

**Discussion**

This episode shows Staciana using the word "potty" to denote the overall activity, and I used the word "poopy" to signify what was in the potty chair. The next episode, approximately two weeks later, shows Staciana has internalized my use of the word "poopy" relative to the same event, and now uses the word to signify the same meaning. She also has started to use the potty chair, without the accompanying verbal utterances.

**Vignette #6 3 January 1984**

**Staciana: age 2 years, 4 months**

Stace was putting french fries on her hamburger, lining them in a row. "French fries of hamburger," she said as she started the activity. She raised the lid and said:

"Uh-oh, poopies."

"You can go there- just sit on it." Judy urged as both of us were occupied.

"No. Pooples!" Stace said.

I told Judy it was no use trying to urge her because I knew she probably would end up crying before she agreed to sit on the potty chair.
Discussion

In this episode Staciana no longer uses language to initiate and accompany the potty activity. It appears the overall activity has now become an internalized part of Staciana's behavior, and her body is now set into a form of reflexive motion as the awareness of having to go to the bathroom intrudes into Stace's conscious thoughts. This perspective is not pointing towards a hard-wired conditioned activity chain, or Stace would not have been able to stop herself in the middle of the activity when she saw that her potty chair had not been emptied. Rather, the internalization of acts, to form a complex behavior chain of focused activity, can be set into motion by the conscious attention of the young child, and can also be willed to stop as new information is received by the child. This willfulness, capable of altering a habituated activity chain, may be one of the fundamental elements that creates a gap between human behavior and the behavior of less complex life forms. In other words, humans become conditioned to elements of experience in their environment, but that conditioning can be overridden by the willful choosing of each individual.

Language appears to play a fundamental role in the developing human willfulness because specific words can be applied to a variety of contexts which allows for evolving word meanings, which, by their evolving nature, makes
previously conditioned elements of experience partially extinct.

We can see this to be the case if we reflect on the evolution and transposition of the words "poopy", "pee-pee" and "potty" in these potty training vignettes.

The adults initially used the words "pee-pee" and "poopy" to focus the child's attention and behavior on a single act. Once that act was learned, the adults wanted to make the child more independent, so they started specifying separate acts with a greater degree of distinction and began referring to the overall activity as "potty", which signifies many acts within the overall context of potty training activity. "Potty" often replaced the words "pee-pee" and "poopy" that evolved to signify something different than their original usage indicated. As each word meaning evolves and becomes transmuted to signify a different nuance of experience, the behavior associated with those words also goes through subtle changes linked to new experiences and associated word meanings. Although we do retain echoes of past conditioned and habituated behavior, the transmuted meanings for the same words make enough aspects of the internalized habituated behavior chain extinct, to allow us to make subtle shifts in behavior as directed by our own willfulness.

The next potty training vignettes will show that past signifiers do not altogether disappear form either adults of
the child's word usage.

Vignette #7  23 January 1984
Stacia: age 2 years, 4 1/2 months

"Stacy, do you have to go potty?" asked Judy as we were getting ready to leave the house to go to the store.

"Oh yeah," said Stace. She then turned around and went back into the kitchen to go potty.

"Mommy, why did Stacy say 'Oh yeah'?" asked Alisha, our older daughter.

"Because she forgot she had to go." Judy said.

Discussion

In this episode Judy used the word "potty" to signify the activity. It is also interesting to note that a word by an adult can trigger a behavior in a child. As one can see, Stace's potty training is becoming more advanced, and we are directing Stace to learn that she should try to go potty before she leaves the house for an extended period of time.

Vignette #8  26 January 1984
Stacia: age 2 years, 4 1/2 months

"Potty." Stace said, as I was putting on her sweatshirt to get ready to leave the house.
"She has to go potty." Judy said to me, implying by her tone that I should stop putting on Stace's sweatshirt.

"Is that what she said?" I asked, not really having paid attention because I was too distracted by wrestling with her oversized sweatshirt.

"Yes." Judy replied, as I removed her sweatshirt and grabbed my notes.

"Let's go potty, Stace." I said.

"Not that potty." Stace said, resisting because there was about an eighth of an inch of pee in the pot.

"Daddy!" she said, admonishing me for making her sit on the pot anyway. Stace then peed.

"All right Stace!" I said, congratulating her success.

"I go poopy." Stace said.

"You have to go poopy?" I asked.

"Yes." she said.

"All right" I said, as I waited and kept taking notes.

"You done? You done Stace? Are you done?" I asked after a few minutes.

Staciana would not commit herself either way. Since I was anxious to proceed with the daily routine, I got up from the green chair and walked over to wipe her. She recognized the cue and got off the pot and bent over. As I approached the toilet, I noticed she had not pooped. I asked Stace if she still had to go poopy. When she did not say anything I asked two more times, but she remained silently bending
over, expecting to be wiped. I gave up and wiped her, then
pulled up her pants.

"Lish go too?" Stace asked.

"Yes." I answered.

After I put on our coats, Stace went upstairs to where
Allisha was sitting on the toilet and my recording of the
episode ended.

Discussion

In this episode Staciana makes the distinction between
"potty" and "poopy" and has also started to use the
signifier "go" to refer to the activity of going potty,
following her mother's use of the term as evidenced in
vignette #7, which occurred three days previous to this
episode.

I believe the variation of word use to signify the same
act, and the evolving word meanings of "poopy" and "potty"
support the contention that the evolving nature of language
can help make hard-wired conditioned behavior malleable, and
the originally learned behavior becomes transformed as new
nuances of word meanings are internalized which help focus
and organize human behavior in ever evolving subtleties of
expression.
Vignette #9  7 December 1984
Staciana: age 2 years, 5 months

After we had eaten dinner, Stace got up from her chair and said:

"I go poopy?"

"Sit down on your chair." Judy said, directing Stace to sit on the potty chair. Judy walked over to the potty and noticed it had some pee in the pot. I took the pot and led Stacy to the upstairs toilet and dumped the contents into the toilet and flushed. I then put Stace on the full sized toilet seat and she almost immediately evacuated a large quantity of poop. She then peed. After peeling, Stace reached over and grabbed my hand to steady herself, as she tore a small quantity of toilet paper from the roll.

"All done." Stace said.

"What did you say?" I asked, stalling for time, as I took notes. She did not answer but had started to wipe herself. She repeated the wiping a second time, then reached out for me with both hands. I took her off the toilet and told her we had to wipe her better, not sure if she had done an adequate job. To my surprise the toilet paper did not soil, so perhaps she had wiped herself correctly while I was distracted with the note-taking. After the single wipe, I said "O.K." and Stace started to leave the bathroom to go downstairs. She suddenly turned around in the doorway and exclaimed:
"Oh that, Daddy." as she ran over to the emptied children's pot and picked it up.

"You want to take it down?" I asked, a bit hesitant to let her carry it down the stairs. As I watched, I quickly realized she could handle the activity so I said "O.K.", and Stace proceeded downstairs, leaving me to complete my notes.

Discussion

In the next and final potty training vignette of this series we see how Staciana has internalized the syntactical structure of her parents by simply replacing the pronoun "you" with the pronoun "I". When one examines the preceding vignettes it can be seen that Judy and I often responded to Stace's utterances by asking: "You have to go potty?" Stace would always state the same intentions by saying: "I go poopy" or "I go potty", leaving out the word combination "have to". In this next vignette, which was recorded on 15 August 1985, nearly two years after the last recorded potty training episode, we see how Staciana no longer uses any external language to initiate or accompany the entire activity of going potty. By this phase of her potty training she has internalized all the elements necessary to independently complete the activity.
Vignette #10  15 August 1985, 8:30 A.M.

Staciana: age 3 years 11 1/2 months

In this episode I was urging the children to hurry and change from their pajamas to their daytime clothes so Stacy would not be late for pre-school and Alisha would not be late for day camp.

"Can we go to McDonald's?" Stace asked, wanting to stop by the drive-thru for a potato cake on the way to her school. We had done so the day before.

"Uh, no, not today." Alisha interjected with reservation in her voice, anticipating what she thought my own response would have normally been. During this period, I was involved in writing the dissertation and did not want to be distracted by having to cook breakfast, so I told the kids that if they would hurry-up and get dressed, we might have time to stop at McDonald's. Stace then started walking in the opposite direction from where her clothes had been placed by Judy before she had left for work.

"Stace, come on and get dressed." I urged, thinking she was going to do something inappropriate for quickly leaving the house.

"I have to go potty." Stace answered as she stopped walking.

"O.K." I answered, and Stace went into the bathroom.

The phone rang, and it was Judy at work, wanting to say "good morning" to us. She said she did not have much time,
so I went into the bathroom to hurry Stace along so she could say hello to her mother. Staciana had a clump of toilet paper in her hand, and was leaning forward as if to wipe her bottom.

"Want me to wipe your butt?" I asked.

"I did. I wiped my butt." Stace answered, as she got off the pot, and went into the dining room to talk to her mother.

Discussion and Potty Training Vignettes: Summary

These potty training vignettes not only allow us to see the evolution of a child's behavior focusing around a specific activity, but we can also see how the meanings of words change and evolve as a child's behavior becomes more complex.

In summary, we can see how the external use of language by the adults focuses a child's attention on a single act in a behavior chain, and once that act becomes internalized, the adult can use the same words or other words to help the child learn different nuances of the overall activity. When the potty training began, the adults used external speech and Staciana did not. When Staciana first began to use external speech, the outward expression of her language seemed to be directly linked to the activity in which the language was learned. Eventually she began to use the same words to signify a growing degree of specificity, which
indicates the same words which were originally linked to the behavior took on new meaning and were no longer linked to the original acts, which had become a habituated form of her overall activity.

It is hypothesized that evolving word meanings make conditioned behavior malleable, enabling the human being to willfully change their responses to a changing environment based upon new experiences.

We also see how Staciana’s syntax evolved by internalizing elements of adult speech used in previous dialogical interaction centering around the same ongoing, evolving activity.

The next series of vignettes will be for the most part chronological in nature and will trace Staciana’s language development from 13 September 1983, (age: 2 years) to 18 February 1984, (age: 2 years, 5 months). In this five month period we will observe how Staciana progresses from simple utterances, to more complex utterances where syntax is jumbled, until finally her language development begins to settle into fairly standardized English syntax.

We will be able to see the role dialogue plays in Staciana’s language development as well as the interpretive role other family members play in relation to misunderstood utterances.
At one point we will see where Staciana comes to realize that words signify objects in the real world, separate from the context of immediate activity, and in other places, we will see how important deeply embedded historical familial customs are to the understanding of the intent of a young child's utterance.

We will also continue to examine some themes revolving around the conditioned aspects of language which were introduced in the potty training vignettes, and try to hypothesize about the relationship between thought and language in the context of human activity.

The format of presenting the data will be the same as in the potty training vignettes. The communicative episode will be described, followed by a discussion.

**Vignette #11  2 September 1983, 8:30 A.M.**  
**Staciana: age 2 years**

Judy had just taken Alisha into her kindergarten that was located in a stone church building. Staciana and I were sitting in the car as we waited for Judy's return. After a few minutes Staciana asked:

"Mommy home?"

"She'll be back in a few minutes, Stace." I answered.

"O.K." Stace responded.
Discussion

I understood the meaning of Stace's question because Staciana often uses the phrase "mommy home?" when we are at our apartment waiting for her mother to return from school. In the context of the above episode, she is really asking "When will mommy be back?" To an outsider unfamiliar with our familial customs, Stace's over-extended use of the "mommy home?" phrase in contexts outside our home would probably seem somewhat senseless relative to the context of the immediate activity. Deeply embedded familial customs play a fundamental role in the parent's understanding of their young child's utterances and we will examine this further in subsequent vignettes.

Vignette #12  7 September 1983
Staciana: age 2 years

In this episode I was walking Staciana up the street where her babysitter lived. Our car had not started that morning, so our family used public transportation. Judy and Alisha had caught a southbound bus going towards The Ohio State University campus, and Staciana and I had taken a northbound bus traveling in the direction of Staciana's babysitter's house. As Staciana and I walked up the street towards the babysitter's house, having left Judy and Alisha at the bus stop five or ten minutes earlier, Staciana asked:
"Is mommy home?"

"Mommy took Lish to school, Stace." I answered, adding "Then mommy is going to study. I'm taking you to Tu's." Tu is the name of our babysitter.

My response satisfied her, and as we walked up the street, I scribbled down notes of the interaction.

Discussion

As in the previous vignette, I knew Stace was probably asking where her mother was, rather than asking if her mother was "at home", so I responded accordingly. In the next vignette Stace uses a single word utterance to ask the same question.

Vignette #13  13 September 1983, 5:15 P.M.
Staclana: age 2 years

Staclana and I were again sitting in the car in front of the church where Alisha attended kindergarten. Judy had gone into the building a few minutes earlier to pick up Alisha at the end of the school day. Stacy then asked:

"Mommy?"

"Mommy went in to get Lish, Stace." I answered.

"Lisha." Staclana said, and settled down to wait for her mother and sister.
Discussion

I knew what Stace was asking not only because the immediate context converged with past familial contexts, but her questioning tone accompanying the word "mommym" tuned me to the intention of Stace's utterance, which was asking me to reassure her that her mother would return shortly.

There seems to be some question among psycholinguists as to the limitation of single word utterances. It is known that young children over-extend the use of single words to apply to a large variety of contexts and some researchers contend that a child's early utterances should not be properly described as words. I do not want to argue this point, rather I will point out that at this phase of Staciana's language development, her single word utterances always have an accompanying tonal quality that usually tunes me to the intent of her utterance. This tonal quality changes frequently, and at times when she says "mommym" she is asking "where did mommym go?" At other times her tonal quality indicates: "When will mommym be back?" When she addresses Judy, her mother, the word "mommym" can be indicating a request for food or help in some other activity. The family members not only tune in to the tone of Stace's utterance as an aid to understanding, but we are also aware of Stace's over-extension of the word "mommym" and we think we respond appropriately to each context.
The above mentioned intonation that accompanies all of Stace's utterances often conveys more information than a simple written transcription of her words would imply. For this reason I have found it necessary to describe what we believe to be Stace's intent underlying her utterances while collecting ethnographic data. This will enable readers to recognize the sense in our responses to Staces's utterances.

The next episode shows Staciana's attempt to express a more complex thought than those portrayed in the preceding vignettes, and occurred about 5 1/2 weeks after the last episode.

Vignette #14  27 October 1983, 7:00 P.M.
Staciana: age 2 years, 1 1/2 months

In this episode we were sitting at the dinner table, eating dinner, when Staciana said:

"I watch T.V., on plate."

"O.K." I said.

As she got down from her chair and lifted her plate of food from the table, I told her to walk slowly so the food would not fall from her plate. Stace started to creep too slowly, so I said:

"You don't have to go that slow, Stace."

Staciana quickened her pace to settle somewhere between a slow creep and regular walking.
Discussion

In this episode Staciana's utterance expresses that she wants to go into the living room to watch television, while she is eating her food from her plate that will be placed on our piano bench that we frequently put in front of the television for that purpose. To an outsider unfamiliar with our family's customs, Staciana's utterance would not be pregnant with such meanings; but, to our family members, Staciana's abbreviated syntax represents more than the surface structure would tend to indicate.

We can see in this episode that as Staciana's intentions, relative to her activity, become more complex, Staciana is forced to use a greater number of words to get her intent across to other family members who exercise control over many of her activities. In this particular case Staciana wanted to do something in another room. Since this activity was not directly connected to the immediate context of our family eating dinner in the kitchen, Staciana had to use words that would focus our attention on her own intention to leave the immediate context of family activity and go into the living room to watch television while eating her dinner. Her words described her intended individual activity, which is a more complex activity than the activity of immediately shared familial experiences if viewed from her perspective. The nature of her activity demanded a more complex utterance than Staciana customarily uses if she was
to communicate her intention to other family members.

There seems to be a "chicken or the egg" question generated by this discussion. What comes first: complex activity involvement that demands that a child's utterances be more complex; or, complex utterances that allows for the development of complex activity patterns in the behavior of young children? It is probably foolish to extricate the two questions from their interrelationships relative to children's behavioral development, but it appears that at times the former seems to precede the latter and vice versa; never the less, in both cases, language and activity are inextricably linked as the young child matures into more complex behavioral patterns. This point has been discussed in the preceding potty training vignettes and will be expanded upon in other sections of the dissertation.

At this point, it may be useful to hypothesize about what is occurring neurologically, relative to Stace's cognitive development as evidenced in her utterance, "I watch T.V., on plate."

During this phase of Stace's language development she often uses abbreviated syntax to express an intention to other family members. The abbreviated syntax usually has enough elements in it to allow us to tune in to Stace's thoughts. Her word choice is usually expressed in the form of concrete nouns and verbs, which provide us with an understanding of her intentions. It is tempting to state
here that the concrete language of Staciana gives us a visual picture of Stace's intentions, but evidence presented in later vignettes will point towards the position that adult understanding as being more dominantly linguistic in nature. The same cannot be said for Staciana's language usage. It appears that her utterances, which appear as concrete abbreviated agglutinations, begin to take form in the part of the brain connected with her visual memory.

Staciana's thought processes may be working in the following way. She has an initial intent which is triggered by a desire to change her immediate environment, and that intent passes through the visual memory areas of the brain, and connects to past experiences in her visual memory traces that are associated with the immediate and present context of her experience. In this case the present context was eating dinner. As the past visual memory converges with the present context, Staciana envisions the combining experiences, which create a new visual picture connected to her immediate intent. That visual picture has words connected to it that she learned in associated personal experiences. The brain then shifts its focus from envisioning, to the associated words connected to the visual imagery, as Staciana attempts to linguistically express the envisioned picture in her mind. Since Staciana has not yet internalized standardized syntactical structures, she leaves out certain linguistic elements, but is able to express
enough elements connected to her inner visual imaging to get her intentions across to other family members. We hear, "I watch T.V., on plate," and the family members understand the meaning of her concrete words which are mediating between her inner visual imaging and our own linguistic understanding linked secondarily to shared familial experiences.

Eventually we will observe that as Stace's language and cognitive development matures, she is less dependent on concrete words to express her intentions because she has internalized those language characteristics and structures which help direct the focus of her utterances into, and out of, the linguistic system. As the child's language development matures the linguistic system begins to achieve a form of dominance over the previously dominating visual imaging system involved in Stace's initial thought processes and she is better able to perceive adult perspectives and orientations which, for many people, (excluding those artists and laborers who have sensitized another aspect of their neurological system,) are more predominantly linguistic in nature.

In the next vignette we see how Stace's linguistic system still has not achieved the prominence of nuclear centering, which brings with it an internalized set of language rules that we see in mature language users. The following episode occurred ten days after the above episode.
Vignette #15  6 November 1983, 8:30 A.M.  
Staciana: age 2 years, 2 months

In this episode Judy, Alisha, Staciana and myself were in the children's bedroom and Judy was pointing to different colors on the Sesame Street posters, asking Staciana to name them.

"What color is this?" Judy asked, pointing to a color on the poster.

"Orange." Staciana answered.

"That's good, Stace. That's right." Judy said.

"What color is this?" Judy asked, pointing to a different color.

Stace responded by incorrectly naming a color, and Judy corrected her. Judy then shifted her focus and asked Staciana to name facial parts.

"What is this, Stace?" Judy asked, pointing to her own chin.

"Chin." Stace answered.

"What's this?" Judy asked, pointing to her ear.

Stacy started to say "ear", but her attention was diverted when Alisha hit her. Curiously, Stace's utterance agglutinated to reflect the two competing activities and she said:

"Don't do that, ear." saying the utterance in a single breath as if it were a single sentence.
At this point Judy switched back to asking Stace colors on the posters, as Alisha continued to sneak little jabs at Stace.

"Don't do that, blue." Stace answered correctly.

This activity continued as I reflected upon why Stace was responding to the two activities with a single, agglutinated utterance.

**Discussion**

In this episode Staciana not only combined her response to two different activities into a single, agglutinated utterance, but she consistently responded first to the activity of Alisha hitting her, and then she added her response to Judy's questions. I would speculate here from knowing Staciana, that if Judy would not have been asking Stace questions, Staciana's response to Alisha would probably have been: "Don't do that, Lish"; but, because there were two activities competing for Stace's attention, she responded first to the more demanding activity (the physical act of getting hit), then she conveniently dropped "Lish" at the end of what would have been her normal response to a singular activity, and added her response to the less demanding activity of Judy asking her what the words were for different things.

A sophisticated language user would not have responded with such an agglutinated utterance, but at this phase of
Staciana’s language development she has not internalized enough syntactic rules, which, once having done so, would tend to bend Stace’s utterances towards the conventions of the internalized syntactic rules. The internalization of language rules must help establish linguistic system differentiation, possibly even physical differentiation of the neural structures in the brain. Once internalized, the linguistic system becomes committed in a reflexive manner to responding with certain degrees of specificity, reflecting the standards of the language rules. This differentiation helps make the linguistic system of the brain somewhat discrete from other neurological systems. Since Stace has not yet internalized the rules, and the linguistic system is not yet fully developed, Staciana’s utterance in this episode is agglutinated because the two competing activities were occurring almost simultaneously. Her response reflected the simultaneity of the activities, and the motive of not wanting to get hit took primacy over the motive of trying to please her mother.

L.S. Vygotsky has contended 7 that agglutinated forms, appearing in young children’s language, eventually become a part of inner speech which is connected to the thought underlying the surface structure of expressed utterances. I believe this is an inaccurate explanation of what is occurring in children’s agglutinated language forms. Rather than the agglutinated forms becoming a part of inner speech,
the forms probably disappear altogether when a child's neurologically-based linguistic system has reached a higher degree of system differentiation, by having become "attuned" to very specific input from the language environment. Of course, there are different degrees of "attunedness", some being very specific and reflexive, and others being less specific and more associative, but I seriously question the existence of inner speech and would propose that thought is more closely connected to an evolving personal history, first centered in the visual system of the brain, and eventually coming to be dominated by auditory and articulatory memory traces connected to language experiences which evolve to form their own discrete systems which interconnect to the other neural areas that are eventually brought under control by the focusing qualities of language itself.

Vignette #32 (14 January 1984) will examine other agglutinated language forms in Stace's language development, and will offer further explanation as to what the agglutinated language forms may mean relative to Stacianna's neurological and language development.

The next episode took place thirteen days after the above episode and shows how Stacianna is still having difficulty expressing herself in standard syntax, but the context provides enough clues to figure out some of her intentions.
Vignette #16  16 November 1983

Staciana: age 2 years, 2 months

On this particular Saturday morning I was sitting and playing guitar when Staciana walked up to me holding a roll of tape in one hand and a sheet of paper in another. She had a "Daddy will you do this for me?" expression on her face. Upon noticing that the sheet of paper she held had been crayoned, I asked Stace if she wanted me to tape the paper to the wall. We had made a children's play area in the small dining alcove between our living room and kitchen, and we often taped the children's drawings to the wall above their desk area.

When Staciana responded that she wanted me to tape the paper to the wall, I asked:

"Did you do that?" pointing to the side of the sheet that had been crayoned, rather than to the side of the sheet that had a mass-produced drawing on it and also had a few crayon marks on it.

She indicated she had crayoned the side I had pointed to. To check the accuracy of my perceptions, I pointed to the other side and asked if she wanted me to tape that particular side to the wall. Again, Staciana agreed.

At this point I was not sure if she realized what I was asking, because my intention was to determine which side of the paper she had wanted to face outwards from the wall. I shifted my line of questioning and asked:
"Is that yours, or is it Lisha's?" I pointed to the crayoned side of the paper.

"My, that." Stace said.

"That's yours?" I asked, pleased to think I had gotten somewhere.

(Yes), Stacy happily nodded.

I got up and walked over to the children's desk area in the dining alcove to tape her crayoned drawing next to the other drawings on the wall. At this point I wanted to make sure the drawing was not upside down or backwards so I asked Stace:

"This way?" as I placed the drawing against the wall.

(Yes) she nodded.

The crayoned pattern did not appear to me as if she had really colored it "that way," so I turned it over, and again asked:

"This way?"

(Yes) she nodded again.

Now, from an adult's perspective of expecting some sort of order to the world, I was disturbed that Stace did not seem to care which way the drawing would be taped to the wall. So I persisted, and repeated the question again, trying to determine the "correct" orientation of her drawing.

"This way?" I asked, speculating as to the proper orientation.
"This way." Stace said, repeating my words, but she replaced my questioning intonation with an affirmative intonation.

**Discussion**

This episode has several prominent features. We can observe that Staciana did not have to use verbal language to express her initial desire for me to tape her crayoned drawing to the wall. The previous familial customs and her facial expressions and body postures converged with the objects she was holding to focus my attention on her own intention. These elements communicated information to a family member surely as if Staciana would have used verbal language to express her intentions. This evidence indicates that the underpinnings of a child's language development are partially hinged upon a child's experiential environment, which includes historical context.

Staciana's manner towards the objects in the environment indicated the predicate elements of her thought, and the objects themselves indicated the subject and direct object elements in her thought. These elements of her thought were present, absent any external use of verbal language, and the elements did not need any specific syntactical order for the expressions of that thought, because the intention she was expressing was a "whole thought" rooted in familially shared experiences. These
whole thoughts of the child occur in deeply embedded historical activity and can also be seen as Staciana tried to express her thought verbally as outlined in Vignette #14.

As we can see in this episode, Staciana's verbal syntax in this interaction is almost non-existent, but the activity itself had organized patterns based upon historical behavior, and this very organization represents a type of organized syntax. As Slobin points out, word order and syntactical rules vary in different languages. I would add, that, although the expression of thought may vary in different languages, the relationships between the various elements that underlie organized human activity are universal. It is the expression of those relationships which is subject to differing rules of serial order, reflected in the syntactic rules of different languages.

If we reflect on the last few vignettes, we can see that Staciana is at the phase of her language development where she is primed to experience, and eventually internalize, almost any set of language rules. She is primed because her thoughts already indicate she experiences whole activity in specifically organized patterns; and, she is ready to internalize any set of language rules, including those syntactical rules that give consistent order to a given language, because she has not yet become conditioned to a specific set of language rules which would tend to bend
her experiences towards the organized patterns inherent in any given set of rules.

The final feature I would like to discuss in this episode centers around my persistence in ascertaining the "correct" way to tape up the crayoned drawing, and Staciana's seemingly indifference to a correct orientation for the drawing. It seems adults very rarely do activities at random, and their activities fall into previously established patterns of experience. This element of an adult's perspective caused me to project my own reality onto Staciana's crayoned drawing, believing there had to be an intended and correct pattern to her experience. Upon reflection, it seems that Stace's motive for wanting the drawing taped to the wall was not linked to the substance of what she drew; rather, her motive was probably linked to the simple fact that she had made some random marks on a sheet of paper, and it did not matter if the marks fell into a particular order or not, but the marks simply represented a drawing that she wanted taped to the wall next to her older sister's drawing. Her motive for having me tape the drawing to the wall was probably related to her desire to please me, who historically has always made a big deal out of taping drawings to the wall. The communication gap between Staciana and myself occurred because I did not immediately recognize her underlying motive for initiating the activity.
The evidence indicates that my mistaking Staciana's intentions, and subsequently projecting what would have been my own intent if I would have been an adult in Staciana's shoes, generated the type of verbal interaction that demanded that Staciana understand my own intent, which she may have come to realize at the end of the episode.

During this episode Staciana probably began to implicitly learn that drawings are not always random markings, and a drawing should have a specific orientation if viewed from an adult's perspective. The data indicates it was the adult who was being egocentric in this communicative episode because my perspective was being channeled through previously established patterns of experience. On the other hand, Staciana was being forced to perceive the adult's orientation and respond appropriately to the demands of the communicative interaction.

In this case, the adult is projecting his own perspective onto a child's activity. The result is misunderstanding, which begins to be resolved through the ensuing dialogical interaction. The ensuing dialogue gives the child verbal clues which signify aspects of the adult's perspective, and the child uses these verbal clues to reach ever-increasing levels of perspective complexity and simplicity.

In a sense, language may not only be helping to organize the child's neurological structures along lines of
standardized behavior patterns as proposed in some of the preceding vignettes, but the organization of those behavioral patterns begins to attune the neurological structures to the perspectives of the adults in the child's immediate experiential environment. So in a sense the intrapsychological becomes internalized to represent the interpsychological.

If perspectives in some way reflect adults' sensitivities to their own experience, and if this can be transposed into what we call Intelligence, then we have a case that intelligence is a learned behavior to a certain degree. We will examine this issue in more detail in the vignettes involving my oldest daughter Alisha, which follows these vignettes portraying Staciana's language development.

In the next vignette we see Staciana using words to express an intention, even though her activity still revolves around a roll of tape.

Vignette #17 19 November 1983
Staciana: age 2 years, 2 months

This episode occurred as I was filling in details of the preceding vignette. Staciana came up to me, held out the roll of tape, and said:

"... ... open this?" (I didn't catch the first two words of her utterance.)

I asked Staciana if she wanted a piece of tape, and she
nodded an emphatic, "yes." I took a piece of tape from the roll, and after having given it to Stace, she disappeared into the children's play area. A few minutes later she came back for more tape. This time I gave her a couple of pieces to occupy her, so I could continue writing.

Discussion

This episode took place almost immediately following the episode where I had taped Stace's drawing to the wall for her. In the preceding episode, Staciana did not make a verbal request to get across her intention, rather she let the objects of the activity and her mannerisms communicate her intention. I suspect that in the first episode, Staciana implicitly sensed from personal experience, there were enough elements present in the activity, for the expression of her intention. In this vignette, the only object in her hand was the roll of tape, and as a single word divorced from the necessary context will not express a thought, neither does a single object absent from other objects or actions. Two objects put together in historical relationship can generate a predicate as we saw in the previous vignette, but in this instance Staciana had to supply the predicate because she sensed from past experiences that I did not have enough information to understand her intention towards the tape.

To put these ideas in another way; a single roll of
tape in her hand is more historically neutral than tape and a drawing in her hands. In this episode, something in the make-up of Staciana's mind generated an utterance, because she sensed the activity called for an utterance. The memory of analogous elements of related activity is what generated the utterance, and these analogous elements can be seen as we examine the second prominent feature of this episode: that of word choice.

Staciana's word choice was "... open this." "Open" is an inappropriate use of a verb describing the action of taking a piece of tape off the roll if we use sophisticated conceptually-rooted language as our standard. But, in Staciana's limited experiences, a motor activity, requiring her to unfasten a portion of an object glued to itself, does indicate an "opening" action. This is best described in the language she uses when she asks us to open cereal boxes, vanilla wafer boxes, and other assortments of packaged foods. In light of Staciana's experiences "open this" was an appropriate way of expressing the intent of her thought.

The internalized phrase "open this," contained enough shared historical meaning, and was analogous to the immediate activity, which allowed the phrase to surface reflexively in Staciana's expression of her thought. It can also be observed in the above episode that I restated her request in a way that I would have described the action of
taking a piece of tape from the roll. My restatement indicated a greater degree of specificity, relative to the specific context, and illustrates the role that dialogical interaction may play in children's language development as word usage and vocabulary is wedded to a specific context.

The next vignettes are in a series. One particular episode struck me, because Staciana, for the first time, asked what the names were for objects in the environment, without any other accompanying activity. Before this phase of her language development, Staciana would ask the name of an object in the context of an accompanying activity, but she had never made "object naming" the primary focus of her activity. I believe she implicitly learned that objects have signifiers, as a result of the "object naming" game Judy and I frequently played with her (see Vignette #15). It took Staciana a while to realize the concept that objects have names separate from an immediate context of accompanying activity; but, once the implicit learned realizations became enough of a part of Staciana's conscious awareness to focus her behavior relative to this activity, she played this naming game with us, and assumed the adult role that Judy had taken in Vignette #15, nearly five weeks earlier. Staciana not only assumed the adult role, but she also used the identical language pattern that the adult had used in her previous language experience.

I will present these vignettes in chronological order
so one can get a feeling for Stace's evolving experiences that culminate in her awareness that words signify objects in the environment. Before reading the following vignettes, the reader may want to glance at Vignette #15, to see how we played the "naming game" with Staciana. The next vignette occurred approximately five weeks after the "name-game" episode.

Vignette #18 11 December 1983, 4:00 P.M.
Staciana: age 2 years, 3 months

In this episode I was cleaning out the refrigerator and Staciana was watching me. She saw a lemon on the bottom shelf and asked:

"Orange?"

"No, it's not an orange--," I said, hesitating to tell her the correct name. I wanted to see if Stace would anticipate my next question which would be "Do you know what it is, Stace?" She did anticipate the unasked question, and said:

"Lemonade?"

"Yes, Stace, that's good." I said, adding, "It's a lemon."

"Lemonade, taste good." Stace said.

"You like lemonade?" I asked.

"Yeah." she said, and nodded to match her enthusiasm.
Discussion

In this episode, rather than Staciana asking, "What is this?" as Judy and I customarily ask Stace when we play the naming-game, the context and the questioning tone in Staciana's voice provided the "What is this?" element underlying her utterance: "Orange?" At this point she has not internalized the "What is this?" phrase, but the next episode shows what I believe is her first use of the "What is this?" phrase.

Vignette #19 3 January 1984
Staciana: age 2 years, 4 months

This episode occurred about three weeks after the preceding episode. Staciana and I were in the kitchen again, and Staciana asked:

"What's this?" as she pointed to a cup.

"It's empty, Stace. Just an empty cup." I said, as I looked inside.

"Water in it." Stace said, possibly associatively reacting to my use of "just" in my utterance. I often say to Stace: "It's O.K. to use the cup. There's just water in it."

"What's this?" Stace had then asked, pointing to a bag of dried apricots.

I told her the bag contained apricots, which are like peaches, but these were dried.
"Piece inside." said Stace, possibly having a rhyme association to my use of the word "peaches" in the previous utterance.

Staciana then picked up the bag of dried apricots and said to Judy:

"Put this back there," wanting Judy to put the bag of apricots back into the resealable Zip Lock storage bag.

"Want that." Stace said to herself as she held a dried apricot in her hand. I believe Stace's use of "that," rather than "this," is an echo of past dialogical interaction where the adult has asked: Do you want that?

"What did you say, Stace?" Judy then asked.

"Want this, that." Stace said, correcting herself, but still retaining what I believe to be a previous dialogical partner's form of "this."

"What's this?" Stace asked Judy very distinctly.

"Apricots." Judy said.

"Apricots." Staciana distinctly repeated. Then she said: "Apple-chots, apple-chots, apple-chots" over and over again, and continued to do so even when she was corrected. I believe the term "apple" is a more familiar term to Stace, so she is being pulled towards this older internalized term, rather than the new term: apricots.

By the next day Staciana had totally internalized the "What is this?" phrase and seemed to come to the realization that things have names, as evidenced by her engaging in the
naming activity independent of other activities.
Staciana: age 2 years, 4 months

"What's this?" Stace asked, as we walked by the toaster oven and she touched it.

"Oven." I told her.

"What's this?" Stace asked, as we walked into the living room.

"Bookcase." I answered.

"What's this?" Stace asked, as we walked upstairs.

"Railing." I said.

"Railing." Staciana repeated.

Five minutes later we were in the kitchen and Staciana asked Judy:

"What's this?"

"Coupons!" Judy exclaimed.

"O.K. Coupons." Stace said emphatically.

"What's this?" Stace asked, referring to the contexts of a cup in front of her.

"Orange juice." answered Judy.

"What's that?" Stace asked, as Judy took a bite of a sandwich.

"Ham and mayonnaise." Judy said.

"What's that?" Stace asked, referring to the contents of a bowl on the table.

"Meatballs." Judy answered.

"Meatballs, meatballs, meatballs." Stace said, then
added: "Yucky Smurf," addressing a stamp on her hand.
"I thought you liked it?" Judy said.
"No I like it. Yucky." Stace said.

**Discussion/Summary**

These episodes point out the transformation the phrase "What is this?" went through in an approximate two month period. First Staciana experienced the adult use of the phrase in a dialogical context. Next, Staciana seemed to internalize the meaning underlying the phrase and started asking the names of things in the context of shared activity. Finally, the phrase itself surfaced in Staciana's conscious thoughts, and she could use the phrase as the central focus of her activity, and learn new words in the process. At this point, we are beginning to see the development of Staciana's linguistic system as the system starts to take on discrete characteristics separate from the inner mental imaging system which was previously manifested in Stace's use of concrete terms and abbreviated syntax.

Not only are the transformations that the phrase went through from adult to child significant, but it can be noted that the general concept, which was in the deep structure of the phrase, surfaced in Staciana's behavior before the phrase itself surfaced. This seems to indicate that memory, as connected to language, has at least two characteristics. The first characteristic is the conceptual representations
that specific language portrays, and the second characteristic is the specific language itself. In Staciana's case, conceptualization, revolving around the "What is this?" phrase, preceded the usage of the specific phrase in her expression of thought connected to the conceptualization. At this phase in Stace's cognitive development, conceptualization seems to have a degree of independence from the language the concepts were originally linked to. We can observe here, the relationship between free will and conditioned elements of thought. Free will seems rooted in the conceptualization processes of the mind; whereas thought seems more directly linked to specific signification and the accompanying internalization of specific language structures. Thought not only becomes manifest through the expression of language, but is part and parcel to the language itself, which signifies elements of specific experiential organization. Free will, linked to conceptualization processes and inner mental imaging is the conduit through which an intention passes, transforming that intention into a willful activity linked to previous experiences, of which language is an element. The mind then begins to express itself somewhat reflexively through speech that revolving around elements of past language experience, as directed by the willful intentions of the human being, relative to the demands of an immediate context of activity. Once enough language structures have been internalized,
specific language structures begin to be directly associated with various aspects of conceptual experiences, and language can begin to be used in a reflexive way, where a word or entire phrase, once internalized, can automatically represent broad aspects of conceptual experience. Since language is experienced in the context of shared activity, experiential dialogical partners reach understandings by the use of language that represents shared conceptual activity.

Before we return to the theme of the relationship between thought, language and activity, I will continue with a chronological presentation of Staciana's communicative episodes in order to preserve the sense of how her language and cognitive development is evolving.

The next episode was recorded 22 December 1983, about two weeks before the previous episode (Vignette #20) was recorded. In vignette #21, I prod her to come up with a word for an object, but she refuses to do so, and uses the indeterminate "that" as a substitution for a specific term.
Vignette #21  22 December 1983
Staciana: age 2 years, 3 months

Staciana and I were in the kitchen as she was chewing a piece of caramel candy. Stace took some of the candy out of her mouth and was playing with it. I took the sticky clump from Staciana's fingers and asked her:

"What's this?"

"That." Stace said in reply.

"What's this?" I repeated.

"That." she repeated.

Discussion

We first see Staciana using the indeterminate term "that," during the language episode in Vignette #16, recorded about a month before the above episode transpired. In response to my question: "Is that yours, or is it Lisha's?" Staciana had said: "My, that." She obviously had not yet internalized the term "mine", which would have been a more abbreviated way to express "My, that."

It can be seen in Vignette #16 that Staciana did not need to use a specific term to signify the meaning of her utterance, because the context of shared activity provided enough focus to provide meaning to the activity.

The same can be said regarding the present episode, Vignette #21. Since both Stace and myself had a shared focus to our activity, Staciana's answer of "that" was
appropriate from her point of view, because the caramel on my fingers, designated by "What's this?", was in fact "that" from her perspective.

The next vignette was recorded the next day, and shows that Staciana's utterances become more specific as her activity grows more complex, and she has to make her intentions known to me.

Vignette #22  23 December 1983
Staciana: age 2 years, 3 months

Staciana and I were in the living room when she expressed to me that she wanted a salami sandwich. We went into the kitchen and I took the package of salami from the refrigerator. I gave Stace the package and she removed the last remaining slice of salami and handed back the empty package. I started walking towards the sink to put the package in the trash bag, and Stace said:

"Throw away?"

"Yeah, Stace. I'm throwing this away." I answered, and put the package in the trash bag, then walked back towards her.

"My piece of bread. And a bowl." Staciana said, requesting I get her a piece of bread and a bowl.

I got her a piece of bread, and walked towards the cupboard on the other side of the room to get the bowl and Stace said:
"My bread. You cut it."

"Cut it?" I repeated, to make sure I heard her correctly.

(Yes.) Staciana nodded.

I took the bowl from the cupboard, and started looking for a sharp knife.

"My bread. You cut it." Stace said again.

"Yeah, Stace." I responded. "I'm trying to find a knife."

I found a knife, put the salami on the bread, and cut it in half. I then put the two halves together to make a sandwich, and put the salami sandwich in the bowl.

"Thankyum." Staciana said, as I handed her the sandwich.

Discussion

The above episode indicates that in this phase of Staciana's development, she wants to express her intentions in an activity, in which, the adult may not have a shared focus. Staciana uses specific terms to key me in to her intentions. As her own intentions become more independent, there is a demand for her to use language in more precise ways to express those Intentions.

The dual features of her utterances: "My piece of bread. And a bowl."; "My bread. You cut it.", allow us to examine how Staciana is beginning to express her thought in
more complex linguistic strings.

In both of the above utterances, there are two elements. The first element is that connected to the immediate context: i.e., "My piece of bread." and "My bread." The second elements are linked to Staciana's past experiences, which converge with her intentions towards a future activity: "And a bowl." and "You cut it." These simple links, between present and past activity, and the use of language to help bring about a future goal, point towards Staciana's evolving cognitive development. At this phase of Stace's development, her cognition still seems to be linked to the concrete visual imagery of past experiences; but, the expression of a future intent, demands Staciana use language in increasingly sophisticated ways. Precision of expression revolving around a thought that has two elements, indicates a growing degree of sophisticated language usage, and a greater control of her own thought processes.

The delivery of her utterances is also significant. She spoke each utterance as if she were saying a separate sentence: "My bread. You cut it." The period-stop between the present and past elements of Staciana's experience, in this episode's linguistic strings, indicates she is beginning to exercise control over that part of her mind that allows for the linking of concepts together to express complex ideas. Before this point, she had what could be perceived as comma-pauses in her linguistic strings, but
nothing appeared that indicated a period-stop, except at the end of a single element language expression. The period-stops that did appear in the preceding communicative episodes, occurred within the linguistic string of the adult; at the end of the linguistic string of the adult; or, at the end of Staciana's utterances. The evidence indicates that Staciana has now internalized the period-stop, that she had initially experienced at the end of each dialogical partner's linguistic strings, and is now able to add another conceptual element of thought, revolving around her own intention, rather than having to wait for the adult to respond to her single "sentence" utterances, by adding the element of thought for her.

It is at this phase of Stace's cognitive development, that linguistic activity is developing another characteristic, that will eventually allow linguistically-centered activity to become dominant over inner-thought and conceptualizations connected to inner mental imaging. The period-stop is helping to establish a focus, primarily centered in the linguistic system of neurological activity, which is more serial than the previously dominating visual-imaging system, which seems to be involved in holistic imaging connected to visual memory traces as past elements of memory converge with present activity. Since the visual memory of experience reflects organized patterns of behavior inherent in most human activity, conceptualizations are an
inexorable part of Staciana's memory. Conceptualizations in this sense are organized, patterned human activities, which have become internalized by the child, and converge with an immediate experience to create a conceptual envisioning.

The next episode was recorded on the following day, and shows Staciana combining two of her previously expressed single utterances in the episode, to form a linguistic string with two separate elements.

Vignette #23  24 December 1983

Staciana: age 2 years, 3 months

Our family was getting ready to leave the house to go somewhere. We were upstairs in the duplex, and I was looking for my shoes.

"I can't find my shoes." I said.

"Which ones?" Judy asked.

"My tennis shoes." I answered. I then found the shoes and started putting them on in the bedroom.

"You find?" Staciana asked from the hallway.

"Yes." I said.

"You got it?" Stace asked again.

"Yes." I said, as I tied my shoes.

As Judy and Stace walked downstairs, Staciana yelled to me:
"Come on, Daddy."

"O.K." I yelled back, still in the bedroom.

"Jacket time, Daddy." Stace said, using an expression we customarily used to indicate the last action we did before we left the house. We kept our jackets in a pile near the front door.


Discussion

In this episode, Staciana still is primarily using single element utterances. At the end of the episode, she combines two of her previously expressed single element utterances in a linguistic string: "Come on. Jacket time." It seems her use of yesterday's period-stop was not accidental, because the same behavior also is appearing in this episode.

The next two episodes I recorded do not seem to be too significant, but I will present them as they occurred, to preserve the chronological order.

Vignette #24  27 December 1983
Staciana: age 2 years, 3 1/2 months

Staciana was eating a bowl of oatmeal containing raisins at the kitchen table.

"Nummy." Stace said (meaning "yummy").

"Yummy." Judy corrected.
"Naidans nummy." Stace responded, meaning that the raisins in her oatmeal tasted good.

Vignette #25 27 December 1983
Staciana: age 2 years, 3 1/2 months

Judy and Staciana were making a bologna sandwich and Stace was helping Judy squeeze the mustard from the plastic container.

"Cake!" Staciana said, in an excited voice.

Judy agreed, saying how the mustard squiggles looked like frosting on fancy cakes. I asked Judy if she had taught Stacy the association, and Judy said she had not, but that Stace says it almost every time the mustard is squeezed from the bottle, forming squiggled patterns.

Discussion

In this instance, an association appeared to trigger Staciana's utterance, rather than a motive. The generation of utterances by associations appears frequently in young children's behavior. It seems the mind of a child is often motive-free, and this aspect of children's mental activity may be related to the perception that young children have not yet internalized sets of intermediate and long term goals. Since the child does not subconsciously select out elements of experience from the environment to fit intermediate and long term goals, the child is able to
spontaneously associate. Adults often seem to sieve reality by selectively attending to those elements of experience that will bring their goals to fruition. Presently (at the time of my writing this dissertation), Stacianana is three years and eleven and one half months old, and she no longer says "cake," as she squeezes mustard from the container; rather, she is usually concentrating on the goal of successfully making a sandwich for herself. As a child's activity becomes more independent, the child begins to be occupied with focusing on the successful completion of complex activities revolving around intermediate and long term goals. This mental activity demands more of the mind's focused attention. Association never completely disappears from the mental processes, but the spontaneity of young children's associations begins to be subsumed by the type of directed associative mechanisms involved in mature thought processes, that have extended thematic activity as their primary focus.

The next vignettes will help us see how the child implicitly internalizes some different language characteristics. Once the characteristics are internalized (those bound to conceptually-linked experiences), then certain elements of thought can fall into reflexive patterns, which frees the mind to extend thought between the gaps created by reflexive aspects of language, reflecting conceptually-linked, organized patterns of experience.
It was three days after Christmas, and the prevailing ambiance of the holiday season, and a chair triggered this activity between Staciana and Alisha.

Staciana was sitting in her high chair, which faced outwards from the kitchen table. She asked somebody to sit with her, and Alisha accommodated her request by sitting directly on Staciana's lap.

"Mom, I'm not too heavy for her. Mom, I'm not too heavy for her." Alisha said.

"Mom. Look Mom. 'Isha sitting -------- me." Staciana said to Judy.

"Sit here. Next me. Next me." Staciana stated emphatically, as she patted the arm of the high chair.

Alisha sat on the arm of the high chair, and said:

"I want Barbie Doll, Baby Skates, a Kit Kat candy bar, and a real baby doll." Her register, and assumed attitude made it appear as if she were talking to Santa Claus. Alisha then got down from the high chair and said:

"Bye, Santa Claus."

"Bye, Santa Claus." Stace said, then added "Lish!," trying to call Alisha back from the living room, where her older sister had run to.

Then Stace had the following monologue with herself:

"Move over. Move over."
"This my chair. This my chair."
"I see it. I see it. I see it. I see it. I see it."

"Be careful with it." Alisha interjected, as she came back into the kitchen.

"O.K." Stace said.

I had not caught the "It" the kids referred to, because my attention was buried in the notes I was taking.

Discussion

In this episode, the first part of the dialogue between Staciana and Alisha was generated by the association of the season as Alisha joined Staciana on the high chair. The discussion in the previous vignette (#25) pointed out that the absence of intermediate and long term goals, held by the young child, seems to free the child's subconscious preoccupations, enabling motive-free associations to flow into the consciousness. Perhaps we could label motive-free activity of children as "play."

In this episode, we have what could be considered children's play. What is the role of play or motive-free activity of children? Play appears to allow the child to assume a point of view and adopt an attitude that is more closely linked to new experiences than older internalized experiences. This stepping outside of self helps expedite the child's cognitive development. We are not talking about
mimicking here; rather, we are talking about the assumption of an attitude, which allows the child to think in complex patterns and to use language in new and creative ways which project the child beyond their own previously internalized experience. This enables more recent experiences to supplant previously conditioned elements of experience which are no longer appropriate for sophisticated growth. The supplanting of previously conditioned elements of experience, with new and more complex elements of experience, is the reason that a child's development often appears to occur in steps, rather than in an orderly serial progression. In a sense, play functions as a free-floating-scaffold, allowing children to transcend his/her own experience.

This perspective is evident when we examine the final part of the above episode, and Staciana engages in the monologue:

"Move over. Move over."

"This my chair. This my chair."

"I see it. I see it. I see it. I see it. I see it."

This playful, and motive-free use of language by Staciana, is providing the type of repetitive practice Staciana needs to internalize the use of period-stops between her previous holistic-type thoughts. She is now expressing a thought in a simple sentence; followed by another simple thought; followed by another simple thought,
etc.

In this episode, Stace's language is beginning to be divorced from the wedded activity of immediate experience, and is starting to be used independently and imaginatively by the child. Language itself is beginning to have a life of its own in Staciana's mind. Motive-free play is the mother giving birth to this linguistically-oriented aspect of Staciana's cognitive development.

The next episode was recorded three days after the preceding one (Vignette #26), and points towards the role of nursery rhymes and children's songs in a young child's development.

Vignette #27  1 January 1984

Staciana: age 2 years, 3 3/4 months

Our family was in the kitchen and I told Alisha to find her socks. Staciana then said:

"My (or possibly 'I') socks on me."

Judy questioned what I wrote down and said: "Is that what she said? She didn't say 'Socks on me?""

"My socks on me." Stacy interjected, to settle the matter.

Staciana then started walking around the kitchen singing in a rhythm: "a b c, e f g..." This continued for awhile, then in the same rhythm she sang: "No my cup, No my cup, a b c, e f g."
"I kissed your eyes, didn't I?" Judy asked Staciana.

"On my eyes." Staciana replied in the same rhythm she had been using before.

Discussion

In this episode, we see Staciana playing a traditional sing-song game, and then substituting her own words for the "a, b, c" elements of the chant. When Judy asks Staciana a question, Stace remains in the same rhythm and answers the question substantively.

This motive-free play by Staciana is locking her focus on the linguistic system in her brain, and is helping her to internalize one of the many elements of rhythm which underlies an aspect of the linguistic system. Rhythm helps in the expression of serial order, and Staciana uses her entire body, including the organs of articulation, to wrest control of her own thought processes from the previously dominating holistic mental imaging system. The result becomes a refocusing of the thought processes in the linguistic system, that has linearity, carried by rhythm, as one of its primary constituents.

In the next episode, Judy is using the same "a, b, c" rhythm to attempt to teach Staciana that the letter "v" follows the letter "u"; because Staciana always says "b" after she says "u" in the "a, b, c" nursery song.
Vignette #28  3 January 1984

Staciana: age 2 years, almost 4 months

"t, u, v" Judy said, in sing-song rhythm.

"t, u, b" Staciana said, as she carefully watched her mother's lips and eyes.

"t, u, v" Judy repeated.

"t, u, b" Stace said.

"t, u, v" Judy reiterated.

"t, u, b" Stace repeated.

"t, u, v" Judy said.

"t, u, me." Stace said playfully, and the exercise ended.

Discussion

This episode not only points to the role nursery song rhythms play in Staciana's language development, but it also shows that Staciana's previous internalization of the letter "b" has made it difficult for Stace to say the letter "v." At this phase, the external evidence points towards the fact that there does not appear to be enough system differentiation between the two similar sounding phonemes, so Staciana's previous repetitive articulation of the letter "b," which she said more often due to its primacy in the nursery rhyme, is reflexively causing Stace to say "b" rather than "v." Eventually, with practice, this focus will shift and Stace will be able to say both the letters "b" and
"v" as separate phonemes.

In the next episode we see Staciana beginning to get a sense of causality.

Vignette #29 4 January 1984

Staciana: age 2 years, 4 months

It was 9:10 A.M., and we were running late on this particular morning. I started to brush Staciana's hair.

"Ow! That hurt!" she complained.

"Does it hurt?" I asked.

"Too fast!" she exclaimed, as she nodded yes to my question.

Discussion

I think Stace's sense of causality is appearing at this phrase of her cognitive development because she has now internalized the period-stop, and is able to recognize two separate elements of thought. The recognition of two elements of thought makes it possible for the separate elements to be put together in a number of ways, one of those related to simple causality.

We begin to see here the birth of a young child's logical reasoning abilities, which at this phase of her development is still rooted in dialogical oriented activity. Once the dialogical activity, seen in this episode, becomes internalized, the young child will be able
to create her own hypothetical situations and come up with her own sense of causality, independent of dialogical activity.

The next episode shows Staciana regressing into an agglutinated syntax and the discussion will offer an explanation as to why the agglutinated regression occurred.

Vignette #30  13 January 1984
Staciana: age 2 years, 4 months

I was sitting on the living room couch with Staciana. A few moments before, Staciana had finished trying to put on her socks and shoes. She had put each shoe on the wrong foot. I used gestures to convey my intent, wanting her to switch each shoe to the proper foot. Stace had understood my silent gestures, and as she switched the shoes I praised her for putting on her own socks and shoes. I then began to straighten the slightly twisted socks. As I did this, Staciana was watching a music video by the group Culture Club.

"Airplane." Stacy said, pointing to the T.V. set.
"What?" I asked, as I tied her shoes.
"I watch airplane." Staciana replied.
"Yeah." I said, seeing the airplane reappear in the video. When I finished tying her shoes I grabbed the small spiral notebook next to me and resumed recording notes.
"I watch airplane, on my Joy." Stace said, as she pointed towards the ceiling as if she were seeing an airplane in the sky.

"You watched the airplane, when Joy left for California?" I said with a "didn't you" undertone in my utterance.


**Discussion**

In brief, the background to this interaction is centered in Staciana's memory of my sister Joy's visit, about two and a half months before. Joy had stayed for about a month, then returned to California. My daughters had grown very attached to their Aunt Joy, and when we took her to the airport they were very sad. We had watched from an upper level of the airport parking garage as the airplane Joy was on took off. Both of my daughters had cried as the plane disappeared into the sky.

This episode indicates that the airplane in the Culture Club music video triggered a visual memory in Stace's mind of seeing her Aunt Joy get on an airplane that flew away into the sky. I think the agglutination occurred because Stace's memory of the experience was primarily centered in her mental imaging system, and as previous episodes indicate, her lingulistic system has not yet come to dominate the mental imaging system. Emotional trauma may also be
precipitating the agglutinated form.

The next episode was recorded immediately after the above episode and will show Staciana using standard syntax.

**Vignette #31  12 January 1984**

**Staciana: age 2 years, 4 months**

Staciana and I were still sitting together on the couch. Stace was watching music videos as I filled in details of the last episode.

"I like that dress," Staciana said, as she pointed to a girl wearing a white dress in a Jean Luc Ponty music video.

"You like that dress?" I said.

"I like that dress. ... ...," she said. I could not make out the second set of elements in her linguistic string. I kept trying to get Stace to repeat the words more clearly, by approximating phonemically what I thought she had said. She kept responding by repeating the same phonemes, but I still could not make sense from the sounds. As Stace repeated the words, the girl on the music video was dancing and her flowing white dress swirled around her. I then caught the first word she was saying and asked:

"Lisha's dress?"

Staciana would not bend to my distortion of the second part of her utterance and kept repeating, "Lisha's -----."

I was about to give up hope for getting an accurate
transcription when the image on the screen and Stace's words converged in my memory, and I said:

"Alisha's slip?"

Stace nodded in agreement.

"Yes, it does look like Lisha's slip," I said, realizing Staciana had been saying "Lisha's slip" all along.

**Discussion**

The episode begins with Staciana expressing herself in standard adult syntax: "I like that dress." Why is Staciana able to express herself in this instance, in standard syntax, but was unable to in the preceding vignette? Both linguistic strings contained two sets of elements. The preceding episode's linguistic string: "Airplane, on my Joy." contained the element "airplane" relative to the element of "Joy." The linguistic string in the above episode contained the element of Staciana ("I") relative to the element of "dress." The elements in the second episode are closer to Staciana's experience, both chronologically and substantively. It should follow, that an expression of those elements would be an easier task and would require less of a focused concentration. Also, emotional trauma did not play a role in this episode's linguistic string.

The episode also has a linguistic string with two sets of elements separated by a period-stop: "I like that dress. Lisha's slip." Stace abbreviated the second element:
"Lisha's slip." because this thought is coming from Stace's inner visual memory, rather than from the linguistic system. Stace seems better able to use standard syntax when she is referring to immediate experiences rather than past experiences.

The next episode occurred the next day and shows a different form of language agglutination.

**Vignette #32  **14 January 1984, 9:30 A.M.  
**Staciana: age 2 years 4 months**

I was in the kitchen to make the children breakfast. Staciana opened a kitchen drawer where we keep our kitchen utensils and pulled out a can opener, and asked.

"This toppy?"

"It's for the tops." I answered, smiling at the apparent neologism Staciana had coined to signify the can opener.

"I cook." Staciana said to herself and started to play with the utensils in the drawer.

As I made breakfast and took notes in my 9 1/2 x 6 inch spiral notebook, Staciana told me she had to go potty. She walked over to sit down on the potty chair and said to herself:

"No pants." as she sat down, noting the fact she was not wearing pants or underwear.
"All done potty, poopy." Stace said almost immediately.

"What?" I asked.

"All done potty, poopy." she repeated louder.

"O.K." I said, as I continued taking notes.

"Potty, poopies." Stace reminded me, wanting me to wipe her bottom.

"All done potty, poopy." She repeated, then got off the pot, went to the chair next to the silverware drawer and continued to play with the kitchen utensils.

At this point, I told Stace I would wipe her and walked over to the microwave oven table to get some toilet paper. Stace recognized the cue, bent over, then stood up quickly and said:

"My head," as she rubbed her head as if she had bumped it on the floor.

"You bump your head?" I asked.

"My eye," she said. I realized she was now referring to the bump incident that had happened earlier in the morning as the children had jumped on the bed.

After I wiped her, Stace went into the living room and returned with a spoon, saying:

"This spoony. I got it."

"Put it in there." I said, nodding towards the kitchen sink.
"In there?" Stace asked, as she started to place it on the counter-top next to the sink, rather than in the sink.

"In the sink," I said.

"In the sink," Stace repeated, and put the spoon in the sink.

As Staciana walked away from the sink she said to herself:

"Oh yucky spoony."

Discussion

In this episode Staciana's use of the terms "topyy" and "spoony" appear to be neologisms, but I believe her words should be more accurately characterized as agglutinated words, combining the noun/objects with their verb/functions, and follow a language rule Staciana implicitly learned in the course of her experiences. The rule she generalized is that one can sometimes change a noun/object into a verb/function by adding the suffix "y" to a noun. Examples of this are also in this episode.

We refer to the toilet Stace sits on as the "pot," and when she has to "go" the action is referred to by using the verb "potty." The same occurs in reference to the noun "poop," and the action of going poop is termed "poopy." Changing a noun to a verb by adding the suffix "y" is a form of agglutination following specific language rules. When Stace's focal point to the can opener was the convergence of
the object with its function, which is the removal of tops, she applied the "y" rule she implicitly learned from "potty" and "poopy" and came up with "toppy," an apparent neologism, but upon closer examination seems to be more accurately characterized as an agglutinated noun/verb combination.

Staciana applied the same "y" rule in relation to the noun "spoon." By adding "y" she animated the object and made "spoony" an agglutinated noun/verb signifier.

There are probably two related reasons why Staciana agglutinated her words in this episode. The first reason is related to her inner mental imaging system which functions holistically in Staciana's memory. In her memory, the noun/object is not separated from its verb/function. Hence we have the generation of an agglutinated noun/verb form. This agglutination reflects the conceptualization associated with Staciana's inner imaging system.

The second reason for the agglutination is directly related to the first. The young child's perspective, before the internalization of adult linguistic characteristics, differs from the perspective of the adult because the child has not implicitly learned the distillated concepts of animate/inanimate objects and the corresponding noun/verb differentiation. As language experiences are internalized, the organization of reality as reflected in these experiences, alters the child's perspective of reality to become closer to the perspective of the adult.
Due to the dominance of a child's inner imaging system, which is involved in the memory and conceptualization of whole activities, the very young child appears to perceive reality in a cartoon-like world where there is little differentiation between objects and functions. The differentiation does not occur until the child has internalized adult language experience. The preponderance of repetitive and systematic categorization, and the consistent application of rules of syntax combine with words and their associative combinations to alter the child's perspective to reflect the adult's mental organization linked to an organized experiential environment.

As the young child's perspective changes correlatively with the internalization of adult language characteristics, the child's application of language rules changes to conform to each new level of perception. Agglutinations do not disappear from a child's speech because they are relegated to a sanctuary in the recesses of the mind labeled "inner speech"; rather, agglutinations and other language forms peculiar to young children become subsumed and obliterated as a young child's perspective is altered by the internalization of adult language characteristics, reflecting organized and systematic adult neurological behavior. As we have seen in a previous episode, emotional trauma may cause a young child's expression of thought to revert back to a central focus located in the inner imaging
system.

The next episode shows Staciana using both standard syntax and abbreviated syntax in the language interaction. Near the end of the episode Staciana's language seems to be centered in the inner mental imaging system, but she then focuses her attention on a nursery rhyme. The evidence in this next episode indicates the young child may prefer the systematic mental organization that linear expression gives the mind over associatively organized holistic mental processes that are characteristic of inner mental imagining.

**Vignette #33  17 January 1984, 7:45 P.M.**

**Staciana: age 2 years, 4 months**

In this episode I had just come into our apartment after having jogged home from the library. Alisha was sitting on the floor watching television. Judy and Staciana were sitting on the couch.

"Mommy, my breakfast," Staciana said, pointing to one of the glass microwave bowls we use to warm up food.

"It's all gone," said Judy, reaching over to the table the T.V. rested on. She lifted the bowl slightly so Stace could see inside.

"What's in there?" I asked, as I removed my damp sweater and shirt. "Oatmeal?" I added, guessing that the bowl may have contained a breakfast cereal because Staciana had called her dinner, "breakfast."
"Yes," Judy answered.

"Did you refer to her dinner as "my breakfast," I asked Judy, wondering why Stace confused the two terms.

"No." Judy replied. "I said, "oatmeal.""

A few minutes later Alisha went into the kitchen; took a leftover cob of corn from the refrigerator; removed it from the plastic bag; put the corn in a glass top of a microwave bowl; put the top in the microwave; turned the microwave on to heat the corn; removed the corn; and came back into the living room to eat her corn. After this activity, Alisha neglected to turn off the microwave, so when she closed the door, the microwave continued to operate. When the microwave stopped, Staciana called to me from the kitchen.

"Daddy, all done. Ready."

"Daddy," she called out a few moments later, wanting me to stop recording notes and open the microwave for her.

"O.K." I said, as I walked into the kitchen. Alisha had also asked for a bowl.

"All done, ready," Stacy said. As I approached her, Staciana tried to peer into the oven through the metal screening.

"Stace, it's empty," I said, opening the door to show her.

I remained in the kitchen and heated up some leftover meatballs in the microwave. I made a meatball sandwich and
sat down at the kitchen table with a glass of milk to eat dinner. Staciana sat in the high chair and asked me:

"What's that?"

"Meatballs," I said.

"Meatballs and pickles," Stace said, correcting me, then added, "I like meatballs. Meatballs and pickles."

"You're allergic to meatballs," I said. "They have tomatoes on them."

Stace climbed from her high chair onto the kitchen table and reached out to touch the remaining meatballs in the glass bowl.

Don't touch them," I said, not wanting her to have an allergic reaction.

"Meatballs, sick, make, my coughing. Sick right now. My throw-up on the bowl."

Staciana then reached towards me and I held her shoulder, afraid she might fall from the tabletop. I sat her on my lap as I continued taking notes, my meatball sandwich losing warmth with each passing moment. Staciana nestled in the crook of my right arm, and again said:

"My throw-up on the bowl."

I could not respond because I had just stuffed a huge bite of sandwich into my mouth.

"I say my throw-up on a bowl," Staciana said, expanding the elements of her thought.
I finally swallowed my mouthful of food and wiped tomato sauce from my fingers so I would not get it on Staciana. By this time Staciana had shifted her focus from trying to get me to respond, to cooing "Daddy, Daddy" as she nestled comfortably in the crook of my arm. I continued eating and taking notes, pleased to have captured the language interaction.

A few minutes later Staciana started singing softly to herself, and repeated the following utterances over and over again:

"a, b, c, d-- e, f, g-- next time won't you-- sing with me?"

Discussion

At the time of this episode I did not associate the meaning of the nursery rhyme Staciana had started singing with what had occurred at the end of the episode. In retrospect, I realize she may have been referring to the fact that she wanted me to talk to her next time, rather than be occupied with eating and recording notes. Perhaps this may be the reason this particular nursery rhyme has achieved such prominence in the folk customs of our young children. Parents are often too busy to interact to the degree their young children would like, so the child reverts to the substantive meaning of the nursery rhyme when being ignored by the adult, i.e.: "next time won't you sing with
I believe another possible reason for Staciana's expression of the nursery rhyme can be found if we examine another aspect of this episode's context. As in Vignette #30, a traumatic memory seemed to trigger an agglutinated utterance. In this episode the memory of an allergic reaction seemed to cause Staciana to revert back to the type of abbreviated mental organization found in some of the previous vignettes. The memory of illness weighed so heavily on Staciana's thought that it was difficult for her to switch her focus.

She did manage to switch her focus by cuddling up to me, and the security calmed her thoughts. She was then able to switch her focus to a different type of mental organization, that of linear linguistic expression that the recitation of the nursery rhyme lended itself to.

As mentioned by way of introduction for this vignette, the young child may prefer the systematic mental organization that linear expression gives, especially if the mind is being soothed by the rhythmic qualities often found in nursery rhymes. Perhaps the intuitive leap of perception expressed in Vignette #26 is closer to the point than I realized. Motive-free play may not only be the metaphorical mother that gives birth to linguistically oriented aspects of a young child's development, but some of the rhythms found in motive-free play may help soothe and calm the
child's mind analogously to the becalming action used by a parent to rhythmically rock a young child out of a distressed state.

Regardless of the validity or invalidity of these hypothetical arguments, the evidence indicates that play and the characteristics of nursery rhymes helps the young language learner express a type of linear linguistic organization that is reflected in adult language characteristics.

Vignette #34 will reiterate the importance of shared familial experience to the understanding of Staciana's utterances. The episode will also introduce the role our older daughter, Alisha, has played in Staciana's language development.

Vignette #34 20 January 1984, 8:00 A.M.
Staciana: age 2 years, 4 months
Alisha: age 5 years, 4 months

In this episode Alisha and Staciana were watching a "Tweety-bird" cartoon on T.V. I was sitting across the room putting on my shoes. Staciana then said something I could not understand:

"... ... ... ... ..."

I heard the utterance as either, "All done that ... rabbit." or "Andy that ... rabbit." I did not respond because I was taking notes. Staciana repeated the
utterance, and this time I heard: "Andy like that bunny, rabbit." I was not sure about the word "bunny."

"You mean Andy at Tu's house likes that bunny rabbit?" I said, guessing that she was referring to our babysitter's son.

"No, she means, Anna likes the bunny rabbit," Alisha interjected, placing emphasis on "Anna."

"Anna at Tu's house?" I asked.

"No, Anna who was over last night," Alisha offered. She then looked pointedly past the television set. I followed Alisha's line of sight and saw Anna's stuffed rabbit on the typewriter table behind the television set.

"Oh," I exclaimed, as I clicked into the children's context.

Discussion

In this episode Alisha and Staciana had shared experiences that I had only been peripherally involved in, so Alisha was more attuned than I to the context of Stace's utterances.

As one can observe, I attributed meaning to Stace's utterances by projecting my own sense of related experience, and I initially misunderstood Staciana in the process.

Other family members often assume the role of interpreter when we misunderstand each other's utterances. The next episode shows a similar circumstance.
Vignette #35  23 January 1984, 11:30 A.M.
Staciana: age 2 years, 4 1/2 months
Alisha: age 5 years, 4 1/2 months

In this episode I was sitting in the living room when Staciana walked in and said:
"My macaroni and ... ...."
"You want macaroni and two shoes Ish?" I asked, trying to approximate phonemically what Staciana had said.
"She wants macaroni and tuna fish," Alisha interjected, from where she was playing in the dining alcove.

The notes were interrupted at this point, and I do not recall the activity I became involved in.

Discussion

Alisha was more attuned to Stace's utterance because both children frequently have their mother fix macaroni and tuna fish for them. I do not like to eat a lot of pasta because I have a weight problem, so I do not make the children macaroni and tuna fish to avoid the temptation of eating the fattening food. Not only was my experience with macaroni and tuna fish further from the experiences of my children, I probably had a mental block related to my aversion to the macaroni and tuna fish. This block may have interferred with my full understanding of Staciana's utterance.
The next episode is out of chronological sequence and occurred about two and a half weeks prior to the last episode. The episode again shows Alisha being more attuned than I to the historical context of Staciana's utterances.

Vignette #36 4 January 1984, A.M.

Staciana: age 2 years, 4 months
Alisha: age 5 years, 4 months

In this episode I was at the kitchen table and called Alisha over to examine the paper mache giraffe we had started making. As we were examining the giraffe, Staciana took out Lego blocks and began assembling a structure. Lego blocks are rectangular plastic pieces that can be interlocked to form a variety of structures.

When Staciana had completed her play she walked into the kitchen and said:

"Look Daddy." Showing me what she had assembled.

"What is it?" I asked. "A house?"

"...." she said.

"Lego blocks?" I asked to confirm what I had not clearly heard.

"She said, 'robot'." Alisha interjected, annunciating her words with a greater degree of precision than she normally uses, so I would be sure to understand what Staciana had said.
"Oh, a robot." I said.

"Robot," Staciana repeated.

"That's really neat," I said as I walked to the refrigerator to get some bologna for a sandwich.

As I was making a sandwich, Judy came into the house after having been outside to warm up our Chevette. Staciana went up to Judy and said very succinctly:

"Robot!"

"Oh, a robot," Judy said, as she laughed.

Then as we were getting ready to leave the house, Staciana walked over to the Lego bag and told me she was going to put the robot away, making sure I was watching her actions. We then left the house.

Discussion

In this episode, Alisha was attuned to experiences she shared with Staciana so she was able to translate Staciana's utterance. It is interesting to note that Alisha enunciated the words with a greater degree of precision than she is accustomed to using. Staciana followed Alisha's lead when Staciana told her mother what she had assembled.

It appears in this episode Staciana implicitly learned that she has to sometimes concentrate more on the precision of her enunciations if she is to be understood by the adults who have not shared the same experiences as Alisha and herself. The demand for focused concentration to bring
about clarity of enunciation is also helping center Staciana's thought processes in the developing linguistic system.

The next episode returns to a chronological ordering and shows many of the characteristics of Staciana's language development that have been discussed in previous episodes. The interaction also introduces Judy correcting Staciana's use of the personal pronoun "me," by directing Staciana to use "I" instead.

**Vignette #37 31 January 1984, 9:12 A.M.**

**Staciana: age 2 years, 4 1/2 months**

In this episode Alisha, Staciana, and I were sitting at the kitchen table. I was recording notes while Staciana was carefully unwrapping a package of Smarties (small pieces of candy) from a cellophane wrapper. She was placing each piece in a bowl in front of her. As she did this, she was singing:

"Teeter totter wash your hands in dirty water."

One of the smarties fell on the floor, and Staciana expressed concern about it. Alisha, who was sitting next to Staciana, bent down to pick up the Smartie for Stace. Suddenly Alisha started crying and holding her head.

"You're O.K., Lish," Stace said, using exactly the same words I would have used if I had not been busily recording the activity. I looked up from my notes and
openly smiled at Stace, struck by the words and tone of her utterance. Alisha saw my smile and said to me:

"Don't do that! I'm not O.K. I hurt my head. Down there." Alisha pointed to the tennis shoe Staciana had on and kept rubbing her head. I guessed at this point that a strand of Alisha's long hair may have caught on Staciana's shoe. I called Alisha over to me and held her, not daring to use the phrase "You're O.K. Lish," that had once more reflexively popped into my thoughts.

We continued eating our breakfasts, as Judy put on her long coat, preparing to go outside to warm up the Chevette.

"Smarties all gone," Staciana said, as she walked over to her mother who was at the green chair next to the kitchen table, gathering up her book bag and the children's "Le Bag" to take out to the car.

"My finish it," Staciana added to get Judy's attention.

"You finished your Smarties," I said, feeling somebody should respond to Staciana. I knew Judy probably would not respond; she was privately simmering because I was recording notes rather than helping to get the children ready to leave the house.

"My finish it," Staciana repeated.

"Stace, say: 'I finished it,"' Judy corrected, as she switched registers to focus Stace's attention on the final elements of her utterances.
"I finished it," Staciana repeated.

"Did she say: 'I finish it.'?" I asked Judy, checking on the accuracy of my transcriptions.

Judy substantiated the observation. We then put our coats on and left the house.

Discussion

This episode introduces for the first time the role explicit parental correction is playing in Staciana's language development. This differs from the adult's restatement of a child's abbreviated utterances, which seems to result in an implicit form of correction.

Recently we have begun to correct Staciana's utterances when we notice she is making consistent mistakes. We usually ignore mistakes that seem to be a result of Stace's immature language development, but we are able to sense when Staciana is ready to handle certain types of explicit correction at any given phase of her language development. When we explicitly correct Staciana's language expression, we are usually careful not to correct her if the corrections will interfere with the flow of the communicative interactions. The proper time to correct Staciana is something that Judy and I sense, rather than something we do with explicit Intentions.

As can also be observed in this episode, Staciana repeats the correction out loud, which seems to be a step in
the direction of internalizing the standards of the adults in Stace's language experience.

Another feature of this episode is Staciana's use of the phrase "You're O.K., Lish." As mentioned above, if I had not been occupied with the note-taking I would have responded to the activity with the exact same utterance, which had come into my conscious awareness. This indicates a reflexive aspect of language that is generated by historically embedded activity related by analogous elements.

Reflexive language usage differs from basic conditioned response activity as seen in lower level physiological activity because of two major factors. First, the evolving nature of human activity, as it is related to young children's language and cognitive development, makes previously conditioned aspects of a young child's behavior malleable relative to new experiences. This was first discussed in Vignette #20.

The second factor that sets reflexive language characteristics apart from the more basic forms of conditioned response activity is related to the characteristics of conceptualization that occurs in the mind. As discussed in Vignette #20, human activity is experienced as reflecting highly organized patterns of historical behavior. The language associated with young children's activity has the surface level wedded to
immediate experience and the deeper level related to historically grounded conceptually organized experiences.

These two levels of language activity are set in opposition to each other, while at the same time are working as an integrated unit as thought is occurring. Surface level phrases, which have been internalized, reflexively come to consciousness as conceptualizations organize around an intent. As we use reflexive phrases linked to historical conceptualizations, we hear, if speaking, and see if writing, the effects of our words. If the effect matches our intent, then we continue our conceptual dance, focused and carried by the rhythm of our syntax towards a linguistic representation of our conceptualizations.

The thought process, as described above, assures that we will not become robots and slaves to our own internalized and reflexive language characteristics because new intentions linked to new and immediate experiences change and reorganize our conceptualizations. In a sense, the conceptualization process is always undermining previously conditioned aspects of our linguistic experience. As the human experiences new patterns of activity, intentions change, and the new intentions call for recombinations of language to reflect different aspects of new conceptualizations.

Despite the above characteristics of thought, which sets the reflexiveness of language apart from more basic
conditioned activity, reflexiveness is an integral part of thought processes and seems to penetrate all levels of language usage. As in the above episode, many of our phrases have been internalized to the point where we can say them in our speech, or write them as we write, without having to focus our full attention on the phrases themselves. This allows us to think (organize converging past and present experiences) between our reflexive expressions enabling us to move thought along a planned avenue of expression. The initiation and expression of mature thought, as expressed in mature language usage, has some of the following interpenetrating elements:

1. An intention or motive which comes from a physiological, emotional, or psychological need to change either the internal or external environment.

2. A host of concepts linked through memory to past experiences associated with the intention or need which selectively come to mind as a result of past experiences converging with an immediate activity.

3. The linguistic associations derived from linkage to the associated conceptual experiences that are organized around an intention.

4. Underlying neurological characteristics that are located primarily in the linguistic system. These neurological characteristics include the focusing qualities of syntactical rhythms and the organizing qualities of the
1. Period-stop.

5. Reflexive words and phrases which we use to represent conceptualizations. These reflexive words and phrases provide spontaneous recognition of the organized patterns of experience signified by the words themselves.

6. Filler words and pauses in our syntax to refocus our thought on our intent relative to what has already been expressed.

7. Aural and/or visual linguistic information, which feeds back into the thought processes, allowing us to judge from a different vantage point if our expression is matching our intent. The constant information-out/information-in circular process allows the mind to be constantly attending to a central thematic focus.

8. Associative elements of language related to conceptualization, which helps provide the intuitive leaps between one conceptualization and the next.

If an intention or motive that generated the language expression to begin with is strong, then the process will maintain focus and coherence due to the focusing characteristics of language that enable thought to circumscribe a central thematic focus. If the intention or motive to express a thought is weak, or if an associated trauma interferes, then properties of extended, coherent thought will break down at the point of interference. As has been noted, the inability of a young child to express
extended thought in a single linguistic string is related to the child's inability to control the neurological systems associated with the period-stop and complex syntactical rhythms which were learned with the help of the expression of nursery rhymes. We also find a breakdown occurring when an associatively triggered traumatic memory brings about a disorganization of thought, or when a young child spontaneously associates as a result of not pursuing intermediate or long term goals.

The breakdown of extended thought also occurs in the child because the young language learner has not yet internalized enough words and their associative combinations to express their conceptualizations using spontaneous reflexive elements of language, linked to the organized patterns of experience that the conceptualizations represent. We will see in the language episodes of my older daughter Alxa that she has the ability to express an extended thought, replete with adult language characteristics and logical constructions, but this ability to structure her expression has out-distanced the internalization of specific words and phrases linked to organized patterns of experience. This causes her word choice and language usage to be rooted in analogy, rather than rooted in the concrete expressions of standardized adult language usage.
When we examine characteristics of dialogical interaction between parent and child, relative to the above theoretical considerations, we see that the young child's intention often moves the dialogue towards a goal associated with their intention. At other times, the child appears to be reflexively responding to an association that has been triggered by an element of, and/or in, the adult's linguistic strings. Sometimes the associative response is linked to an aspect of sound in the adult's utterances (association linked by rhyme), rather than a conceptual element of sense underlying the adult's linguistic strings. We have observed this at the end of the language episode in Vignette #28, and in some of the language interaction in Vignette #19. At other times, the child's linguistic response is linked to a deeply embedded historical association as seen throughout the past episodes.

As the child begins to establish control over their own mental processes, as a result of recentering those processes in the linguistic system, and the focus shifts from the previously dominant inner imaging system, the maturing language learner starts to become independent of formerly dependent dialogical activity which was necessary to bring about their interactions. The result is an ability to independently express intended elements of thought that are directly connected to the internalization of underlying language characteristics, initially experienced through
dialogical activity and motive-free play.

The next episode shows that Staciana has begun to exert more control over the ability to express an extended and coherent linguistic string, but the development of this ability has preceded some of her experiences, so she comes up with the sentence: "You put salt on apple juice?"

Vignette #38 8 February 1984, 9:20 P.M.
Staciana: age 2 years, 5 months

In this episode Staciana asked Judy for a "hamburger and mustard" to eat before she went to bed. Judy initially said there were no hamburgers left, but then decided to make some anyway. Judy put Staciana on the countertop so she could watch, and told Stace not to move. Stace promptly turned her upper torso around and grabbed a container of salt, knocking over a bottle of medicine in the process. Judy was frying hamburgers when Staciana asked:

"What's this?"

"Salt," Judy said.

"You put salt on apple juice?" Stace asked.

"No, I don't put salt in your apple juice. I put salt on the dough in pizza, when I make pizza." Judy replied.

"No salt in pizza," Stace stated.

"Yes, I put salt in pizza, and in your oatmeal," Judy corrected.
"No salt in oatmeal," said Stace.

"Yes, I put salt in oatmeal," Judy said, then added aloud to herself: "What else do I put salt in?"


After the hamburgers were cooked, Judy got a can of frozen apple juice and put some of the contents and some water in a plastic Tupperware container. Stace was still sitting on the countertop when she said:

"No shake it. My spoon."

"You want to stir it? O.K." Judy said, and gave Stacy a spoon. She told Staciana not to drop the spoon into the container. As Stace stirred the contents, she sneaked little sips of apple juice.

Discussion

This episode shows Staciana linguistically expressing a fairly well-focused question: "You put salt on apple juice?" This indicates that some of the nursery rhyme characteristics she had previously used have now became a part of her linguistic system, allowing her to lock onto the type of syntactical rhythms needed to express longer utterances and extend elements of her thought.

The next episode shows Staciana using another six word sentence and also shows where personal history and mental
preoccupation may cause a confusion of interpretations.

Vignette #39  18 February 1984

Staciana: age 2 years, 5 months

Staciana stopped in the kitchen archway and said:
"My Kool Aid all (muddy)," as I heard it, or "My Kool Aid all (money)," as Judy heard it.
"What, Stace?" Judy and I asked together.
"My Kool Aid all (...). Find it."

Judy and I checked with each other and we both had heard a different adjective.

Staciana then pulled a pair of round-ended scissors from behind her back, and Judy asked Stace if she wanted stickers. Stace said "Yes," so Judy took some sheets of colorful stick-on children's stamps from the cabinet under the kitchen sink. Staciana then asked Judy why she had put the stickers in the garbage. Judy told Stace she had put them next to the garbage, rather than in the garbage.

"You put in the garbage, Mommy," Stace said.

"That's great," Judy said. "Now I have three people to answer to," noting that Stace's developing independence had begun to manifest itself by contradicting Judy, something that Alisha and I probably do too much of.
Discussion

This episode shows Stace using another six word sentence, and uttering a linguistic string that has a period-stop between two elements of conceptualization. It also shows that Judy and I had projected our own mental preoccupations onto Staciana’s Kool Aid utterances. I believe Judy and I heard different adjectives Stace used to describe her Kool Aid, for related but different reasons.

For the past few days "mud" has been on my mind. We have had a recent warming trend and a lot of the ice has been melting. The day before, I had taken Lish to Tuttle Park, aptly labeled "Tuttle Puddle" by a neighbor, to teach her how to ride the bike she got from Santa Claus at Christmas. The tires sank into the mud and my plans had to be scrapped. A few days before this our family had gone to High Banks park to search for the elusive deer herds. Those plans had to be scrapped due to muddy conditions. Also the morning of this episode, as I was walking Stace towards the house, I had wondered if she would choose to walk up the slope as she liked to do, or the steps. Stace had chosen the steps and had told me the slope was "too muddy." Due to these recent experiences revolving around mud, I probably reflexively projected the adjective "mud" onto Stace’s utterance.

Judy, on the other hand, is always preoccupied with our lack of money, due to the fact we are both students and have
little income. She is the person responsible for writing out checks for the bills, so her concern is understandable. Upon reflection, Judy, hearing the adjective "money," seems related to her projection of personal experience.

Since Staciana's intention, which generated the initial utterance in this episode, did not seem to be important because she switched her focus quickly, I let the matter of misunderstanding drop.

The next episodes were also recorded on 18 February 1984 and will conclude this part of the dissertation related to developmental aspects of Staciana's language acquisition. In the episodes we will see Staciana expressing herself in fairly well-formed sentences and can observe her use of the word "why" to question the reason behind my own response to her utterances.

Vignettes #40  18 February 1984, 11:40 A.M.

Staciana: age 2 years, 5 months

Judy, Alisha, and Staciana were sitting on the couch in the living room while I was in the kitchen taking notes. The children were watching cartoons, as Judy studied.

"I'm going to check the clothes now," Judy said, as she got off the couch and walked towards the kitchen to go into the basement.
"I go with you, O.K.?") Stacy asked, articulating each word slowly and carefully.

"O.K." Judy replied, as she continued walking towards the basement steps.

"No. You go by yourself." Stace said, when she was distracted by the cartoons on television.

A few moments later Staciana decided against watching cartoons and called after Judy:

"Oh, you hold me. I no go by myself." An element of concern had crept into her voice. Judy by this time was in the basement tending the wash, and had not heard Stace's request.

Staciana then ran from the living room into the kitchen and stopped in the small foyer at the top of the basement steps. Stace called out to Judy, but neither Judy nor myself understood what Staciana had said.

"What, Stace?" Judy asked from the basement.

"Not by myself," Stace said, as she lingered at the top of the basement stairway.

"There's no reason to be in the basement now," Judy said, as she came up from the basement. "It's not ready yet," she added, referring to the wash.

"Yes," Stace countered, wanting to go into the basement alone. Staciana then started whining. I intervened at this point by asking Judy to get Stacy from the top of the stairs, as I kept recording observations. Judy relented
as she and Staciana went back into the living room. Judy resumed her studies next to Alisha who was now napping, and Staciana watched cartoons.

Discussion

Staciana has begun to slow her utterances and articulate each word succinctly when she expresses herself in linear oriented adult-like linguistic strings. One can hear the concentration in her delivery as she focuses her attention on the linguistic expression of her thought. This aspect of Staciana's language development has become necessary because, for the past few weeks, Judy and I have both noted that Staciana has begun to occasionally stutter at the beginning of an utterance. She does not stutter after an utterance has begun to be expressed.

In light of previous discussions, this new evidence indicates that Staciana is at the edge of having the ability to place her primary focus in the linguistic system, rather than in the previously dominating inner imaging system.

Special Note

Staciana's stuttering at the beginning of an utterance only lasted a few more weeks. This evidence indicates she successfully transferred her focus to center in the linguistic system.
In this episode we also see where a basic reflex is in conflict with a more willful motive, and the more willful motive comes to dominate Stace's activity. The reflexive reaction occurs when Stace is attracted by the cartoon on television after having started to follow her mother. Cartoons play on reflexive aspects of a child's physiological system, attracting them with a lot of movement and a colorful rainbow of activities. In this case, we see that Staciana responded reflexively, but the motive of wanting to be with her mother in the basement was strong enough to wrest Stace's attention away from the reflexive aspects of her neurological system, and center her focus on a more willful intention.

In a previous paper, I argued that the human being's senses are in relative balance to each other when compared to the sensory system of other life forms. This relative balance allows the human being to overcome the tendency to be reflexively attracted to a single element in their experiential environment by the refocusing of their attention on a different element of experience related to a host of internalized motive configurations. In this episode the internalized motive configuration of Staciana wanting to be near her mother, and also wanting to play with her toys in the basement, was enough of a factor to re-center her central focus on an intention related to a willful future activity. This willful intent came to dominate the
reflexive activity of being attracted to the cartoons on television. Willfulness is not only linked to the linguistic system as discussed in a previous vignette, but has the neurological substrates of relatively well balanced sensory modalities that allow us to overcome the type of reflexive behavior we observe in simpler life forms.

The next language interaction was recorded the same morning as the last episode and shows Staciana asking the question "Why?" for the first time.

Vignette #41 18 February 1984, 12:18 P.M.

Staciana: age 2 years, 5 months

I was sitting at the kitchen table figuring the amount of calories relative to grams of protein that different foods contained. The table was a mess and had on it: baby dolls, empty bowls, felt-tipped pens and paper, Alisha's school papers, clothes, and other things.

I took a break from the calorie figuring and went into the living room to talk with Judy. When I returned a few minutes later I found Staciana on a chair next to the table, and she said:

"I do that," showing me red marker scribbles on the kitchen table.

"You can't do that," I told her.

"Why?" Stace asked.
"Because you can't do that," I told her.

"Why?" Stace asked.

"Because you can't write on the table," I said, as I searched for a cloth to wipe off the marks.

"No write on table. Too messy." Stace exclaimed, as she tried to rub off the marks with her thumb.

**Discussion**

In this episode Staciana came up with her own reason why she should not write on the table when I did not offer a reasonable explanation. It can be seen that she did not take my utterance, "You can't do that," literally, rather she inferred that there must be a reason why she was not allowed to write on the table, since she had in fact written on the table. Staciana's awareness of the conflict between the literal and the inferential elements of my utterance generated the question "Why?" Once the "Why?" question became an element of her thought, she was able to answer her own question because she is able to control those characteristics of linguistic activity that allow for the combination of two elements of thought: effect indicating a cause. Again, we see the young child expressing a sense of causality here. This episode differs in Staciana's first expression of causality as seen in Vignette #29, because the elements of causality are expressed within the context of her own thought, rather than a dialogical context as seen in
Vignette #29, approximately six week previously.

The ability to externalize the causative related elements found rooted in previous dialogical activity is a major development in Staclana's evolving thought processes, and puts her functionally in the realm of adult cognitive processes. She now only needs linguistic experiences that will allow her to internalize language structures representing more complex organized patterns of adult activity, to become a mature language user and cognizer.

Final Summary of Staclana Vignettes

From age two years to age two years, five months, we have seen the rapid cognitive development of a young child relative to various aspects of language acquisition connected to historically organized patterns of experience. We have seen characteristics of external dialogue become internalized by the child, and have seen that play and nursery rhyme rhythms allow a young child to transcend previously habituated behavior. We have seen the central focus in a child's cognitive activity gradually shift from being centered in the mental imaging system, to becoming centered more in the linguistic system. The discussions also pointed out that conceptualization is holistic in nature due to its connection to the inner imaging system, and is a result of the convergence of past experiences with the associations found in immediate activity. We have
discussed reflexive aspects of language and have examined the role motives and intentionality play in human willfulness and cognition. The discussions also presented hypothetical arguments as to what elements are involved in extended and complex thought, and finally we have seen an independent expression of causality by a young child in the final vignette.
CHAPTER III

VIGNETTES: ALISHA

Introduction

The next series of vignettes are some of the communicative episodes I recorded involving our older daughter Alisha. The data will not be arranged in a strict chronological order, rather the episodes will be arranged around various categories.

The format of the vignettes will remain the same. First the language episode will be described, followed by a discussion related to the evidence and some of the theoretical considerations discussed in preceding vignettes. In many of the following vignettes, I linked numerous language episodes together, before the related discussion.
Vignette #42  24 November 1983

Alisha: age 5 years, 2 1/2 months

I gave Alisha a bowl of Wheaties with milk and sugar. After she finished the Wheaties, Alisha asked for more, directing me not to give her any more milk or sugar because there was still some left in the bowl. I poured more Wheaties into the bowl, and this time Alisha finished everything in the bowl. Alisha requested more, saying:

"Daddy, put in half sugar, half milk, and half Wheaties."

I assumed Alisha was requesting just the right amounts of Wheaties, milk, and sugar, so there would be no milk or sugar remaining when she finished eating the Wheaties. This assumption was based upon our family custom that the children are supposed to eat all of their food, and the fact that Alisha does not like to drink the leftover sugary milk in the bottom of the bowl after she has finished the cereal.

I tried to pour the proper amounts into Alisha's bowl, and as I did so, I explained to Alisha that when three things are involved, and you want to express equal amounts, you should say one third, rather than one half. I then told her, that when two things are involved, you say one half.

Discussion

In this episode Alisha was able to communicate her intention linked to her underlying conceptualizations,
although the surface structure of her utterance indicated she did not have enough experience to express the underlying concept with the degree of specificity that many adults would render it. In a sense, Alisha's conceptual abilities have outdistanced her language experiences, so she resorts to a form of expression that relates analogous elements to the immediate experience, so the adult will be able to infer her intent from the surface structure of her utterances.

At one level of awareness, I did correctly infer her intention and consequently poured what I thought would be the proper amount of Wheaties, milk, and sugar into the bowl, so no milk or sugar would be left when Alisha finished eating the Wheaties. At another level of awareness, I responded more to the surface structure of her utterance, than to the intent of her utterance. One can observe this when I respond to the "one half..., one half..., one half" elements of her expression by mistakenly telling her that she really wanted to say "one third Wheaties, one third milk, and one third sugar." In retrospect "one third sugar" would be an absurd amount of sugar to put into a bowl of cereal.

If we examine the activity, relative to my two different responses, we can see that my actions were directed by inference which is rooted in past familial customs as the memory of those customs converge with the immediate activity. On the other hand, the thought
processes more closely associated with my own linguistic system responded to the surface structure of Alisha's utterance.

Despite the two levels of response, Alisha's intention was understood and precipitated an action on my part, to bring her goal to fruition. At the same time, Alisha had a new learning experience that began to teach her about how one specifies a fraction of something which is less than the conceptualization of one half, already linked to her memory of past organized patterns of experience.

This language episode presents evidence of how the surface structures of our utterances are interacting at one level of awareness while our intentions, conceptualizations, and actions are operating at an inferential unconscious level.

If what we are seeing in my actions is unconscious activity based on inferences linked to past conceptualizations, then we have a good description of the surface layer of unconscious mental behavior. The surface layer of unconscious behavior in this episode can be seen when I respond to the deep structure of Alisha's utterances by automatically and spontaneously inferring her intention.

A deeper layer of my unconscious behavior can be seen when we examine what motivated me to respond to the surface structure of Alisha's utterance, in a literal sense. As mentioned in one of the Staciana vignettes, Judy and I
correct our children's utterances when we sense the corrections will not interfere with the communicative interaction. Our long term goal of wanting to teach our children to speak standard English is based upon the belief that speakers of standard English usually have an easier time in schooling and subsequently will have learning experiences which will lead to desirable occupations. This deeply held belief has been internalized to the point where it influences our behavior without having to explicitly think about it: i.e., the belief has been linked to past conceptual experiences and as we experience analogous activity in our immediate environment, not only are associated conceptualizations generated in our mind, but those conceptualization have this strong belief linked to them. This deeper layer of unconscious behavior can be labeled subconscious behavior.

I also hold the subconscious beliefs that children can be taught to think. This belief is so deeply rooted in my subconscious that when the opportunity to teach the children to think presents itself in the context of immediate activity, I not only unconsciously respond at one level to the intent of my older daughter's utterances, but I also respond subconsciously with an intention linked to my own belief system.

Both unconscious and subconscious responses are automatic if the circumstances are appropriate, and this
brings us to conclude that a goal, first expressed as a belief, can dive deep into the layers of subconscious conceptual experience and reorganize those experiences to include the belief that becomes transformed into a subconscious intention.

The next episode shows that a four year old's thought processes are working in a similar way. This was one of the episodes of Alisha's early language development that I managed to salvage.

**Vignette #43  16 December 1982**

**Alisha: age 4 years, 3 months**

Judy had just brought Staclana home from the babysitter's house, along with some of Alisha's decals that had been mistakenly left there. Alisha brought the decals into the bedroom where I was writing at the desk.

"Daddy," Alisha said, "did you forgot you were going to do this with me? Oh no!" Alisha exclaimed, "we forgot jumping jacks again."

**Discussion**

In the above episode Alisha had brought the decals into the bedroom to have me help her stick the decals on the pages of her decal book. The first part of her utterance
was generated by this motive. When an element of Alisha's own linguistic string, "forgot," was allowed to get the attention of her subconscious (after she expressed the conceptualization linked to the first part of her utterance), the word "forgot" triggered the next part of Alisha's utterance related to the jumping jacks.

For the previous three days, I had been promising Alisha I would show her how to do jumping jacks outside. I would not show her inside, because at the time people lived in an apartment below us. My promise had prompted Alisha to occasionally remind me of the jumping jack lesson, but I kept putting her off, waiting for the weather to warm up. Since the jumping jack activity (replete with the linguistic element of "forgetting" associatively linked to it) had been important to Alisha, her simple verbalization of the word "forgot," in a context with almost totally different elements, triggered her subconsciously held motive and brought the associated conceptualization to the surface of Alisha's conscious awareness.

This episode presents evidence that indicates Alisha's mental processes are functioning similarly to my own mental processes in previous vignettes. The only difference is that a goal rather than a belief is linked to Alisha's conceptual experiences, which have been reorganized around the goal of wanting to be taught how to do jumping jacks.
We have evidence here that a goal, causing a mental reorganization at the conceptual memory level of a young child's experience, is indicative of the same mental reorganization process that occurs when a belief of an adult reorganizes the mental processes by becoming linked to past conceptual experiences.

The next three episodes in Vignette #44 show similar mental processes at work.

**Vignette #44  19 December 1983**

**Aliasha: age 5 years, 3 months**

Aliasha and I were in the car together as I drove down High Street in Columbus to pick up Judy at The Ohio State University. As we were stopped at a red light, I asked Aliasha why she thought there were traffic lights. She could not come up with an answer, so I told her to think about it and let the matter drop.

**4 January 1984  Aliasha: age 5 years, 4 months**

This episode occurred three weeks after the previous language interaction when I had asked Aliasha to think about why there were traffic lights.

Our family was in the car, returning to our apartment after having looked at Christmas lights on houses in the suburb of Upper Arlington. Suddenly Aliasha said, without being prompted:
"I know why there are lights, Daddy... Because some streets don't have stop signs."

"That's right, Lish" I said, adding: "In fact I never even thought about that aspect of the problem I gave you. I was looking for a different answer, but your answer is excellent! It's great! You're making me think differently."

I then explained to Judy that I had given Alisha a problem to solve a few weeks earlier, and I had asked her to think about it when she felt like it. After explaining to Judy the context of Alisha's utterance, I then asked Alisha to consider the problem deeper and come up with another answer.

29 April 1985 Alisha: age 6 years, 7 months

I was in the car with Alisha driving down Lorain Avenue in Cleveland, Ohio. There was a lot of traffic and we had to stop at numerous traffic lights. We were sitting quietly, when Alisha said:

"Daddy, a long, long time ago (I think I was four years old), you asked me why there are traffic lights. It's simple... so simple, I can't believe it. It's because the cars will crash!"

I congratulated Alisha on solving the problem I had given her one year and four months before, then I pulled into a parking lot and promptly wrote down Alisha's
utterances that I had kept repeating in my mind.

**Discussion**

In the above three episodes we can see how a goal can lie dormant in the subconscious of a young child's mind, then resurface in the conscious awareness of the child when the mind is ready to respond with a new answer based upon the internalization of new patterns of experience, representing a new perspective relative to the subconsciously held goal.

Alisha's answer in the second episode was based upon riding around in a car in a suburban housing development that had a lot of stop signs at intersecting streets. This new information in an analogous context converged with a past experience, enabling the associatively reorganized conceptualizations to fountain into the consciousness as a new perspective.

The final episode was also analogous to the first two episodes, although Alisha's perspective (related to internalized organized patterns of experience), had become more sophisticated. This sophistication allowed for the convergence of immediate activity with previous conceptualizations associated with a specific goal, and reorganized those conceptualizations into a new perspective. She knew instantaneously when the perspective reached her conscious awareness that her new perspective matched the
perspective I held, when she had been asked the original question one year and four months earlier.

I had never brought up the subject of the original question except in response to Alisha's two subsequent language interactions, but Alisha's desire to answer the original question reserved a place in her subconscious, until she had enough information to answer the question adequately. This further indicates that a strong desire, transformed into a goal, can not only be subconsciously linked to conceptual experience, but the subconsciously held goal can reorganize immediate experience as the goal causes past conceptualization to resonate sympathetically with new experiences. When conceptually organized patterns of experience, centering around subconsciously held goals and beliefs, converge with new activity, new perspectives are born. From new perspectives, conceptualizations merge to issue forth associated elements of sense. The new perspectives allow elements of sense to come together with their associated symbolic signification that represents extended thought. These elements of thought are linked to levels of increasing conceptual complexity.

The next four vignettes reflect various developments in Alisha's perspective from age 4 years, 3 months, to age 6 years, 10 1/2 months.
Vignette #45  16 December 1982
Alisha: age 4 years, 3 months

I was in the bedroom writing a song as Alisha was playing. She happened to be passing a lot of gas, so I said:

"Lisha, you better go poopy."

"I don't have to," she replied.

"Are you just passing gas?" I asked.

"Yes," Alisha said.

"I bet you have to go poopy then," I told her.

"No I don't," she said. "You're just making your imagination."

Discussion

In this interaction, Alisha is sure she does not have to go to the bathroom. She infers that if I believe she does have to go, when she really does not, then my belief is coming from my imagination rather than being rooted in fact.

The evidence indicates that Alisha understands the abstract concept of imagination and is able to attribute that understanding to another person. We have the seeds of meta-cognitive awareness in this dialogical interaction.

The next vignettes show other aspects of Alisha's perspective as it relates to both herself and to others.
Vignette #46  9 September 1983

Alisha: age 5 years

Alisha and I had just dropped off Staciana at the babysitter's house. We were driving by Medary Elementary School when Alisha noticed the crossing guards standing at the corners of an intersection, and said:

"I think five year olds could cross the street alone."

"I don't know, Lish," I replied. "The trouble is... is that five year olds sometimes forget to look when they cross the street."

"I don't forget to look both ways," Alisha argued, "because the parked cars remind me to look for the other cars coming."

Discussion

The above language interaction indicates that Alisha is being egocentric to a certain degree by attributing her own sense of the world to the sense of other children her own age. Her experiences have yet to teach her that age is not a reliable criterion to use when judging the awareness of others.

Alisha does express an awareness of what external experience triggers her own behavioral and mental activity. Her awareness of cognitive activity was present in the last episode when Alisha was 4 years, 3 months, and this episode indicates she has internalized aspects of that awareness,
originally attributed to a person other than herself, and has begun to reflect a meta-cognitive awareness of her own mental processes.

In the next episode Alisha uses the word "mind" appropriately in reference to her own behavior.

vignette #47  23 January 1984
Alisha; age 5 years, 4 1/2 months

Our family was sitting at the kitchen table, and Staciana was staring off into space. I asked Judy about this as Judy formed ground beef into hamburger patties. Judy said Staciana probably had not had a nap earlier in the day because sometimes the children at the babysitter's house keep each other up by talking.

As I ate a salami sandwich and dill pickle, I suggested to Judy that we visit my grandmother that weekend at the Masonic Home. She had been sick recently, and when Judy said it would be nice to visit her, I added that we really should, because she was probably going to die soon.

"Then I'd only have three grandmothers," Alisha interjected, "then two, then one...." Her voice trailing off in sadness.

I saw Alisha's expression and told her not to think about her grandmothers' dying. Alisha grew sadder and tears welled up in her eyes. I gently repeated that she should not think about it.
"I can't help it, my mind makes me do it," Alisha said.

I then told Alisha that sometimes the mind makes us do a lot of things we do not really want to do, and Alisha agreed.

Next, I tried to distract my oldest daughter by giving her some pickles. Alisha responded by saying they were her favorite kind, because the pickles were the kind she had over at her grandmother's house, a long time ago.

We started talking about the lunch Alisha's great-grandmother Racica had served us two years before, and Alisha's sadness at the thought of her grandmothers' dying retreated from her conscious mental occupations.

Discussion

In this episode Alisha rightly attributes her sadness as coming from her mind, and understands that her mind is making her sad even though she does not want to be sad. For background, to Alisha's concept of sadness relative to dying, it should be added that Alisha had a little puppy that we had to bury when it had died. Much of her sadness at the thought of dying is associated with the experience of burying her puppy. This conceptualization converged with the immediate linguistic experience and produced the reflexive emotional reaction, because there were no elements present in the context of her immediate experience that
demanded her focused attention.

This vignette has portrayed Alisha's growing sense of meta-cognitive awareness.

The next language episode occurred when Alisha was 6 years 10 1/2 months, and shows a different aspect of her meta-cognitive awareness.

Vignettes #48 19 July 1985

Alisha 6 years, 10 1/2 months

Judy was at work, and I was rushing around trying to get our two daughters ready so I could drop them off at the Y.M.C.A. day camp. I was tired from the night before, because I had been working on the dissertation, and had only gotten four hours sleep.

Judy telephoned from work, as is her habit in the morning, to say hello to me and the children. As is our custom, Alisha and I had allowed Staciana to answer the phone. Alisha then said hello to her mother, after which I talked to Judy for awhile. I told Judy about my studies from the day before, and then I was going to let Staciana say a final goodbye and hang up the phone.

"Alisha—hang up the phone," I mistakenly said to Staciana.

"Alisha! You mean Staciana!" Alisha exclaimed, correcting me.
"Staciana, come hang up the phone," I said, piercing through my tired mental state.

"Daddy," Alisha said, as Staciana came over to hang up the phone. "Next time, think before you say. That's what I..." she stopped in midsentence, then began her thought again. "Next time, think before you say. That way you always get it right."

**Discussion**

This episode shows that Alisha is aware that she can consciously control her own thought processes to bring about a desired result: that of lucid expression reflecting her intent.

The four previous vignettes show that a young child has a degree of meta-cognitive awareness and mentally comes to use that awareness to help control their own thought processes.

The evidence suggests that some young children may not be as egocentric as some child psychologists contend, and their perspective goes through many transformations to reflect the adult orientations of their own language experience.

The next language episode shows how Alisha is very sure of a perception she has, and argues emphatically to get her
Vignette #49  18 December 1983
Alisha: age 5 years, 3 months

As I began the activity of making cheeseburgers for the children's lunch, Alisha asked if she could "watch-help." Alisha uses the compounded term "watch-help" to mean that she will watch a little and help a little.

After I had made the cheeseburgers and Alisha had taken a bite, she said:

"I hate the meat, because it tastes like nipples on bottles." She was holding a clump of partially chewed food in her hand.

"It's just the gristle in the hamburger," I told her. "Not all the meat has gristle in it, Lish."

"Yes it does," Alisha whined. "Taste it."

"This hamburger is the same," I said, as I took a bite from my own sandwich. "It's not all gristly."

As I chewed the bite, I heard and felt the dill pickles on the sandwich, softly squeeking between my teeth. The elements in the activity converged as I realized the pickles had a rubbery feel, and surmised from this that Alisha may have been inadvertently attributing the nipple taste to the meat, rather than to the pickles, which may have been triggering her conceptualization.
"It's the pickles that taste rubbery," I said. "Take them off and the hamburger will taste better."

Alisha removed the pickles from one side of the cheeseburger and asked, "Are there pickles on the cheese side?"

"No." I answered.

"Oh" she said, then added, "Now let me see," as she took a bite of her cheeseburger.

"Mmmmm. Now it tastes much better," Alisha said, and then ate about half of her sandwich.

Staciana said "nipped, nip-ed" in the background, as I wrapped the leftover sandwich in Glad Wrap and put it in the refrigerator.

Forty-five minutes later, Alisha told me she was hungry, so I heated the leftover cheeseburger in the microwave and gave it to her.

"Dad, this still tastes like nipples," Alisha said. "The ones you suck on, not people's nipples, but plastic nipples."

"No it doesn't, Lish," I said.

"Yes it does. Taste it!" Alisha emphatically argued.

As I tasted the sandwich, Alisha accompanied the activity by saying: "That tastes like nipples."

"It tastes delicious to me," I said.

"It tastes like nipples to me. The ones you chew on," Alisha countered.
To help support her point, Alisha went over to the drawer where we keep our kitchen utensils and other miscellanea, and rooted around for a plastic nipple, left over from when Staciana was still drinking juice from a bottle.

"I can't find..." Alisha said, her voice trailing off in disappointment. Then seemingly out of the blue she said:

"Because I don't have the same taste as you. That's why."

This statement ended the episode, because my attention was distracted by the notes.

Discussion

The interactions in this episode indicate that as Alisha grows more sure of her own conceptualizations, and as those conceptualizations collide with my own perceptions, she is required to use very specific language to get her conceptions understood, and, she hopes, eventually agreed to. Alisha's micro-dissertation has in it elements of mature thought processes. She not only uses specific language to express her conceptualizations, but she searches for evidence to support her claims.

When she found me occupied with my notes at the end of the episode, Alisha's thought processes continued in the dialogical argumentative modality, and those mental processes responded to an unasked question, by saying:
"Because I don't have the same taste as you. That's why."

This indicates that she was anticipating what I normally would have asked her, had I not been preoccupied by my note-taking. My unasked question would have been formulated along the following lines: "Why do you think the cheeseburger still tastes like nipples, when we already took off the pickles?"

The evidence indicates that argument, first rooted in dialogical interaction, becomes internalized by the child. The characteristics of dialogical argument then form the basis for independent argumentative reasoning.

The next episode returns to the theme of reflexive words and phrases that are internalized by the child to represent instantaneous linguistic representations of past organized patterns of experience.

**Vignette #50  17 December 1983**

**Alisha: age 5 years, 3 months**

Alisha was sitting at the kitchen table eating Tater Tots and pickles, while I was busy trying to grab a pickle in the pickle jar. Suddenly we heard a noise bouncing down the stairs.

"Staciana, are you O.K.?" Alisha asked in a concerned voice. I had not responded to the "thump-thump" sound because I realized an object had fallen down the stairs,
rather than Staciana. Judy said that she perceived the sound as I did.

Ten minutes after the "thump-thump" incident I said to Alisha:

"Lish, when we were all sitting at the table, and heard that noise, did you think Stace fell down the stairs?"

"No, I thought that the toy fell down," Alisha answered.

"Then why did you ask Stace if she fell down the stairs?" I asked.

Because I thought that Stacy fell down, but she didn't. The toy fell down." Alisha said with finality, and the episode concluded.

Discussion

When I recorded this episode, I realized that Alisha had used the phrase, "Staciana, are you O.K.?" in exactly the same way I would have used the phrase, if I would have perceived Stace having "thump-thumped" down the stairs. But due to the nature of the sound, the phrase had not come into my conscious thoughts.

Judy and I both concur that our children often use the exact same phrases we have used in the past when an analogous activity occurs. The only difference in their use of phrases to represent analogous activity is not in their language usage, but in their unconscious conceptualization
of what composes an analogous activity. Due to their limited experiences the children associate some activities as having analogous elements when Judy and I do not. Consequently, we saw Alisha reflexively saying: "Stace, are you O.K.?" In this episode, when Judy and I had not.

In legal language, when two cases share enough analogous elements, so that a previous ruling in a case can be used as precedent in another case being considered, the cases are said to be "on point." In the above episode, from an adult's viewpoint, there were not enough analogous elements in the immediate activity to converge with past experiences to reflexively generate the utterance: "Staciana, are you O.K.?" On the other hand, Alisha, in her limited experience, perceived the immediate activity as being on point with her past experience, so the convergence of the immediate and past activity generated the reflexive phrase: "Staciana, are you O.K."

As Alisha has more experiences, she will begin to reflect a more mature perspective and she won't respond in the same reflexive way unless converging activities are on point.

The next episode reflects other reflexive aspects of language development.
Vignette #51  25 December 1983
Alisha: age 5 years, 3 months

We were in the kitchen and Judy got up from the table and said she was going to do the dishes.

"I thought we were going to play with "Popeyeds"," Alisha said.

"Popeyeds?" I said, laughing.

"I mean Popolds," Alisha said, as she laughed at calling the toys "Popeyeds," rather than the correct name, "Popolds."

Discussion

Alisha's verbal slip is directly related to the amount of experience she has had with the word "Popeye" and the "Popolds." Alisha has seen the "Popeye" movie with Robin Williams playing Popeye numerous times on cable, and we have also checked out the video tape from the Columbus Public Library to view at home. On the other hand, Alisha's experience with "Popolds" is more recent, because she had just received a set of the jointed interlocking plastic pieces from Santa Claus that morning. Since Alisha's linguistic experience with the word "Popeye" had already been internalized, and her linguistic experience with the word "Popolds" had not, when Alisha expressed her intention to play with Popolds (coming from a mental imaging conceptualization), the conceptualization linked itself to a
similar sounding term as it passed through and linked up with Alisha's linguistic system used to express a verbal representation of her conceptualization.

As Alisha experiences more activity centering around "Popoids," she will use the term, think about the term, hear the term, touch the object the term represents, and, shortly will have enough experiences so the term will not be reflexively represented as "Popeyeds," rather it will take its legitimate place in Alisha's mind, as being "Popoids." After this day, Alisha did use the correct term in reference to the Popoids.

The next episode represents another utterance triggered by association.

Vignette #52  27 December 1983

Alisha: age 5 years, 3 months

Alisha was standing on a chair looking out the backdoor window and was anticipating putting some bird food outside.

"Wouldn't it be nice if it was warm out here," Alisha said.

"I wish...," I said.

"I wish you a Merry Christmas. I wish you a Merry Christmas. I wish you a Merry Christmas, and a happy New Year," Alisha sang in response.
Discussion

In this episode Alisha reflexively responded to the "wish" element in my utterance. The word "wish" converged with the spirit of the season, and Alisha started singing the song. She did hold the short term goal of wanting to put the bird food outside, but since this goal was not representative of the type of activity that demanded her full attention, she could respond in a playful manner. Play seems to be what our minds engage in when we have no pressing needs to upset our mental balance.

The next vignette shows Alisha using analogy to express her conceptualizations which have not yet been associatively linked to the type of language experiences that would specify concrete signification.

Vignette #53  28 December 1983
Alisha: age 5 years, 3 months

It had been wet outside the night before and since it was late December in Ohio, the late night had turned cold and by the following morning there was a lot of ice outside. Now, the sun was in the sky, and the frozen water was beginning to melt. Alisha was looking outside through the kitchen window.

"Daddy, the waterfall on the table froze last night, when it was raining," Alisha said.
Judy and I looked outside and saw a row of dripping icicles hanging from the edge of a table.
"Lish, the water is freezing faster than it can drip from the table," Judy explained to Alisha.
"It's also doing it on the hanger," Alisha said.
I followed my daughter's line of sight. "It sure is," I said, adding: "You mean the clothesline pole."
"Yes," Alisha said tentatively.
"You mean the clothesline Lish? The rope?" I asked, due to the tentativeness of her response.
"Yes," Alisha said, with confidence.
"It's called a clothesline," Judy said to Lish, with a teaching tone.
"A clothesline," Alisha repeated.
We all then focused on separate activities.

Discussion
Alisha's use of terms to signify analogous elements of her experience allows her to communicate with Judy and me. In this communicative interaction, Judy and I had to strain to understand Alisha's orientation. In order to make communication easier in the future, Alisha's analogical representation was corrected, and given a greater degree of specification. The correction and restatement was a natural outgrowth of Judy and Alisha's shared intent to communicate to each other effectively. The desire to share experiences
and conceptualizations relative to each person's perspective, found its first expression in Staciana's dependency on the parent for her physical needs. The dependence of the child on the parent for the fulfillment of physical needs, becomes expanded to include emotional needs, and later communicative needs, which all reflect the young child's need to love and be loved. Language acquisition and subsequent cognitive development not only have their genesis in shared human experiences, but are inextricably linked to dialogical communion.

The next episode shows Alisha using analogy again to express her conceptualizations.

**Vignette #54  28 December 1983**

*Alisha: age 5 years, 3 months*

It was a slushy December day as I was driving down High Street. I decided to pass a car in front of me, and Alisha said:

"The car is ice skating too fast."

I concentrated on passing the car and Judy told me to slow down.

"Remember when the car ran into the sign?" Alisha added, to lend support to the argument and emphasize her concern.

"Curb," I said, correcting her.
After I recorded the dialogue, Alisha and I had a conversation about whether our car had slid into the curb or a sign the week before. Judy interjected and said from where she and Alisha were sitting it looked as if the car was going to run into a sign. I then asked Alisha if she could still see the sign in her mind.

"Yes, it even has a °° and °°° on the sign," Alisha said.

I looked at Judy questioningly, but she shrugged.

Discussion

In this interaction, Alisha has used analogy to make her intentions known. She also recalls a fairly vivid mental image linked to her conceptualizations.

The next vignette shows how specific words are immediately understood by the child to represent conceptualizations, and also shows another reflexive element of language.

Vignette #55  12 January 1984

Alisha, age 5 years, 4 months

Alisha and I were reading a story together that I had read to her the night before. At first, when I would read to Alisha, I read, and she listened while looking at the accompanying pictures. She grew bored with stories that I
read to her that did not have accompanying pictures.

During this winter we had gone numerous times to the Columbus Public Library and checked out beginning reading books. These books had large print, pictures, and short words that were repeated throughout the story. When I would read a story to Alisha, I would read a line, pointing to each word as I said it aloud. Then I would ask Alisha to read the sentences back as I pointed to each previously recited word.

Alisha had done this particularly well the night before the current episode transpired, so during the night of this episode, I wanted to see what she had remembered. When I asked Alisha to read the beginning of the story we had read the night before, she quickly glanced at the pictures looking for clues, then read the first line correctly:

"Jump, jump, jump."

"See, now you can really read," I said to her.

"Now I know how to do it, without looking at the pictures," Alisha replied. "I thought it would be really fun, but it isn't."

"You see the pictures in your mind, once you read well," I said to encourage her.

As I was writing down the dialogue, Alisha said, "I wish I could write."

"You'll be able to," I told her. "You'll turn reading backwards, and write." I made exaggerated mock writing
motions on my notepaper.

"I want to show you how I write little ... ....." Alisah then said.

I didn't catch the last two words of her utterance, but I handed her my pen. She then drew on the paper.

When I looked at Alisah questioningly, she admonished me: "Don't look at me like that. That's how I write little °o'." Alisah pointed at her script, and I labeled the letters.

When I read to Alisah the last few lines I had written down, she said: "I mean I made an °a', a °u', and a little °o'. See I made three letters."

I marveled at the fact that her script did appear to represent the three letters she had pointed out to me. I wondered to myself where she had learned this.

We then continued the reading activity. I asked Alisah what a particular word was in the next group of sentences. She again searched the pictures for clues, but she could not come up with the answer. I then read the passage for her, pointing to each word as I said it aloud:

"°Here is something to look at. See it go up, up, up, up.°"

Then I had Alisah read the passage with me, but rather than saying "up" when we reached that place in the passage, Alisah substituted the word "high." Alisah continued to substitute a conceptual representation for a number of
words, rather than repeating the literal word, as we read various passages.

I also found Alisha adding "from" everytime we came across the word "away" in a story, even if the passage read "Away. Away. Away.". As we would re-read the passage together, Alisha would reflexively say: "Away from, away from, away from."

Discussion

From the interactions in this episode, it appears that at this phase of Alisha's development she immediately transforms a linguistic experience "up" into a conceptual experience "high," and when asked to repeat the immediate linguistic experience, she pulls an analogous representation "high" from her conceptual experience. It appears we are seeing a merging of the linguistic system with the conceptual system. The evidence indicates that the linguistic system, as it is related to visual stimuli (as in reading words), must go through enough experiences to establish differentiation, similar to the differentiation that occurred in Staciana's linguistic system as linked to aural and articulatory language experiences.

This would also explain why Alisha reflexively added the word "from" to the word "away" as I read the word and she orally tried to follow. In her linguistic experience, which has primarily been aural and articulatory up to this
point, she has internalized the phrase "away from" because she has experienced this phrase commonly in her linguistic environment.

Written expression may differ from oral expression in the sense that written expression may not link the same words together that the child initially experiences as compounded phrases in their aural and articulatory environment. This seems to be the case in the passage we read together where "Away, Away, Away." was repeated three times.

As Alisha has more visual linguistic experiences, she will be put on guard as a result of the adult's corrections, and this will enable her to focus specifically on the visual representations of words. With an increased focus, visual linguistic differentiation should occur and she will not be prone to reflexively respond in phrases to single word triggers.
We can see from this episode the importance of literacy to cognitive and conceptual development. A person who does not learn to read may be somewhat enslaved by their own reflexive aural and articulatory language associations. The activity of learning how to read makes some partially conditioned behavior linked to aural and articulatory language associations partially extinct. Perhaps this is a contributing psychological factor to why people who are functionally illiterate have a difficult time transcending their own class structure. Illiterates are not only mired in the aural and articulatory associations of their own class, but are also chained to the attributive associations of the literate classes.

The next episode in this series of vignettes shows how Alisha transferred elements of an analogous activity to come up with a solution to a problem.

**Vignette #56  23 January 1984**

**Alisha: age 5 years, 4 1/2 months**

Alisha had drawn a snowman, and Judy told me to look at her drawing because Alisha had used a tool to help her make the body geometrical. As Alisha showed me her drawing, Judy told Alisha to show me what she had used to draw the figure. Alisha went to the children's play area and brought back a roll of masking tape.
"These two I made on the sides," Alisha explained, as she first pointed to the bottom two circles in her drawing, then pointed to the outside edge of the roll of masking tape. "And the head I made right here," she further explained, by pointing to the inside edge of the roll of masking tape.

I asked Alisha if she had learned how to do this at school.

"Mmmmm," she responded noncommitally, then added, "I wanted to make a snowman, and I didn't know if I could do it, but I just figured it out. So I did it."

Discussion #1

As I was recording the episode, I remembered that the night before Alisha had drawn a turkey by tracing around her outstretched hand. The outline of her fingers represented feathers, her thumb the head, and the rest of her hand the body. She had drawn a red "beard" hanging from the turkey's thumb/head. When I had asked her the night before, where she had learned to use her hand to draw the turkey, Alisha had told me that her teacher, Marianna at A.C.C., had shown her how to do this.
Continuation of Vignette #56

After I had recorded the above observations I was more curious to see if Allisha had learned at school to specifically use a roll of tape to draw a snowman, so I pursued the inquiry.

"Lish, did you learn at school to trace the outside edges, then the inside of the masking tape to make circles?"

"No," Allisha answered, with more assuredness this time.

"How do you think you learned how to do this?" I probed.

"I just thought of it myself, and I saw if it worked out, and it did," Allisha answered. She had used a different register when she said the internal elements ("I saw if it worked out.") of her linguistic string. The register she used for this element had an undertone of reflection in it.

I quickly wrote in the notes that Allisha was starting to engage in reflective thinking and hypothesis testing.

Discussion #2

In this episode we have evidence of transposition. Transposition is a Gestalt term signifying the transfer of elements from one situation to an analogous situation. Allisha took some elements of her turkey drawing and applied those elements to her snowman drawing. She is dynamically
applying principles of transposition more and more in her thought processes.

The register change that Alisha used to describe her own thought processes in this episode is also important. The register change represents an echo of previous dialogical interaction.

It has been argued in previous discussions that dialogical interaction and dialogical communion is fundamental to language acquisition and related cognitive development. We saw in Vignette #49 that Alisha went through a transition stage in the internalization of dialogical interaction when she anticipated an unasked question and articulated an answer to the anticipated question. Alisha is now capable of coming up with her own questions, not rooted in anticipating the questions from an external source. This anticipatory characteristic of Alisha's independent mental processes allows for reflective thinking and theoretical reasoning.

The register change represents two characteristics of Alisha's thought processes. First, the register change indicated that the thought of the linguistic system was engaging in an interchange of ideas with the conceptual system. Secondly, in the linguistic system thought is rooted within an aspect of mind closely associated with the already internalized expressions of language, and this is very close to Alisha's own natural voice. On the other
hand, the conceptual system within Alisha's mind is more closely related to external experiences, and one of those external experiences is the "voice of others" in dialogical interaction. I believe the register change represented an internalized "voice of others" which has become rooted in the conceptual inner mental imaging system of Alisha's thought processes.

These characteristics, now internalized, allow the personal self of the linguistic system to engage in an interchange of ideas with the "voice of others" in the conceptual system, and the result is reflective thinking and hypothetical reasoning that is provided with an anticipatory aspect derived from the central thematic focus established by a future goal that converges in the interstitial neurological areas linking the linguistic system to the conceptual system. Hence we have integrated and cohesive thought that is a reflection of all the child's past, present, and anticipated future experiences, converging on a central thematic focus provided by the child's intentions.

**Alisha Vignettes Summary**

In the Alisha vignettes we have observed how some of the language characteristics, first observed in the Staciana vignettes, are extended, and how those language characteristics relate to cognitive development.
It is argued in the discussions that many aspects of the linguistic system become automatic and reflexive, which allows for the expression of thought linked to associative elements of the conceptual system which converge around a central thematic focus provided by the goal-oriented intentions of the child.

We have seen that the young child often responds with reflexive linguistic expression linked by an association between immediate and past conceptual experience. It was seen that a child can make a strong intention known through extended language interaction, which first is developmentally rooted in dialogical interaction, then evolves to become internalized, and transformed into an independent monological linguistic expression that is actually a representation of internal mental dialogical interaction.

In the last Alisha episodes, we began to see how the internalization of an anticipatory aspect of dialogue has become a part of Alisha's basic thought processes, allowing for independent reflective thinking and hypothetical reasoning.

We have examined the role language experiences play in the conceptually-linked perspectives of a young child, and have looked at conscious, unconscious, and subconscious behavior as seen through the lens of communicative activity.
A final summary will conclude this dissertation and will specify what I believe the evidence presented in the dissertation has to offer relative to the development and organization of the mind.
CHAPTER IV
SUMMARY FINDINGS

Language, and all of its characteristics, plays a significant role in the reorganization of human activity and correlative cognitive development. The adults in the young child's experiential environment use words to identify what they take to be separable aspects, or objects, or acts, in the world they perceive. Once the identification is linked by the adult to a specific item, that item becomes potentially, or actually, separable for the child as well. In this way, language used dialogically, helps increase the range of differentiations which are includable in the adult-child communication. Differentiation through word meanings plays a critical role in focusing a young child's activity and reorganizing the young child's behavior.

We saw this aspect of behavioral reorganization occurring in Staciana's potty training episodes, where the
focus of the activity revolved around specific signifiers. Once discrete acts have been internalized, replete with associated signifiers, other aspects of the activity can be focused upon by either using the same words in reference to an aspect of the activity, or by using different words to signify a different aspect of the behavior chain.

As the young child has more experiences, those experiences are neither random nor chaotic, but, are highly organized activities revolving around deeply embedded familial customs. These patterns of experience, often reflecting the adult's perspective in the child's experiential environment, come together with language as the child engages in activity.

At first, the language associated with specific patterns of activity seems to be linked to the memory of the activity. In the very young child's mental processes, there appears to be little differentiation between specific activity and associated language. This allows effective communication to occur between child and parent, because a single articulated word by the child can represent an entire organized pattern of deeply embedded familial activity.

As a young child develops neurologically as a result of internalizing more and more patterns of organized activity, the child begins to articulate more words to reflect those organized patterns which have been transformed into conceptualizations in the child's inner mental imaging
processes. At first the young child's articulations are agglutinated in expressible sounds and gestures, but not in words as parts of a reorganized language order. Later, words and language enable a child to use a serial-oriented linguistic system to report on a conceptually oriented inner image system where the relations are arrayed not serially but simultaneously. Once the articulatory aspects of the linguistic system begins to be expressed, the young child has two linguistic systems (the aural and the articulatory) which converge to form new elements of linguistic experience. As the child speaks, the child hears, and the interstitial penetration of the aural and articulatory linguistic systems start to establish their own customs, which, once internalized become somewhat reflexive in nature, spontaneously signifying elements of organized patterns of experience.

As the young child experiences more organized patterns of activity, the adult is unconsciously and subtly directing the child's attention to focus on those elements of experience the adult unconsciously senses to be important to further effective communication. This intention by the adult to further effective communication is often based on the motive to help the child establish his/her own independence so the adult has time to pursue their own goals and interests independently of the child.
As the child's behavior begins to reflect more complex external patterns of organized activity, language is still being used by the adult to further reorganize the young child's experiences relative to each increasingly complex chain of behavior the child has internalized.

The young child, at this point, begins to sense that words have a life of their own, separate from embedded immediate activity, and this word-sense helps to further establish the dominant focus of the young child's linguistic system.

As the child experiences more complex levels of dialogical interaction, important underlying characteristics of language begin to be internalized. The period-stop and the syntactical rhythms of nursery rhymes help the child to center his/her thought expression in the serial-oriented linguistic system.

Once the period-stop and extended syntactic rhythms become internalized, the child begins to exert a certain degree of control over the previously dominant inner mental imaging conceptual system. Through dialogical interaction, the child experiences causative elements of activity, and wedded to this activity are the language characteristics (period-stops, rhythm, conceptualization of "why," "because," etc.) that allow for the expression of two conceptualizations to be associatively linked by causality. Once these language characteristics are internalized, the
child is not only able to articulate a thought containing two elements linked by a causal connection, but the child is beginning to learn how to control the thought processes themselves. At this phase of development, the young child still often reacts reflexively to external environmental experiences, especially if the child does not have an intention that requires the child's focused attention. But as the child grows more independent from the adult, and a young child's behavior begins to reflect increasingly complex patterns of activity, the young child is required to focus his/her attention on complex activity as it revolves around their own intentions. This focusing of extended attention around a complex series of actions to form a complex behavioral chain becomes a dominant force in overcoming the reflexive tendencies of associative language experience. The focusing of extended attention, relative to external activity, forms part of the basis for the young child to learn how to exert control over those aspects of the mind involved in extended reflective thinking.

Evolving word meanings also play a role in the child's experiential environment, as the evolving meanings make previously linked conceptual perspectives somewhat extinct. As the developing child begins to internalize more experiences, the child's perspective changes and reorganizes the conceptual experiences to be in closer harmony with the adult perspectives in their experiential environment.
At various places in the evidence we can see that the child is capable of recognizing the control that the adult has in regard to the adult's own thought processes and the child begins to use language as a heuristic agent to gain control of his/her own mental activity.

Throughout this process the parent and child are engaging in dialogical interaction, and the young child is internalizing the structural and semantic elements of the adult's linguistic experiences. We see in the final vignette that Alisha has internalized dialogical activity to the point where she is able to engage in reflective thinking and hypothetical reasoning, based upon the interchange of ideas from her own linguistic and conceptual systems, converging in interstitial neurological zones of mental activity revolving around a central thematic focus to bring about a desired goal.

As we reach an end of our interpretations of the evidence, we can hypothesize that the linguistic system and conceptual system are not the only neurological systems in the brain engaging in an interchange of information. These two systems do seem to be the axes of reflective thought processes, but many other interpenetrative systems of the brain act as support systems to the conceptualization system. These interpenetrative neurological systems would include all the sensory modalities that form a network of
Information exchange that helps generate specific memory and associated conceptualizations.

Some of the brain's other neurological systems also feed the type of information to the conceptual system that enables the mind to sense specific physiological and/or psychological states in the unconscious. This information, in the form of neurological energy, converges with historically associated conceptualizations, and results in neurologically-based mental activity that revolves around the sense impressions intruding into the unconscious. When this neurological activity reaches a threshold, there is an automatic mental awareness in the consciousness that is organized around the intruding "message" and associatively-linked elements of the conceptual system. At this juncture of mental activity, the individual has the choice of whether to suppress the conceptualizations, or to give in to the intrusive "message" and engage in activity that will put the mental state back into consonance.

These intrusive messages can be temporarily unconsciously suppressed by the willful and purposeful attention of the mind towards that activity which an individual believes to be a more important aspect of their environment. This goal-directed activity creates a dominant energy state that can temporarily override those unconscious and conscious messages that the individual perceives as being less important.
If we examine mental activity on a higher plane of interpenetrative information exchange, we can observe that goal-oriented activity not only organizes different elements of the conceptual system relative to the goal, but a willful and purposefully held goal creates a thematic perspective which enables the mind to select out relevant elements of associated conceptualizations, and ignore tangential elements linked to those conceptualizations which would tend to interfere with the thematic focus.

Young children seem to be distracted by deeply embedded historical word associations that are not critical to extended thematic development, hence the young child often freely associates when engaging in dialogical activity, or digresses when engaging in their own reflective mental processes. As the young child begins to exert control over his/her own mental processes as a result of internalizing extended syntactical rhythms and complex articulatory cadences, the child is also learning automatic words and phrases which represent broad patterns of conceptual experiences. This enables the child to understand and express increasingly complex thoughts. Not only do words represent aspects of specific experiences, but words can also be used to point to the relationships between various elements of experiences. One extremely important relationship that words begin to demarcate, reorganize, and re-establish is the relationship between various elements
found in the child's own thought processes. Once words themselves become meta-cognitive agents to control various elements of one's own thought processes (selected attention, internal dialogical communication, extended thematic thinking), the child has attained the capability of mature thoughtful activity. This capability is developed to its full potential when the child's activity centers around a strongly held goal that requires extended thematic attention to bring the goal to fruition at the conclusion of the child's activity. This extended mental activity, motivated by willful intentionality towards a goal, rooted in historically embedded elements of conceptual experience, channeled by the many characteristics of the linguistic system, allowed my young children's reach to exceed their grasp.
Back to the Classroom

As I indicated in the preface of the dissertation, my original motivation to enter graduate school was to find ways to be a more effective inner-city teacher, and I believe some of the things I learned from the dissertation has made me more effective in the inner-city classroom. When I returned to East Technical High School in September following the completion of the rough draft of the dissertation, I began to do things differently than I had done the year before.

For example, I started out the year by listening closely to what the students had to say both orally and in their writings. I wanted to observe where the students were at conceptually as well as linguistically, therefore I cultivated a sense of freedom of expression in my English classrooms. The first day of class I had the students write down their favorite word (no restrictions attached) and I read these words back to the class without attributing authorship so no one would be embarrassed. The classes were very surprised to hear some of their own favorite words coming from the mouth of their teacher. I must say, many of
the words would be censured under most "formal" conditions, but this exercise set the tone for what was to come in the following months. I told the students that during the first marking period, I was mainly interested in what they had to say, rather than the "correct and standard" expressions of those thoughts, so I encouraged the students to write in their own natural voice and I would not take off for incorrect for grammar or punctuation. During the first marking period the students turned in some remarkable papers from both a conceptual and a linguistic standpoint. During this time I started keeping track of the dialect rules that their natural language expressions followed and those rules closely conformed to the rules summarized by Roger Shuy in *Language Differences, Do They Interfere*. I also noticed that many students had difficulty in organizing an extended thought and many of their expressions seemed abbreviated and agglutinated, although I could usually follow what each student wanted to communicate. I tried editing groups for the purposes of students becoming attuned to other students' "mistakes" but I found that the students did not have a developed enough ear to sense a mistake in other students' writing. I also found that students did not have the vocabulary to look at the language from a metalinguistic perspective. It was at this point that I realized we needed words that signified specific aspects of linguistic activity in order to start talking about that linguistic activity.
This perception brought me back to the words and categories of traditional grammar, and I realized that these words would serve to make the students more aware of the characteristics of their own language usage. Consequently in the next few months I taught traditional grammar using nontraditional methods. Rather than teaching traditional grammar for the purpose of standard English expression, I have been teaching traditional grammar for the purpose of cultivating a metalinguistic awareness in the students who speak in a different dialect. Alongside the categories and rules of standard English, I teach the categories and rules of the students' own dialect. This heightens the students' awareness of their own language usage, and also brings them into contact with the forms of standard English in a nonthreatening way. I never expect the students to write or speak in standard English, in fact I have emphasized the contrary in the initial drafts of their written products. What I have provided for the students are exercises written in their own dialect, which they must "translate" to conform to the rules of standard English. At this point in my classrooms the students are still conceptualizing and expressing those conceptualizations in their own dialect, but are learning how to revise their dialect through a series of exercises that do not threaten their own language experiences.
The next stage in this process will have students begin to revise their own compositions according to the rules of traditional grammar. Each student will eventually be required to turn in two written products when they write compositions. One product will represent their conceptualization as expressed through their own dialect, and another product will be their conceptualizations "translated" into the forms of standard written English. I will look at both products and guide the student in places where I see the communication process breaking down.

My justification for such an approach comes directly out of the findings of my dissertation. I believe that much of language expression is a reflexive expression of a person's concepts wedded to their own experiences. To deny a student, who expresses conceptualizations in ways other than standard English, the opportunity to express themselves in the language wedded to their own experience is not only unconscionable for moral reasons, but is ineffective besides. On the other hand to deny the speakers of nonstandard English the opportunity to participate in the cultural forms that require standard English as a participatory criterion (higher education is one form) can not be justified either. Therefore I believe the only sensible approach is to give speakers of nonstandard English the ability to revise their thoughts into the forms of the dominant culture.
This dissertation taught me that language expression can not be divorced form thought processes and those thought processes are linked to individual experience. I hope the direction of my present study with the students of East Technical High School, in Cleveland, Ohio, will cast more light on the relationships between thought, language, and human activity that I have uncovered through the study of my two daughters' language acquisition and cognitive development. The most important thing I have learned from this dissertation is that I have come to learn a way of knowing that is connected to my own life and the lives of others.
LIST OF REFERENCES


