INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book. These are also available as one exposure on a standard 35mm slide or as a 17" x 23" black and white photographic print for an additional charge.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI
University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700  800/521-0600
A descriptive analysis of teacher thinking in an elementary French immersion school

Salomone, Ann Masters, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1989

Copyright ©1989 by Salomone, Ann Masters. All rights reserved.
A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF TEACHER THINKING IN AN
ELEMENTARY FRENCH IMMERSION SCHOOL

DISSERTATION

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

By

Ann Masters Salomone, B.A., M.A.T.

The Ohio State University
1989

Dissertation Committee:
Elizabeth B. Bernhardt
Gilbert A. Jarvis
Robert Donmoyer

Approved by

Elizabeth B. Bernhardt
Adviser
College of Education
For Ron, who gave so much
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks go to the United States Department of Education, whose grant #R168F80060 supported this research. Much gratitude also goes to my committee, and especially my adviser, Elizabeth Bernhardt, for her faith in me and her willingness to share her expertise.

The special insights of Carolyn Mendez, Christine Coombe, JoAnn Hammadou, and Pat Myrhen gave me courage, as did the support I received from my co-workers in Arps Hall: Betsy Tannehill, Jeanne Bernhard, Barbara Patterson, Wynn Kimble, and Mary Armentrout. I thank them all.

The teachers and staff at "Glenwood" School were wonderful. Without their indulgent cooperation, this study could not have been conducted. I remain in awe of their expertise and dedication.

My hometown friends, Jane Easton, Betsy Nusbaum, Camille Smith, and Jane Whitley, all deserve thanks for the sense of normalcy they gave me. Laurel Call and Rachel Martín provided support and inspiration.

I am grateful to my parents, who raised me with courage and caring; my mother's valued support during this project was unfailing.

But, the greatest sacrifices were made by my men, who accepted my absences in both mind and body. I thank David, for his belief that I would finish; Mike, for his cheerful encouragement; Daniel, who seemed to understand best; and Ron, my partner and friend.
VITA

May 16, 1946 .......... Born—Norfolk, Virginia
1969 .................. B.A., Indiana University
1972 .................. M.A.T., Indiana University
1974-present ........ Part-time French Instructor, Ohio University—Chillicothe
1978-79 ............. French teacher, Huntington High School, Chillicothe, Ohio
1980-82 ............. French teacher, Southeastern High School, Richmondsdale, Ohio
1984-86 ............. French and English teacher, Chillicothe High School, Ohio
1986-present ........ Graduate Research Assistant, The Ohio State University

PUBLICATIONS


FIELDS OF STUDY

Foreign Language Education
Studies in Second Language Acquisition, Supervision, Reading
Studies in Testing, Research, Educational Psychology
Qualitative Research
Educational Statistics
French Translation
Teacher Education

Elizabeth B. Bernhardt
Gilbert A. Jarvis
Robert Donmoyer
John J. Kennedy
Pierre Astier
Donald R. Cruickshank
TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ........................................................... ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................ iii
VITA ................................................................ iv
LIST OF TABLES ...................................................... vii
LIST OF FIGURES ................................................... viii
LIST OF PLATES .................................................... ix

CHAPTER PAGE

I. THE PROBLEM ....................................................... 1
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ............................... 17
III. METHODOLOGY ................................................ 62
IV. DESCRIPTION ................................................... 68
   Pierre ................................................................. 73
   Denise ............................................................... 88
   Marie ............................................................... 106
   Nadine ............................................................. 123
   Patrice ............................................................. 138
   Estelle ........................................................... 152
V. ANALYSIS .......................................................... 166
   Single Case Analyses ......................................... 174
   Cross-Case Analysis ......................................... 250

VI. THEMES, CONCLUSIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY ............................... 288

LIST OF REFERENCES ............................................... 295
APPENDICES

A. Related Documents .................................. 311
B. Samples of Teachers' Materials .................... 331
C. Samples of Data Analysis Printouts ............... 343
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Data Matrix for Pierre</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Data Matrix for Denise</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Data Matrix for Marie</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Data Matrix for Nadine</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Data Matrix for Patrice</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Data Matrix for Estelle</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Crosscase Combination Data Matrix</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Dunkin and Biddle Model for the Study of Classroom Teaching</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Organization of the Dissertation</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pattern of Analysis</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Shavelson and Stern Model of Teachers’ Decision Making during Interactive Teaching</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Room 1—Jardin d’enfants [kindergarten]</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Room 15</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Room 2</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Room 14</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Room 4</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Room 9</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLATE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.  Marie's Bulletin Board</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Nadine's Bulletin Board</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Patrice's Bulletin Board</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Rather than presupposing that the causes for predetermined outcomes are "out there" somewhere in an ordered universe of schooling waiting for discovery by imaginative researchers . . . the researchers' attentions would turn to the subjectively reasonable beliefs that teachers already hold. An examination of these beliefs and the study of evidence bearing upon them would become the initiating focus for teacher effectiveness research (Fenstermacher, 1978, p. 169).

Called "practical knowledge" by Elbaz (1981), "classroom perspective" by Janesick (1977), "principles of teaching" by MacKay and Marland (1978), "conceptions" by Duffy (1977), "beliefs" by Nespor (1984a, 1984c), "images" by Clandinin (1986), and "constructs" by Kelly (1955), the implicit theories (Clark, 1988a) that underlie a teacher's classroom decision making must be understood in order to understand that teacher's behavior. These constructs, however, change over time, often because of changes in teaching context. In foreign language teaching, these contexts can be especially varied. Language teaching can occur in natural settings or in classrooms, where instruction varies according to how much the language is used—from a foreign language context (where the language is studied as an end in itself and the focus is likely to be on language form, rather than meaning) to an immersion context (where the language is a tool for subject matter lessons and the focus is on meaning) (Ellis, 1986, p. 151).
Context variables, according to the Dunkin and Biddle Model for the Study of Classroom Teaching (1974, p. 38), include pupil formative experiences; pupil properties; and classroom, school, and community variables. Context variables, together with teacher presage variables, combine in the classroom setting. Teacher presage variables include teacher formative experiences (social class, age, sex); teacher training experiences (university attended, training-program features, practice-teaching experiences); and teacher properties (teaching skills, intelligence, motivations, personality traits). The interaction of these presage variables with context variables influences teacher and pupil classroom behavior (the process) as well as student achievement (the product).

**FIGURE 1. DUNKIN AND BIDDLE MODEL FOR THE STUDY OF CLASSROOM TEACHING.**
Context variables in an immersion school setting are unique. The classroom and the school function in a language different from that used in the home and the community outside the classroom, causing many to term this approach to language learning "the home-school language switch" (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Teacher presage variables are also diverse because teachers who are able to teach in an immersion setting are often from diverse backgrounds. For example, teachers trained in Europe have had different preparation than those trained in the United States. In addition, because of the nature of European teacher training, formative experiences and teacher properties may also vary from those of teachers trained in the United States. European-trained teachers may be younger, and they may have attended institutions quite different from our teacher-training institutions. All of these factors influence the teacher properties of intelligence, motivation, personality, and teaching skills.

These background variables impact upon the thoughts and conceptions of French immersion teachers and, therefore, upon their classroom behavior. Teachers' actions are a result of their underlying thoughts, according to Clark and Peterson (1986) and Shulman (1986), among others. These thoughts, in turn, are based upon teachers' theories, beliefs, and intuitions, which must be explored before the immersion classroom can be adequately understood.

Statement of the Problem

Many studies have focused on the achievements of French immersion students (e.g., Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain & Barik, 1976).
Swain and Lapkin (1982), in fact, provide a bibliography of 27 pages of studies, nearly all of them dealing with student achievement in immersion settings. Comparing their abilities in English and subject matter knowledge with their English-speaking peers and their abilities in French with their French-speaking age-mates is a continuing project for many researchers (see Immersion, Chapter II). These studies sometimes provide conflicting results: Dissimilarity between the research results of Pellerin and Hammerly (1986) and Swain and Lapkin (1982), for example, confuse the immersion scholar. The contrasts between findings such as these can most likely be attributed to the impact the teacher has had on the students. No studies have, however, explored the behavior or thoughts of this most important person in the immersion setting—the teacher. In order to understand fully the complex activities of the immersion classroom, such an exploration is necessary.

Immersion teachers operate in a singular setting. Differences in their backgrounds influence their conceptualizations of their role, the student's role, their teaching priorities, and the school context. These conceptualizations comprise their language learning/teaching theory. According to Ellis, "All teachers have a theory of language learning. That is, they act in accordance with a set of principles about the way language learners behave. This theory, however, may not be explicit" (1986, p. 2). Stern concurs, stating,

Theory is implicit in the practice of language teaching. It reveals itself in the assumptions underlying practice, in the planning of a course of study, in the routines of the classroom, in value judgements about language teaching, and in the decisions that the language teacher has to make.
day by day (1983, p. 23).

Clark and Peterson (1986) see teachers' underlying thought processes—including teacher planning, teachers' interactive thoughts and decisions, and teachers' theories and beliefs—as direct influences on teachers' actions in the classroom. Rather than assuming a causal relationship of teachers' actions on students' classroom behavior and student achievement, Clark and Peterson see their relationship as cyclical and interactive (p. 257). All classroom behavior influences teachers' thoughts and vice versa.

In order, then, to understand better what is happening in classrooms, it is necessary to explore the thinking and the behavior of practicing teachers. As Clark and Peterson state, "The time seems right for more comprehensive study of the full variety of teachers' thought processes in relationship to teachers' actions and their effects on students" (1986, p. 292).

**Significance of the Problem**

Many acknowledge the value of the immersion approach as a means to achieve communicative competence in a second language. Krashen states, "Canadian immersion is not simply another successful language teaching programme—it may be the most successful programme ever recorded in the professional language-teaching literature. No programme has been as thoroughly studied and documented, and no programme, to my knowledge, has done as well" (1984, p. 61). Stern, writing about the "quiet language revolution" in Canada, states that "the single most important educational event in creating this turn-about has been French
immersion (1984, p. 507). Acknowledging that these programs "owe their inspiration and structure to the successful experience with immersion programs in Canada," Savignon calls the United States elementary school immersion programs the "most stunning examples of language for a purpose" (1987, p. 238) and urges foreign language teachers and administrators to visit an immersion school.

Why is it, then, that some researchers vehemently criticize the immersion experience? Bibeau, for example, concludes that early bilingualism may hinder cognitive development and that immersion students' French is unacceptably inferior to that of their francophone peers (1984, pp. 44-45). Hammerly states that Immersion French is filled with errors caused by interference from English (1987, p. 396), and Lyster (1987) finds that his students "speak immersion," a fossilized interlanguage understood only by participants in the immersion experience. He attributes this to "the need for immersion methodology and materials to change" (p. 705) in order to accommodate the second language learning aspects of immersion. Cohen (1974) reports on a study by Flores (1973, cited in Cohen) who found major differences in methodology, specifically error correction, between two teachers in a Spanish immersion setting. Flores concluded that correction "seems to account for the change from the incorrect form to the correct one" in students' speech (pp. 12-13, cited in Cohen). Teachers' methodologies, then, can be largely responsible for the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the immersion approach in producing intelligible language. The differences among teachers' methodologies and the constructs that underlie them are the subjects of this study.
The need for studies such as this one is expressed by Shulman:

Understanding how and why teachers plan for instruction, the explicit and implicit theories they bring to bear in their work, and the conceptions of subject matter that influence their explanations, directions, feedback and correctives, will continue as a central feature of research on teaching. (1986, p. 26).

Approach to the Study

This study explored the pedagogical constructs of six elementary French immersion teachers and the relationship of these constructs to their classroom decision-making. A naturalistic approach was necessary for this in-depth study of teacher thinking. Verbal reports, both from the respondents and from the researcher, served as data (Ericcson & Simon, 1980). This approach followed an emergent research design; that is, results of data collection and analysis influenced subsequent procedures. To promote trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), several accepted techniques were used.

After an appropriate orientation period at Glenwood Elementary School, the researcher spent two two full teaching days with each of the first- through fifth-grade teachers and two half-days observing the kindergarten teacher. Teachers were videotaped for two hours during these observations, and each observation cycle was concluded with a structured interview of all the participating teachers, following the Structured Interview Questions (see Appendix A).

After editing the two-hour video to 30 minutes each, each teacher participated in a stimulated recall interview, originally used by Bloom (1965) and consisting of "replaying a videotape or audiotape of a teaching episode to enable the viewer (usually the teacher of the
episode) to recollect and report on his or her thoughts and decisions during the teaching episode" (Clark & Peterson, 1986, p. 259). Field notes of the observations provided data that were triangulated with the results of the structured interviews, and the stimulated-recall interviews. Results are herein reported in a case study format (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 357-373). Analyses of all six teachers are reported separately, and a cross-case analysis completes the document.

Purposes of the Study

The purpose of this study was to provide descriptions of the belief systems of French immersion teachers and their interactive decision-making strategies. This "relationship between thought and action . . . becomes the critical issue in research on teaching," according to Shulman and Lanier (1977, p. 44).

No studies of the thought processes of immersion teachers exist, though Edwards and Casserly elicited comments from some Canadian immersion teachers as part of their evaluation of immersion education (1976, pp. 404-418). Carey states that there "are few studies on what actually takes place in an early immersion program classroom" and "that actually document what immersion teachers do in immersion programs" (1984, p. 254). Lambert and Tucker, however, devote six pages to descriptions of two-hour observations in each of the St. Lambert classrooms (1972, pp. 237-242). Several immersion scholars find this insufficient. Tardif and Weber suggest more qualitative studies of the French immersion classroom (1987, p. 69), and Klinck asserts that the "expertise of the classroom teacher must be coupled with research"
According to Stern, new directions to keep immersion's impact positive include immersion research and development and special teacher training for immersion (1978, p. 843).

Without the knowledge of what immersion teachers actually do in the classroom and upon what theories they base their behavior, it is difficult to plan immersion teacher training. A study of their activities and their theories is, therefore, justified both as an end in itself and as background knowledge for the design of teacher education programs. As the phenomenon of immersion continues to grow in the United States, knowledge about its principal players, their behaviors and thoughts, and their teacher preparation is imperative.

The study may serve not only as information for immersion teacher training but also as a description of methodologies that emanate from popular theories of second language acquisition. It may, therefore, prove useful for foreign language education in general. In reference to research in foreign language education, Jarvis (1983) calls for more subject-matter specific research and states that "the description and analysis of observable behavior . . . appears to be a need in the research of the 1980s" (1981, p. 61). Describing and analyzing the behavior of immersion teachers, however, needs to be complemented by an examination of immersion teachers' thoughts. In order to inform the foreign language education profession about immersion teaching, the implicit theories of some immersion teachers must be made explicit. As Ellis states, "It is only when principles are made explicit that they can be examined . . . critically" (1986, pp. 2-3). The present study was conducted in answer to both of these needs.
Research Questions

Although the design of the study was emergent (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), it was guided by the following research question: What do elementary French immersion teachers do and what do they think about what they do? More specifically, the following questions were addressed:

1. What are the pedagogical constructs of six elementary French immersion teachers?
2. Do French immersion teachers integrate subject matter teaching with target language instruction, and if so, when, and why?
3. Do elementary French immersion teachers use the students' native language, and if so, when and why?
4. What are the implicit theories of elementary French immersion teachers about
   a. teaching subject matter
   b. presenting the target language
   c. teacher roles
   d. student roles
   e. the teaching/learning process
   f. the context of the school?
5. Do French immersion teachers believe that teaching materials are appropriate for their students?
6. Are there differences between the pedagogical constructs of European-trained and American-trained elementary French
1. Are French immersion teachers consistent with their implicit theories?  
2. Are there differences between native-speaker and non-native-speaker teachers' error corrections?  
3. Are there factors in this French immersion school context that are related to the school's recent beginnings?  
4. Are there any instances of native speaker/non-native speaker team teaching?  
5. What routines do French immersion teachers follow?  
6. Are there differences between primary and upper elementary French immersion teachers?  
7. Are there any unique uncertainties that occur in French immersion teaching?  
8. Are there implications that can be drawn from responses to the above questions for elementary French immersion teacher education?  

Assumptions  
It was assumed that teachers would respond truthfully and that they are capable of intensive self-study. In addition, it was assumed that the researcher would be as unobtrusive as possible, that she would respect the confidentiality of her respondents' answers, and that she would discuss her findings with the respondents in order to verify their accuracy.
**Definitions of Terms**

*Constructs, beliefs, and implicit theories* were synonymous for purposes of this study. They are defined as the conceptions that teachers hold, in this case, about their pedagogical practices.

*Context* includes "organization and community influences on teaching, constraints arising from the nature of the students being taught, and constraints originating in the task structures of classroom organization" (Nespor, 1984a, p. 3). For this study, the specific context is an elementary French immersion school in a large midwestern city.

*Immersion* is an approach to foreign language teaching in which regular subjects are taught through the medium of the foreign language. Early total immersion is characterized by instruction completely in the foreign language for the first two years, followed by the addition of English language arts classes for one-half hour per day for two years, then a gradual increase in English language instruction until by fifth grade, half the day is taught in French, half in English.

*Interactive decisions* are defined as teachers' "on-the-spot decisions that change their plans or behavior in the classroom" (Clark, 1988a, p. 9).

*Naturalistic inquiry* has the following characteristics (Lincoln & Guba, 1985): (a) natural setting; (b) human instrument; (c) utilization of tacit [intuitive] knowledge;
(d) qualitative methods [as opposed to quantitative];
(e) purposive sampling [to maximize variations]; (f) inductive data analysis; (g) grounded theory [resulting from data analysis]; (h) emergent design; (i) negotiated outcomes [analyses discussed with respondents; (j) case study reporting mode; (k) idiographic interpretation; (l) tentative application; (m) focus-determined boundaries; and (n) special criteria for trustworthiness [credibility measures].

Teacher thinking is a relatively recent research orientation that studies the processes of classroom teacher behavior rather than the products of their behavior.

Limitations of the Study

The study was limited most severely by those constraints that apply generally to qualitative research: dependence upon teacher self-report and intrusion of the researcher's personal biases. These limitations are inevitable, but a concerted effort was made to acknowledge them openly when they appeared to be especially problematic. As a high school and college French teacher, the researcher's perspective was limited but became broader as the study progressed. An elementary-prepared researcher would have conducted a very different study.

Time constraints, as always, limited the study, as did the researcher's reluctance to probe too deeply into the respondents' personal lives. Having presented the research as a study of what
teachers do and why, the researcher believed that limiting probing was important. In her experience with Europeans, she has found that the abstract third-person discussion is far more acceptable than the personal first-person expose.

After only one year of immersion teaching, the respondents' inexperience and awareness of immersion theory may have biased their responses toward theory rather than practice—toward the acceptable theoretical response rather than one that may emerge after more experience.

Lack of generalizability is often considered a problem in qualitative research, but Donmoyer (1988) reminds us that generalizability is limited in both quantitative and qualitative research. He argues that:

skilled clinicians will always be required to determine whether a research generalization applies to a particular individual, whether the generalization needs to be adjusted to accommodate individual idiosyncracy, or whether it needs to be abandoned entirely with certain individuals in certain situations (p. 9).

Generalizability, as it is traditionally defined, may be suspect in any kind of research.

**Organization of the Dissertation**

Chapter I states the problem, Chapter II reviews both immersion and teacher thinking literature, and Chapter III describes the procedures followed in the study.

The remainder of the document follows an organizational pattern from the specific to the general—the inductive approach that
qualitative research dictates. Chapter IV presents detailed
descriptions of each of the six respondents, their classrooms, their
students, and their daily routines. The School Day section is a
composite assembled from more than two days of observations with each
teacher. Chapter V becomes more general with its single-case
analyses—each teacher's behavior and thought is analyzed by category.
The remainder of the chapter consists of an even broader view—a
cross-case analysis by category of all the teachers' data. Chapter VI
is the most general section of the dissertation, offering themes that
permeate all the categories of behavior and thought, followed by general
concluding remarks and suggestions for further study. Figure 2 offers a
graphic representation of this organizational pattern, while Figure 3
represents the pattern of analysis—through single-case to cross-case to
thematic.

THE PROBLEM (CHAPTER I)
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE (CHAPTER II)
METHODOLOGY (CHAPTER III)

DESCRIPTION (CHAPTER IV)
SINGLE-CASE ANALYSES (CHAPTER V)
CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS (CHAPTER V)
THEMES (CHAPTER VI)

FIGURE 2. ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION
FIGURE 3. ANALYSIS PROCEDURES
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Immersion

Instruction in a language different from the native language of students is not a new idea. Mackey (1978) suggests that such a method for learning both academic content and the second language may date back to 3000 B.C. The Romans and Greeks commonly used a non-home language as the sole or major medium of educational instruction. In England and France, Latin served as the language of scholars until the 16th century when it was replaced by the vernaculars. In the United States, bilingual education dates to the mid-1800s and the establishment of German-English schools. Other languages also served as vehicles for instruction in various regions of the country, depending upon the predominant nationality of immigrants in the area. It was not until 1965, however, when a group of Canadian parents began the St. Lambert, Quebec, French immersion school and enrolled its first 26 kindergarten pupils, that the concept of majority-language students learning through the minority language of an area was taken seriously. Because of the favorable results of this program, many immersion schools have since been founded.

In the United States, the Canadian experiment was first replicated in Culver City, California, in 1971. This early immersion
program in Spanish for native English speakers, following the Canadian model, provides all curricular instruction in kindergarten and grade 1 in Spanish. English language arts are introduced in grade 2 and instruction through English is expanded progressively until class time conducted in Spanish and English is nearly equal by the end of elementary school (Genesee, 1987). Because instruction in the first two years is completely in the second language, these programs are known as early total immersion. Immersion schools support the recent trend of all second language instruction: valuing the student's ability to use the second language above his or her knowledge about the language. Second language educators now emphasize the functional use of language with the achievement of bilingualism as the ultimate instructional goal. Conclusive research on programs both in Canada and in the United States proves that early total immersion is the most successful means of instruction toward this goal of functional bilingualism (see Swain & Lapkin, 1982, for a comprehensive review of the research).

Early immersion capitalizes on the neuropsychological (Lenneberg, 1967; Penfield & Roberts, 1959), psycholinguistic (Chomsky, 1972; McNeill, 1970), and social psychological theories that find younger children better able to learn a second language—physiologically, psychologically, and attitudinally. The superior ability of younger children to pronounce a second language (Fathman, 1982; Oyama, 1982) and learn syntax (Patkowski, 1982) has been verified by research. In addition, younger children "have fewer attitudes and prejudices that can interfere with learning" [a second language] (Genesee, 1987, pp. 13-14).
The immersion approach also capitalizes on the inherent meaningfulness of learning subject matter through the second language. As Widdowson (1978) suggests:

a foreign language can be associated with those areas of use which are represented by the other subjects on the school curriculum and ... this not only helps to ensure the link with reality and the pupils' own experience but also provides us with the most certain means we have of teaching the language as communication, as use, rather than usage (1978, p. 16).

Theoretical and Empirical Bases for Immersion Learning

Immersion programs are based on the assumption that young students can learn a second language in much the same way that they learned their native language. Through repeated exposure to the second language in the classroom, children should be able to acquire the language "naturally." Empirical studies support this claim. Dulay and Burt provide evidence for the "LI = L2" hypothesis, which states that children "actively organize the L2 speech they hear and make generalizations about its structure as children learning their first language do" (1972, p. 236). If the L1 = L2 hypothesis is correct, "goofs" in L2 production should be similar to those made by children learning that same language as their first language. Assumptions are that learners constantly hypothesize about the second language, test those hypotheses against the input received, and modify their language system accordingly.

Empirical studies of second language acquisition in Spanish-speaking English as a Second Language (ESL) learners provide
support for the $L_1 = L_2$ hypothesis. Dulay and Burt (1973) studied 145 five- to eight-year-olds from two school districts in California and one in New York City. Using the Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM), they found only 3% of the children's 388 error types to be categorizable as "interference" (from $L_1$ errors), and 85% were classified as "developmental" (similar to those made by $L_1$ learners learning English). An analysis of grammatical morpheme acquisition, again using the BSM, revealed a common sequence of accuracy order among three disparate groups of Spanish-speaking ESL students—151 children in all.

Further evidence of a universal acquisition order for morpheme assimilation was derived from a study of 60 Spanish-speaking children and 55 Chinese-speaking children who were ESL learners (Dulay & Burt, 1974a). The sequences of acquisition of 11 functors for the two groups were "virtually the same" (p. 49). According to Dulay and Burt, these results provide "a strong indication that universal cognitive mechanisms are the basis for the child's organization of a target language, and that it is the $L_2$ system, rather than the $L_1$ system that guides the acquisition process" (p. 52).

Dulay and Burt (1974b) resolve the discrepancies between their order of morpheme acquisition in second language learning and that obtained from first language acquisition studies by Brown (1973) and de Villiers and de Villiers (1973) as being dependent upon the age of the learners ($L_2$ learners are older than $L_1$ learners) and their more advanced cognitive development, especially the fact that they have already learned one language. In a provocative analysis by Van Patten (1984), the $L_1$ and $L_2$ acquisition orders are found to be the same within
grammatical category. That is, the noun-bound morphemes are acquired in invariant order (with one exception of very slight difference in correlational coefficient), the verb-bound morphemes are in the same order, as are the auxiliary-related morphemes, again supporting the "L1 = L2" hypothesis.

Ervin-Tripp found first and second language learning to be similar in natural situations (1974, p. 126). Results of her study of 31 English-speaking children in a French school in Geneva, Switzerland, showed that children remembered meaningful phrases best, initially rejected using two words whose meanings were identical, and retained basic word order patterns of the L2 when attempting to understand complex patterns, rather than reverting to L1 word-order strategies. She concluded that word-for-word translations were very infrequent in child L2 learning. Child L2 learning strategies such as overgeneralization of lexical forms, semantic redundancy, reliance on short term memory, and use of simple order strategies are common to both L1 learning and L2 learning in natural situations, according to Ervin-Tripp.

Immersion programs espouse this L1 = L2 hypothesis on the grounds that immersion learning is a "natural situation" in which the second language can be learned by the same processes as the first. This "natural situation," according to Krashen, depends on the presence of comprehensible input in the acquisition setting. Krashen's "Input Hypothesis" asserts that comprehensible input is the necessary and crucial ingredient for second language acquisition (1981, p. 9). Comprehensible input is language that is a little beyond the language
competence of the learner \((i + 1)\). Although comprehensible input is a necessary condition for the learner to move from stage \(i\) to stage \(i + 1\), it is not sufficient for this movement. It is necessary "that the acquirer understand the input that contains \(i + 1\), where 'understand' means that the acquirer is focused on the meaning and not the form of the message" (Krashen, 1982b, p. 21). The learner is able to make this input comprehensible by means of extra-linguistic context and world knowledge (Krashen, 1981, p. 103; 1982b, p. 21).

**English Language and Academic Skill Development**

A major concern for parents and educators of immersion pupils is whether native-language achievement will suffer as a result of instruction through a second language. Canadian studies (Barik & Swain, 1975; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain & Lapkin, 1982) show that, although immersion students fall behind their native-language peers during the total immersion primary grades, their English language skills are quite comparable, if not superior, shortly after the introduction of English language instruction. In fact, after only one year of English language instruction, English-speaking French immersion students reach the same level of proficiency as English-speaking monolingually educated students (Barik & Swain, 1975; Genesee, Holobow, Lambert, Cleghorn, & Wallin, 1985; Swain & Barik, 1976).

In a longitudinal study of 225 English-speaking French early immersion students in a predominantly English-speaking rural area in New Brunswick, Gray (1986) found that the only English-language skill that tested below the level of monolingually educated English students (after
6 years of schooling for each group) was spelling. Swain and Barik (1976) found similar results when they analyzed the English language skills of grade 2 French immersion students. After one more year of English language instruction, however, these students tested comparably to monolingual English students on all English skills. Genesee et al. found a significant (p < .001) difference between 20 experimental group fourth-grade immersion students and their English control group on spelling after one year of English language arts instruction (1985, p. 677). There were, however, no other significant differences in English writing ability.

Academic achievement in other subjects is also a major concern. Lambert (1977; 1980) distinguishes between subtractive bilingualism—usually the result of minority children replacing their native language with the majority language—and additive bilingualism—the addition of a second language to the students' secure native language. Early studies of academic achievement were based on data gathered in subtractive bilingualism settings, according to Cummins (1978, p. 858). Studies by Macnamara (1966), for example, espouse a divisive type of bilingualism. These studies show the "balance effect": A child has only a certain amount of language ability; if the child divides this ability by studying two languages, each language will be able to use only half of this ability. Bilinguals in these early studies achieved less well than monolinguals. Since the 1960s, however, most research has been conducted in additive bilingual settings. Under these conditions, immersion students score as high or higher than monolingual French students in math (Barik & Swain, 1975; Genesee, 1983;
Gray, 1986; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain & Barik, 1976) and as well or better than monolingual English students in science (Swain, 1978).

In addition to their relatively equal growth in academic and English language abilities, bilingual students have been shown to be more metalinguistically aware than their monolingual peers (Ben Zeev, 1977) often demonstrating linguistic "detective" skills: "an attentive, patient, inductive concern with words, meanings, and linguistic regularities" (Lambert & Tucker, 1972, p. 208). Bilinguals also evidence more cognitive flexibility and creativity (Lambert, 1977; Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Cummins suggests, however, that a bilingual "threshold" level of competence in both languages must be reached before these benefits of bilingualism can accrue (1978, p. 859).

**Second Language Abilities in Immersion Students**

Several second language scholars attest to the remarkable success of French immersion programs (Krashen, 1984; Savignon, 1987; Stern, 1984). Empirical studies support this enthusiasm for the development of second language abilities through immersion. Lambert and Tucker (1972) found no significant differences between the grade 4 pilot class at St. Lambert Immersion School and the French control class on tests of French listening comprehension. The French control classes, however, rated significantly higher on grammatical usage, overall expression, enunciation, liaison, rhythm, and intonation. Overall, the experimental group seemed "to understand every nuance of the teacher's spoken French, to read the language effortlessly, and to speak it—in their own style—naturally and spontaneously" (p. 149).
In a recent study by Genesee et al. (1985), similar results were achieved: Scores on listening comprehension measures were not significantly different between the fourth grade immersion and French control groups. Immersion students, however, scored significantly lower than the French controls on overall language quality in composition and speech, but not on specific subtests of their compositions, except preposition use. In another study of immersion students' French language composition, Swain and Barik (1976) analyzed written paragraphs from grades 3 and 4 in the Ottawa and Carleton immersion projects. They found many errors in the overall quality of the students' French, especially in spelling. Many words appeared to have been spelled with English in mind.

In an extensive study of 10th and 12th grade French immersion students in Ottawa, Canada (Morrison & Pawley, 1986; Pawley, 1985), the immersion students compared favorably with native French speakers on several measures of receptive French abilities. On the Canadian Public Service Commission Tests, a majority of the immersion students tested at level B (the highest level tested) in reading, listening, and writing, and at least at the next lower level A in speaking. Gray (1986) also found immersion students to compare well with their native French-speaking peers, especially on receptive skill measures. Her grade 6 French immersion students' achievement scores in French listening comprehension were only somewhat lower than those of grade 5 francophone students. Their word-formation and vocabulary abilities, however, tested at below the levels of francophone children's grades 3 and 4, respectively. Overall, Pawley concludes that tests show that the
majority of immersion students are able to communicate orally, though their language may include some hesitation, errors, and vocabulary limitations. Even Hammerly, who severely criticizes early immersion programs, acknowledges that they "may be communicatively and culturally successful" (1987, p. 399), thereby supporting the highest priority goals of the immersion experience—communicative competence.

In a study of four groups of 24 seventh-graders' second-language reading abilities, Cziko (1978) found that students who had participated in French immersion schooling for six or seven years processed reading passages very similarly to the native French speaking children, being sensitive to semantic, syntactic, and discourse constraints. He concluded that their "nativelike sensitivity to the contextual constraints of written French is evidence of the effectiveness of the early French immersion program in fostering French reading skills" (p. 486). In a second study (1980), he again found immersion students to process written material in the same manner as the native French students. Both groups (25 and 29 students, respectively) used an "interactive strategy of relying on both graphic and contextual information in reading" (p. 113). French immersion students appear to have well-developed reading skills as well as listening ability.

Lapkin and Swain agree with this assessment, stating that "receptive skills are clearly native-like by the end of elementary school" but that the "productive second-language skills of early-immersion students do not reach native-like levels" (1984, p. 51). In fact, Lapkin and Swain relate that "the way immersion students express themselves is clearly different from the performance of native
French-speaking peers." Lapkin adds that French immersion students speak and write French "well enough for effective communication but not well enough to be indistinguishable from their native French-speaking counterparts" (1984, p. 584). In fact, a study by Lepiq (1980, cited in Swain & Lapkin, 1982) found that immersion students' speech was judged acceptable by francophone peers and adults, but that these judges recognized the non-native speakers and used different criteria of acceptability to judge them. The same conclusion was reached in the Genesee et al. (1985) study—raters appeared to use different standards for native and non-native speakers. Swain concluded from Lepiq's study that such qualities as self-confidence and willingness to communicate influence the judgment of independent raters (1982, p. 93). Immersion students generally possess both these qualities in abundance.

Harley found that immersion students possessed "outstanding strengths but also some weaknesses" (1984, p. 60). She based her evaluation on Canale and Swain's definition of communicative competence (1980): grammatical competence, discourse competence, sociolinguistic competence, and strategic competence. In terms of grammatical competence, students were far superior in receptive skills than in productive skills. They "still make quite a number of errors which clearly distinguish them from native speakers of their own age" (p. 58) in speaking, especially in verb choices and gender distinctions.

In terms of discourse competence, Harley found that 70 immersion grade 6 students scored as well as a small group of native French speakers of the same age when asked to perform several discourse-oriented tasks. Sociolinguistic competence does not seem to
be well developed, however. This is probably a result of the lack of exposure to native French speakers and their lack of participation in French-language culture. Harley concludes that the students' well-developed strategic competence may be seen as a reason for their limitations in grammatical competence. They are able to compensate beautifully by means of circumlocution, gesture, native-language words and substitutions for unknown grammatical constructions. She suggests further development of immersion students' sociolinguistic and grammatical competence by means of more intensive oral practice, but finds their overall communicative competence to be outstanding.

Criticisms of Immersion Programs

Others do not applaud immersion students' French language skills, however. In fact, the primary criticism of immersion programs seems to be that the students "speak immersion" and not the target language (Lyster, 1987). By means of error analysis, several studies have attempted to show that most of these second language errors result from native language interference. In a related study of a Spanish-English bilingual school in Los Angeles, Politzer and Ramirez (1973) studied the spoken English of 126 Mexican-American pupils. They found errors in verb forms, subject pronouns, object pronouns, definite articles, and prepositions and confusion in word order all to be related to Spanish language patterns (p. 59).

Results of this English as a Second Language (ESL) study may differ from those of immersion settings. The ESL students not only studied in English in school, but they were also exposed to English in
their community, which put them in an "acquisition rich" environment (Krashen, 1982a) and increased their English language input.

The distinction between language acquisition (implicit language learning by exposure to second language input) and language learning (explicit language study), as defined by Krashen (1981), has an influence on the interpretation of empirical studies. Immersion schools operate on the premise that students in the school are in a second language acquisition setting. This is not the case, however, according to Lyster (1987), who argues that immersion students are, in fact, in a second language learning situation. He asserts that these students are "integrated in an anglophone context and exposed to language within an academic context" (p. 704). He states that the errors he observed in his eighth grade immersion students can largely be attributed to the fact that students do not receive "comprehensible input" (Krashen, 1981), but instead are subjected to language input that is well beyond their proficiency level, both in terms of teacher input and level of materials. As a result, immersion students tend to form their own pidginized interlanguage.

"Interlanguage," a term coined in 1969 by Selinker, is identified as "a separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a TL [target language] norm" (1983, p. 176). Selinker lists five central processes at work in the production of interlanguage discourse: language transfer, transfer of training, strategies of second language learning, strategies of second language communication, and overgeneralization of target language linguistic material (p. 176).
Selinker, Swain, and Dumas (1975) analyzed the interlanguage of French immersion students, finding their errors to be a result of either language transfer, overgeneralization of target language rules, or simplification strategies. They studied 10 male and 10 female 7-year-old native speakers of English in the second year of a French immersion program in Toronto. Studying the transcripts of 10 to 15 minute tape-recorded conversations about personal topics, Selinker et al. found "that their 'weaknesses' were not so much at the phonetic level or in vocabulary choice, but in their use of grammatical structures" (p. 142). Many of these usage errors seemed to result from language transfer, which included lexical language transfer, surface structure grammatical transfer, and deep structure grammatical transfer. Those classified as a result of lexical language transfer included errors in the use of verbs (marcher for se promener, avoir for Être); nouns (temps for fois); pronouns (des for en); and the substitution of English words in a French sentence. Surface structure grammatical transfer errors included improper word order (adjectives before nouns, adverbs before verbs); improper verb use; stranding of prepositions; and lack of necessary use of there insertion. Deep structure grammatical transfer errors included avoidance of complex sentences and deletion of necessary French structures that are not obligatory in English. The persistence of these errors can be attributed to a phenomenon known as "fossilization."

The fossilization of French immersion interlanguage is acknowledged by several researchers (e.g., Hammerly, 1987; Lyster, 1987). Fossilization is described as "linguistic items, rules, and
subsystems which speakers of a particular NL [native language] will tend to keep in their IL [interlanguage] relative to a particular TL [target language], no matter what the age of the learner or amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the TL" (Selinker, 1983, p. 177). The errors of French immersion students that appear to have fossilized as language transfer errors from English are those that concern Lyster (1987). As a result of an informal evaluation, he lists errors with verbs, pronouns, prepositions, gender, and the "tu/vous" distinction in his eighth grade French immersion students. Several of these errors were also found in the interlanguage study done by Selinker et al. (1975). For example, substituting être for avoir in expressions of one's age, using regarder in place of ressembler à, and using the wrong gender of articles were common to both studies. It seems possible that anglophones generally tend to make similar errors when speaking French.

Hammerly (1987) notes the frequency of error in French immersion students' speech, dubs immersion "the litmus test" for Krashen's theories, and concludes that immersion programs are linguistic failures. In an informal interview study of six Vancouver, British Columbia, grade 12 students who had had French immersion schooling for nearly 13 years, Pellerin and Hammerly (1986) measured only the errors that native speakers of French would never make. They found that "the mean number of sentences containing one or more grammatical or lexical errors was 53.8 percent" (Hammerly, 1987, p. 396). In addition, student language was repetitive, with frequent false starts, circumlocutions, and omissions. They used mostly simple sentences or complex sentences that
Of major concern to Pellerin and Hammerly (1986) were the statistics obtained from a study by Spilka (1976), who analyzed the spoken French of immersion students in grades 5 and 6 of the original St. Lambert early immersion classes. She compared their retelling of stories with that of francophone children of the same age. Spilka found that the sixth graders produced 52.2% incorrect sentences as compared with less than 7% for the francophone children. In studying the results of a comparison of grade 6 pupils and those from grades 1 to 4, Spilka "found no apparent progress in the grammaticality of immersion pupils between grade one and grade six" (Hammerly, 1987, p. 397). The greatest evidence of "linguistic failure" was, for Pellerin and Hammerly, the comparability of the Spilka study and their own. In terms of total percentage of sentences containing errors, Spilka's study of sixth graders showed 52.2%, and Pellerin and Hammerly's study of 12th graders revealed 53.8%. There appeared to be no improvement of linguistic accuracy during the last six years of immersion. Although some percentages differed (e.g., reflexive pronoun use errors were 81.8% in Spilka, but only 1.6% in Pellerin and Hammerly), overall oral performance after 13 years seemed to differ little from performance after 7 years of French immersion. Comparisons of these two studies substantiate the fossilization of immersion students' interlanguage.

The Teacher's Role in Error Correction

The absence of improvement in grammatical accuracy may be attributed to the basic philosophy of immersion education. Teachers are
expected not to teach grammar nor to correct student grammatical errors explicitly. Studies show that immersion teachers, in fact, often do little or no explicit correction of grammatical structures (e.g., Chaudron, 1986; Flores, 1973, cited in Cohen, 1974; Mackey, 1972; Nystrom, 1983). Chaudron (1983a) did find, however, that corrections by teachers that were simple repetitions with emphasis were most successful in producing corrected student responses. Nevertheless, implicit correction, similar to that given by native speakers to non-native speakers, normally guides the speech of immersion students.

In his research on the Culver City program, Flores (1973, cited in Cohen, 1974) found error correction to be a direct influence on student second language accuracy. He compared the total lack of correction in kindergarten with the first grade teacher's nearly constant correction. He concluded that for students, "Correction, then, seems to account for the change from the incorrect form to the correct one, and even back to the incorrect form" (pp. 12-13). Recognizing the dearth of information about teacher corrections and their reasons for or against them, this study will focus not only on general pedagogical teacher beliefs but will also pay special attention to the teachers' implicit theories concerning teacher correction of student speech in the immersion setting.

**Immersion Teacher Preparation and Methodology**

Acknowledging that "for the most part [immersion students are] exposed, in any one year, to only one native French-speaking model; namely, the teacher" (Swain, 1982), several authors document immersion

Willetts (1986) reports on a conference of CLEAR (Center for Language Education and Research). The participants agreed on the following as recommended immersion teacher competencies:

1. near-native fluency (4 or 5 on FSI scale or 3 on ACTFL scale);
2. knowledge of content area;
3. knowledge of strategies to teach language (according to levels);
4. knowledge of strategies to teach content (according to levels);
5. abilities to use strategies to clarify subject content and contextualize the lesson;
6. ability to use child's first culture to mediate instruction;
7. ability to build in cultural context and make a bridge between first and second cultures;
8. ability to integrate parents into the learning process;
9. ability to assess and adapt materials.

The conference participants listed the following descriptions of methods presently being used in immersion classrooms:

1. controlled vocabulary at the beginning;
2. use of only the second language but acceptance of English from children;
3. constant comprehension checks;
4. contextualized clues to help convey meaning (props, realia);
5. separation of use of languages;
6. teaching reading using the language experience approach (with phonics): Students give the teacher sentences to write on the board; they read what they know orally.

Beyond these recommendations and descriptions, few accounts of immersion methodology exist. Lambert and Tucker (1972) devote only six pages to descriptions of two-hour observations of each class in the St. Lambert school. Noble, an experienced teacher from France, documents these visits (pp. 237-242). In the kindergarten room, she found the immersion classes to be very teacher-centered and the discipline to be more strict than that normally found in North America. Teachers repeated routines daily, in a nearly ritualistic fashion. Children spoke English to the teacher and to each other and were "passive towards speaking French" (p. 238). In the first grade room, "children sit at desks, are not allowed to move freely in the class, and have to raise their hand before talking. Everything is directed and controlled by the teacher, and most activities are group ones" (p. 238).

Grade 2 teachers used the same strict discipline. As was mentioned in the grade 1 observation, the teacher had to adapt or develop materials because the workbooks that accompanied the reader were too difficult to be used. The teacher used the reading lesson from French texts for the core material from which the dictation, vocabulary, and grammar lesson were taken.

In the upper-elementary grades, classes appeared to be more similar to those in North America, according to Noble. In grade 3,
children spoke more spontaneously in French and the teacher spoke less. The students understood their teacher well but made many grammatical mistakes and spelling errors and used strange constructions and anglicisms. Noble notes, "However they speak willingly and are not self-conscious or shy" (p. 240), an observation echoed by Swain (1982). In grade 4, the teacher kept a record of students' errors and prepared exercises to eliminate them. Discipline was still strong, and the class was very teacher controlled. There was more movement in the grade 5 classroom, less organization, and more talking between children (sometimes in French). History was introduced, and the teacher had no adequate book, so she prepared the materials herself.

Genesee et al. (1985) found several differences in their ethnographic observations of all grade levels in a French-language school in Quebec. They found classrooms to be organized in an open-structure format with desks arranged in a "U" shape. Classes were considered extremely child-centered—students had a great deal of individual freedom and control. As result, classes were quite noisy and "may have appeared to be uncontrolled and unstructured" (p. 674). Genesee et al. found that meaning was being negotiated at all times and that oral activities in a question-answer format predominated, though the questions were not display questions, according to these researchers. The classroom timetable appeared to be very unstructured, but the teacher shifted activities approximately every 15 minutes. The responsibility for learning again appeared to be on the teachers' shoulders, though Genesee et al. do not explicitly state this.
Apparent differences between these two reports may be attributable to general changes in educational settings from 1972 to 1985. Or, the school context differences may cause these variations: Lambert and Tucker's school was explicitly an immersion school, whereas the school in the Genesee et al. study was a traditional French-language school with a predominantly anglophone population (80% in grade 4). These two orientations may cause different classroom management philosophies. Still another possibility is that, in 1972, teachers were brought in from France, whereas, in 1985, native French-Canadians may have been in charge of the French-language classrooms. These background differences may also account for different philosophies.

Swain states that immersion teachers always speak the second language, but, "The focus of the teachers has been to get the content across to their students and to respond to the content of what their students are saying, no matter how they are saying it, nor in what language it is being said" (1982, p. 86). Students' native language communications, then, are accepted by the teacher until the students decide to use the target language. Swain continues by specifying that "lexical items are taught ... through the use of pictures, gestures and other body language cues" (p. 87). Tardif and Weber include modeling, echoing, extending, prompting, questioning, directing actions, making requests, and varying intonation patterns as communicative second language teaching strategies (1987, pp. 73-74). Curtain (1986) lists the techniques of separating native and target language use and teaching reading using the language experience approach as important to immersion. Grammar is taught implicitly through covert correction by
teachers but is gradually taught more explicitly as children get older, according to a study by Ireland, Gunnell, and Santerre (1980, cited in Swain, 1982).

The present study will describe the specific techniques used by immersion teachers on a day-to-day basis. As Carey remarks, "there are few studies on what actually takes place in an early immersion program classroom" (1984, p. 254). Tardif and Weber also call for "more interdisciplinary and qualitative approaches . . . to help develop comprehensive theories of immersion teaching and of second language acquisition in the classroom context" (1987, p. 75). Willetts (1986) asserts, "both researchers and teachers need to know what actually is happening in the classroom. Therefore, more emphasis is needed on the process (observation and description) rather than on the product (results and assessment)" (p. 29). After this process is explained, it will be possible to design teacher education programs specifically for immersion teachers, as many recommend (e.g., Jones, 1984; Obadia, 1984b; Stern, 1978; Tardif & Weber, 1987).

Genesee calls for "a program of research to investigate how immersion teachers integrate academic and language instruction" (1987, p. 185). He adds that this information would be doubly useful—to optimize the effectiveness of instruction for majority language students in immersion and also for minority language students in English classes.

**Second Language Acquisition Research**

How teachers help second language learners acquire language has been studied by several researchers. Wong-Fillmore (1985) identified
these qualities of teacher classroom organization that proved successful in an English as a Second Language (ESL) class in California: clear boundaries between lessons; consistent formats for different subjects; clear separation of first language (L1) and second language (L2) (not alternating use); emphasis on communication and comprehension; use of grammatical speech; repetition of patterns, routines, and paraphrases; matching questions to learners; and using rich or playful L2. Several of these research results appear to have been incorporated in the methodology recommendations of CLEAR (Willetts, 1986) and in the methodologies of the St. Lambert teachers (Lambert & Tucker, 1972).

Seliger reminds us that "the most important ingredient in aiding the learner in evaluating hypotheses about the new language is feedback" (1983, p. 258). In the classroom, most feedback comes from the teacher and can take any of these forms: teacher correction where the focus is on language structure or vocabulary; adjusted foreigner talk (simplified language to help the learner's comprehension); and normal conversational responses such as gestures or utterances such as uh huh.

Teachers address their non-native-speaking students in a unique style. Long and Sato (1983) compared native speaker (NS) speech to non-native speakers (NNS) both in the classroom (teacher talk) and outside the classroom (foreigner talk). They studied 6 ESL teachers and their classes in comparison to 36 NS-NNS dyads and found that teachers use more display questions, statements, imperatives, and present tense verbs but fewer information questions. Schinke-Llano observed that teachers interacted less with Limited English Proficiency students but that they used more words with these children (1983, 1986).
Implications are that teachers tend to avoid addressing the linguistically deficient student or to simplify language to this child, perhaps to the point of limiting linguistic growth. Other studies show, however, that teachers adjust their speech to the proficiency level of the student (Gass & Varonis, 1985; Kleifgen, 1985). Whether these findings from ESL classrooms hold true for an immersion school context remains to be investigated.

Doughty and Pica (1984) found more negotiation of meaning (e.g., confirmation checks, comprehension checks, clarification requests, self-repetitions, other repetitions, and expansions) in the NNS-NNS situation than in the NS-NNS situation. This negotiation of meaning may serve to make input comprehensible, according to Ellis (1986). In the classroom, this indicates the need for more small-group work (with interaction between and among NNSs). Tasks should be two-way with information exchanged in both directions, according to this study and those by Long (1981) and Pica and Doughty (1986). Pica and Doughty's three classes of ESL learners produced more turn taking, more input, and more words per student in a small-group NNS-NNS situation.

Rulon and McCreary (1986) also concur. In a study of two groups of three ESL learners, they found more content confirmation and clarification checks in small group situations. Little negotiation of meaning or content occurred in teacher-fronted classes, while equal numbers of topics were covered in both situations. Noting that the teacher is the only native speaker in an immersion classroom and that teachers need to maintain order, according to the study by Wong-Fillmore (1985) and the observations reported in Lambert and Tucker (1972), it is
possible that small-group interaction in the second language may not occur often in the immersion setting.

Choices of small-group task type may also affect the degree of interaction among students. When comparing debates and problem-solving tasks performed by four Japanese-Chinese ESL dyads, Duff (1986) found that problem-solving tasks elicited more total turns, more communication units (implying more exchanging of information), more confirmation checks, more referential questions, and more subject questions. Overall, there seemed to be more negotiation of meaning in the problem-solving tasks where NNS students worked together to reach a common goal. Whether these types of tasks are used in immersion classrooms with very young children is an intriguing question.

Some teachers might be concerned with the lack of control they have over linguistic exchanges in the small-group situation. According to some research, however, grammatical accuracy seems equal in teacher-fronted classes and small-group situations (Pica & Doughty, 1986). Porter (1986) found grammaticality to be comparable whether the learner's interlocutor was a native speaker or another learner. In addition, learners produced more speech when interacting with other learners than with native speakers, especially when some learners were a little more advanced than others. Chaudron (1983b) found teacher talk to be more of a distraction than a simplification technique, perhaps because teachers' language is too far advanced compared to the students'.

These results seem to validate Krashen's theory of "comprehensible input" (1982b). Comprehensible input is defined as
Input at the "i + 1" level: "Input to stimulate acquisition must by definition contain some structures and vocabulary that are only slightly beyond the student's level" (Krashen, 1984, pp. 264-265). Results of these studies also confirm Swain's theory of "comprehensible output" (1985) and Schmidt and Frota's notion of "autoinput" (1986). Both theories maintain that learners not only need input in order to acquire language but that they also need to produce speech ("output") in order to test their interlanguage hypotheses and to practice structures and vocabulary.

The aforementioned studies of teacher talk, task type interaction, and interlocutor differences serve as descriptive data to help analyze the immersion experience. In order to understand why and how immersion instruction works, however, one must delve into the thought processes and methodologies of the teachers who control the learning. Toward that end, a study of teacher thinking is proposed.

Teacher Thinking

A teacher's success in the classroom depends upon his or her ability to manage a remarkably complex environment. In the planning stage, content, students, materials, goals, activities, and social community must be considered (Shavelson & Stern, 1981). During instruction, the teacher must make interactive ("inflight") decisions about the allocation of time and attention, the sequence and duration of classroom activities, the timing of interventions, and the grouping of students (Doyle, 1980). Jackson (1968) sees the teacher as gatekeeper,
supply sergeant, grantor of special privileges, and official
timekeeper—among other roles. Descriptive studies (e.g., Lortie, 1975)
list the following properties of classrooms: multidimensionality,
simultaneity, immediacy, unpredictability, and history. Only by relying
on a system of "schemata," "constructs," or "implicit theories" can the
teacher juggle this myriad of daily tasks.

Clark and Peterson (1986) see teachers' thoughts as direct
influences on their actions in the classroom and vice versa. Whereas
earlier studies focused on the products of teacher behavior (i.e.,
student achievement), teacher thinking studies focus on the processes of
the classroom and the thoughts that determine teacher behavior. Clark
(1988a, 1988b) divides research on teacher thinking into three areas of
inquiry: planning and reflection, dilemmas and uncertainty, and implicit
theories and preconceptions.

Planning and Reflection

Planning and reflection studies are generally teacher
self-reports, often audiotaped as thinking-aloud sessions, that provide
"a direct view of the cognitive activities of teachers as professionals"
planning is the major tool by which teachers manipulate the environments
that later shape and control their own behavior" (1979, p. 164).

Studies of teacher planning show that teachers engage in as
many as eight different types of planning: time span planning—weekly,
daily, long range, short range, yearly, and term—and content
planning—unit and lesson planning (Clark & Yinger, 1979). They also
spend between 10 and 20 hours a week planning.

Taylor (1970) studied the planning of 261 British teachers. He found the pupil to be the most common theme, followed by subject matter, goals, and teaching methods. Zahorik (1975) questioned 194 teachers and learned that they mentioned pupil activities most often—first content, then learning objectives. This is consistent with the results of a study by Peterson, Marx, and Clark (1978), who recorded the thinking aloud of 12 junior high school teachers in a laboratory setting as they planned to teach. Results were that teachers spent the largest proportion of their planning time dealing with the content, next were instructional processes, then materials, then the learner, and the smallest proportion of time was spent on objectives. Lack of attention to the learner in this study may have been a result of the teachers' unfamiliarity with the students.

Morine-Dershimer and Vallance (1976) studied the planning of 18 second- and 20 fifth-grade teachers who each taught two experimental teaching units of two weeks duration in reading and math. The second grade teachers taught for 20 minutes per day, and the fifth grade teachers taught 45 minutes per day. Twelve students comprised each experimental class. Teachers were asked to write lesson plans, which were coded as focusing on: (a) specificity of plans, (b) general format of plans, (c) types of statements of goals, (d) source of goal statements, (e) attention to pupil background or preparation (diagnosis), (f) identification of evaluation procedures, (g) indication of possible alternative procedures, (h) frequency of reference to major categories of the Basic Category System, (i) frequency of reference to
pupil categories versus process categories, and (j) planning for specific aspects of instructional process (p. 54). Responses were also coded according to the Basic Category System, whose main categories were general approach, materials, cognitive aspects, affective aspects, and physical aspects. Two-thirds of the teachers stated that their written plans were more detailed than usual for the study, adding that "most of their regular planning was done in their heads rather than on paper" (p. 55). They tended to use many worksheets, perhaps as a substitute for written objectives and evaluation plans. The teachers did value lesson plans, however, and were nearly unanimous in asserting that student teachers should do lesson planning, believing that careful prethinking is necessary to good classroom performance.

Yinger found that activities "functioned as the basic structural units of planning and action in the classroom" (1979, p. 164). During planning, teachers choose which activities and which "routines" they will use. Routines are defined as "established procedures whose main function is to control and coordinate specific sequences of behavior" (p. 165). Routines are a teacher's method for coping with the complexity and unpredictability of the teaching environment. They are necessary to decrease the amount of information a teacher must process at any one time. Nespor (1984b) concludes that "plans" are used only when no routines are available. He draws on Schank and Abelson's script theory (1977), stating that scripts describe routinized practices well.

Routines were further categorized by Yinger (1979) as activity, instruction, management, or executive planning routines. Activity
routines establish procedures for different types of activities. Decisions must be made about location, structure and sequence, duration, participants, acceptable student behavior, instructional moves, and content and materials (p. 165). Once these decisions are made for a given activity, a routine can be established that permits the teacher to automatize behavior. Instructional routines are strategies or styles of teaching used to carry out teacher roles, such as giving instructions, demonstrating, instructing, monitoring, reviewing, and questioning. Management routines include procedures and participants. One example in Yinger's five-month ethnographic study was the routine established for students to leave the room. Executive planning routines "serve as meta-routines for managing the sequencing and organizing of other routines" (p. 167). They are cerebral in nature and function to control and coordinate planning.

Yinger also found three stages of planning in his research: (a) problem finding (a discovery cycle); (b) problem formulation and solution; and (c) implementation of the plan, its evaluation, and its eventual routinization (Clark & Yinger, 1977, p. 285). Once the cycle is complete, the teacher can add a new routine to her repertoire.

Routines appear to be the most parsimonious method for freeing teacher time to decide on content, to be more creative, and to give individual attention to students (Doyle, 1979). They reduce time lost to interruptions and can possibly increase student time on task by making students aware of procedures. Yinger concludes that routines "played such a major role in the teacher's planning behavior that her planning could be characterized as decision making about the selection,
A study by Berliner and Carter (1986, cited in Morine-Dershimer, 1986) showed that expert teachers plan differently from novice teachers, including merging information to develop a group picture of students, disregarding information from the previous teacher (preferring to develop their own), focusing on information related to instructional problems, focusing more on curriculum issues in planning, and making assessments of a student's knowledge rather than merely identifying content previously covered. They found that teachers operated from a wealth of information, they had clear images of how things should be, and they thought logically, based on evidence, to support their inferences about students.

The first weeks of school have been shown to be very important for teacher planning because many routines, rules, relationships, and expectations are established early in the year (Clark & Elmore, 1979). Five elementary school teachers were interviewed concerning the week preceding the start of classes and the four weeks thereafter. Three stages of planning were isolated. In the first phase, which was during the week before school, teachers were mostly interested in the physical environment and student motivation. This finding relates well to Doyle's belief that teachers need to achieve the cooperation of the learners (1979). Providing a pleasant environment and motivational activities helps to achieve this cooperation. The second phase lasted through the first two weeks of school when students were being pretested, and teachers were diagnosing special problems. The teachers planned rules and procedures for the classroom behavior structure and
strictly and consistently enforced the rules during this time. The third stage was the second through the fourth week of school. At this time, teachers established routines and daily and weekly schedules. Teachers seemed to plan a community in the classroom. The data from this study suggest that the first few weeks of school are the most complex and cognitively demanding of the year and should be studied by pre-service teachers and provided for by administrators.

Dilemmas and Uncertainty

"Experienced teachers . . . come to look upon surprise and uncertainty as natural features of their environment. They know . . . that the path of educational progress more closely resembles the flight of a butterfly than the flight of a bullet" (Jackson, 1968, pp. 166-7).

Dilemmas appear to be the reasons for teachers' interactive (classroom) decision making, which has been called "the basic teaching skill" (Shavelson, 1973, p. 18). Teachers tend to follow their plans or "scripts" (Schank & Abelson, 1977) until a decision point is reached, usually when a "behavior task" (Doyle, 1979) is initiated. These plans or scripts are routinized to "minimize conscious decision making during interactive teaching" (Shavelson & Stern, 1981, p. 482). Decision making occurs only when the teaching routine is not going as planned, as shown in the model of teacher's' decision making offered by Shavelson and Stern (p. 483).
When teaching is interrupted, teachers must either decide to continue the lesson or change the lesson. Most often, teachers choose to continue without changing their routines (Peterson & Clark, 1978).

These routines are necessary for the teacher's survival.

According to Clark and Lampert (1986), teaching is complex. Teachers make decisions at two-minute intervals while teaching. The greatest
proportion of their interactive thoughts are about students (39-50%), followed by instructional behavior, procedures, content, materials, and learning objectives (Clark & Peterson, 1986). Mackay and Marland (1978) found at least 30 or more potential decision points in a lesson. They categorize teachers' thoughts into perceptions, interpretations, prospective tactical deliberations, retrospective tactical deliberations, reflections, anticipations, information (pupil), information (other), goal statements, fantasies, and feelings. In addition, Jackson (1965) estimates that elementary teachers participate in as many as 1000 interpersonal interchanges per day.

Teacher decision making has often been characterized as intuitive, rather than rational. Intuition, as well as idealism and nurturing behavior, is now, because of teacher thinking research, beginning to be seen as crucial to the act of teaching (Clark & Lampert, 1986; Jackson, 1968). Lowyck concludes that trial and error behaviors are common in teaching and that there may not be "an exclusively rational theory of teaching" (1986, p. 24). Jackson would agree, adding that "the activities assumed to accompany rational thought processes . . . and other manifestations of orderly cognition are not very salient in the teacher's behavior as he flits back and forth from one student to another and from one activity to the next" (1968, p. 151). He adds that the teacher "must be content with doing not what he knows is right, but what he thinks or feels is the most appropriate action in a particular situation" (p. 167).

Not only is intuition valued, but apparent inconsistencies in teacher behavior are also now seen as justifiable. Elbaz (1981) found
that teachers are sometimes inconsistent because of the influence of context and their "practical knowledge," which causes them to make seemingly incongruous decisions. Mackay and Marland (1978) agreed, accepting a phenomenon they called "strategic leniency": applying rules less vigorously when necessary for disadvantaged students.

Studies of teachers' classroom (interactive) decision making commonly use stimulated recall techniques, a method of eliciting teacher reflective comments about the classroom decisions he or she has made (e.g., Lowyck, 1986; Mackay & Marland, 1978; McNair, 1978-79; Nespor, 1984a, 1984b; Peterson & Clark, 1978). The teacher is videotaped during classroom interaction, and then the researcher and teacher view the videotape together and discuss it.

One early stimulated recall study of teacher interactive decision making involved twelve experienced teachers who each taught a two-and-one-half-hour social studies lesson to three groups of eight randomly assigned seventh and eighth grade students (Peterson & Clark, 1978). Teachers were videotaped and later questioned about their decision making during stimulated recall interviews. Four "paths" of instructional decisions were discovered: path 1 was "business as usual;" path 2 was followed when student behavior was intolerable but no alternative instructional techniques were available; path 3 was a result of intolerable student behavior, alternatives were available, but the teacher chose not to change behavior; and path 4 was when student behavior was intolerable, alternatives were available, and the teacher chose alternative behaviors (p. 556). Path 1 was most often taken, again demonstrating the tenacity of teachers' use of instructional
routines (Tinger, 1979). Path 4 was second most common. Teachers who reported following path 2 expressed feeling helpless or surprised. Path 3 was taken when a teacher decided that continuing the routine was the least damaging alternative.

Morine-Dershimer and Vallance (1975), in their study of 18 second-grade and 20 fifth-grade teachers, found that teachers considered from 2.2 to 3.7 alternatives—an average of three alternative courses—when making decisions. Mackay and Marland (1978), however, found that teachers rarely considered more than two alternatives. As a result of the South Bay Study, McNair (1978-79) concluded that teachers' thoughts were less those of decision-making and more often concentrated on the "fine tuning" of the system of activities. As McNair stated, "On the whole, plans are not scrapped, they are refined instead" (p. 42). These fine adjustments permit the teachers to continue their routines.

Continuing with the chosen routine is a means to "gain and maintain cooperation in classroom activities" and to suppress deviant behavior in students, according to Doyle (1979, p. 47). He remarks that Kounin's (1970) teacher skills of "withitness," overlap, group focus, and movement management are necessary to deal successfully with "behavior tasks"—violations of classroom rules. These behavior tasks are often successful in interrupting the teachers' classroom routines. Doyle finds automatized routines necessary to allow the teacher to reserve conscious processing for monitoring behavior task initiations, thereby maintaining cooperation.

Doyle asserts that implicit theories of teachers are primarily theories of cooperation rather than of learning (1979, p. 68) and that
their decision making is based on the maintenance of cooperation. This supports the finding of Clark and Peterson that "the interactive decision making of the teachers in this sample was not aimed at optimizing instruction" (1976, p. 5). Doyle would suggest that it was, rather, aimed at optimizing cooperation.

**Implicit Theories and Preconceptions**

Studying teachers' beliefs may expand our knowledge of how teaching occurs and provide us with information about how to change or influence teaching practices (Nespor, 1984b). As Clark and Peterson state,

> While we may learn much that is interesting and useful from a technical point of view from research on teacher planning, interactive thinking, and teachers' attributions, we can make sense of these findings only in relation to the psychological context in which the teacher plans and decides (1986, p. 285).

To understand this psychological context, we must make teachers' implicit theories explicit.

These theories have been discovered in varying ways by different researchers. Several studies used Kelly's (1955) Repertory Grid Technique (Duffy, 1977; McQualter, 1986; Munby, 1982); others used participant observation (Elbaz, 1981; Janesick, 1978); still others used stimulated recall interviews (Mackay & Marland, 1978); and some used all three methods (Morine-Dershimer, 1983; Nespor, 1984a, 1984c).

Duffy (1977) employed Kelly's Repertory Grid Technique interviews to isolate 11 teachers who held strong beliefs about reading from a population of 350. These 11 evidenced three "conceptions of
reading": (a) a structured view, which encompasses the basal and linear skill categories; (b) a more unstructured view encompassing the natural language, interest, and integrated whole categories; and (c) an "uncategorizable group of teachers who either reflect eclectic belief systems encompassing several categories or who have no discernable beliefs about reading" (pp. 3-4). Of the eight teachers who evidenced strong belief systems, four consistently employed practices that directly reflected their beliefs, as validated by observations. Duffy concluded that teachers are, in truth, decision makers and that their decisions are based on their beliefs and conceptions about what they teach (p. 8).

A continuation of this research (Bawden, Buike, & Duffy, 1979) found seven general principles regarding teacher conceptions:

1. Teachers do have conceptions of reading.
2. Most teachers have more than one conception of reading.
3. Teachers also explain their instructional decisions with categorizable statements that represent "non-reading" conceptions.
4. Some teachers possess more complex conceptions than others.
5. Teacher conceptions seem to vary in stability from teacher to teacher.
6. A teacher's reading conception may be related to the grade level taught and to the pupils' ability level.
7. Teachers modify and change their conceptions of reading and reading instruction over time (pp. 7-10).

Munby also used a modification of Kelly's Repertory Grid Technique to interview "an experienced female teacher of seventh-grade Language Arts" (1982, p. 218). She first provided brief statements describing her teaching, which the researcher wrote on cards (the "elements" of the grid). She then grouped the cards according to her own categories. As she described the composition of the groups, the
researcher recorded her phrases and statements to form the "construct axis" for the grid. The teacher then rated the strength of associations between each element and each construct from 1 to 3. This grid was subjected to factor analysis, which yielded five factors. A second interview, with researcher and teacher working together, produced the following beliefs: (a) caring for the students genuinely is as important as is the Language Arts curriculum itself, if not more so; (b) the conduct of teaching and learning is purposeful and mannerly; (c) learning in Language Arts requires considerable activity; (d) teaching and learning involves developing open and candid relationships; and (e) seventh graders are insufficiently mature to make fully valid judgments (pp. 222-223).

During their stimulated recall study of six elementary teachers, Mackay and Marland (1978) discovered five "principles of teaching" or implicit theories. The principle of compensation allowed teachers to discriminate in favor of the disadvantaged student. The principle of strategic leniency permitted teachers to apply rules less vigorously sometimes with the disadvantaged. The principle of power sharing enabled teachers to use good students as examples, thereby sharing the power to influence with them. The principle of progressive checking caused the teacher to interrupt seat work by low-ability students to check progress, diagnose problems, and give encouragement. The principle of suppressing emotions accounts for teachers' attempts to maintain a relatively rational classroom atmosphere. Teachers expressed this principle by maintaining silence for lengthy periods of time and using nonverbal communications to suppress enthusiasm or undesirable
Janesick studied a sixth-grade teacher's classroom "perspective"—"a combination of beliefs and behaviors continually modified by social interaction" (1978, p. 3). After seven months of participant observation, she found that her teacher acted upon the "concern for creating, maintaining, and restoring a group" (p. 7). This concern manifested itself in the classroom as the teacher (a) designed activities with rewards for students; (b) planned, organized, and provided group activities that led to group consensus; (c) developed norms for behavior that provided students freedom and gave the teacher flexibility; (d) acted as group leader; and (e) modeled behavior that represented respect and cooperation, the major classroom goals (p. 8).

An imbalance in the classroom arose when the teacher was absent for half days during eight weeks from January to March. When he returned, restoring the class sense of "groupness" was achieved largely through group activities, such as a Mexican fiesta. The teacher constantly guided his actions by focusing on the group and relating student background and behavior to the group goals of respect and cooperation. It appeared that the teacher's primary concern was not learning, as Jackson (1968) doubted, but rather concern for establishing the group. The teacher succeeded in getting students to learn through the concept of groupness. His curriculum, then, depended upon his classroom perspective.

Elbaz found a teacher's implicit theories to be her "practical knowledge," composed of knowledge of subject matter, curriculum, instruction, self, and the milieu of schooling (1981, p. 48).
matter knowledge included the teacher's conceptions of different parts of the subject, how her subject differed from others, and what modifications she made to the subject matter when teaching. Curriculum knowledge referred to curriculum development and underlying theory; instructional knowledge included organization of instruction, learning theory, the role of the student, and evaluation. Knowledge of self referred to the teacher's image of herself as a professional, her position in the classroom and the school, and the authority and responsibility she assumed. Knowledge of milieu included relationships with other teachers and the administration, the political context of teaching, and the basic setting of the classroom. Elbaz also identified five orientations of practical knowledge: situational, theoretical, personal, social, and experiential (p. 49). Three terms expressed the structure of this knowledge: "rule of practice," which may be followed methodically, "practical principle," which is used reflectively, and "image," which guides action in an intuitive way. Data for this case study were collected through five interviews and two observations of one high school English teacher.

Bussis, Chittenden, and Amarel interviewed 60 elementary teachers, who were attempting to implement "open education," in order to "investigate the understanding and constructs of these teachers" (1976, p. 1). Kelly's theory of personal constructs (1955) formed the theoretical framework for this study. The interviews were divided into sections labeled curriculum/child and working environment. Curriculum concerns were categorized as surface—the variety of encounters a teacher plans and provides for children—and deep—the organizing
content that consists of the learning priorities and concerns that a teacher holds for children (p. 50). Materials and provisions were coded as valuable for various purposes, including motivational and social reasons. Teachers' beliefs about children's needs and feelings, interests and choices, and social interactions were coded as were their beliefs about children's abilities to learn in differing situations. Teachers were also interviewed about their adult relationships with other teachers, aides, the principal, and parents and their perceptions of support from advisors.

Morine-Dershimer (1978-79a, 1978-79b) conducted two interview studies of teachers' beliefs about students as part of the South Bay Study. She first investigated the concepts these 10 teachers used to organize their observations of pupils and found that the concepts were not inflexible and stable but varied depending upon the time of year, the observational setting, and the curriculum-management system (1978-79a). Six types of student characteristics were commonly mentioned (in order of frequency): ability/achievement, involvement in instruction, personality, peer relationships, activity orientation (variations in teacher groupings based on the activity that students were engaged in), and growth/progress (p. 45). She found that teacher valence (positive, neutral, or negative) toward students varied over time with negative labeling peaking in November, neutral labeling increasing steadily over the year, and positive labeling remaining fairly stable. Teachers' focuses shifted during the school year also. In September, the focus was on personality; in November, on involvement in instruction; in June, on growth/progress and peer relationships. At
no time during the year was ability/achievement a dominant characteristic. Overall, time of year influenced categories most often.

The second study (Morine-Dershimer, 1978-79b) queried teachers about their beliefs concerning pupil success in reading achievement in September (after the first day of school), in November, and in June. November predictions proved to be more accurate than September ones; however, beliefs changed little between November and June. Teachers' predictions for pupils labeled "successful" were very accurate even on the first day of school.

The Basic Teachers' Beliefs Study (Morine-Dershimer, 1983; Nespor, 1984a, 1984b, 1984c) explored the implicit theories of eight teachers who were observed and videotaped once a week for 12 weeks. Four stimulated recall interviews and four Repertory Grid interviews were conducted with each teacher. Each teacher's belief system was characterized, and observations attempted to validate or disprove the data from both types of interviews (See Morine-Dershimer, 1983, for a justification of this triangulation of methods.).

With data from the Basic Teachers' Beliefs Study, Nespor (1984b) studied teachers' goals and concluded that teachers' reports of beliefs may be retrospective sense-making. Goals may be thought of only after the fact. The social interaction of an interview, such as a stimulated recall procedure, may cause teachers to discover their goals and define the tasks of teaching. As Clark notes, "... journal keeping, clinical interviews, stimulated recall sessions, and articulation of beliefs and implicit principles of practice have instigated a new awareness among a few teachers. These techniques ... may constitute
professional development activities of the broadest kind" (1988a, p. 9).

**Implications of Teacher Thinking Studies**

Clark and Yinger state the mission of teacher thinking research: "We believe the goal of research on teaching is to develop an image of teaching" (1987, p. 363), and Smith asserts that "we now have a body of knowledge about classroom variables—patterns and processes of teacher behavior" (1983, p. 143). Of what use is this developing image and our body of knowledge for the preparation of future teachers? Classes in teacher education and field experiences should be "reexamined in light of research on teacher thinking," according to Clark and Lampert (1986, p. 30). This research has "small but important contributions to make to the practice of teacher education" (Clark, 1988a, p. 6). It can be useful to help preservice teachers form their own "images" of what teaching is (see also Zitlow, 1986). Preservice teachers should be informed about planning, uncertainties, and dilemmas in order to form more accurate implicit theories.

In-service teachers may also benefit from teacher thinking research, both as participants in the research and as consumers of this research. As consumers, practicing teachers accept teacher thinking research more easily than experimental research because it is a description of them—or teachers like them. Teacher thinking research does not choose the exceptional teacher to study. As participant and collaborator in the research, the practicing teacher participates in self-reflection, which, according to Clark (1988b) "gives new life to teaching." According to Fenstermacher, "Research bears on practice as
it alters the truth or falsity of beliefs that teachers have, as it changes the nature of these beliefs, and as it adds new beliefs" (1986, p. 43).

Teacher thinking research, by revealing the complexity and uncertainty of teaching, serves to promote the respect of the profession as a whole. In addition, it shows both members of the profession and the general public the flexibility, dedication, and artistry of the classroom teacher.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

To understand why individuals behave as they do, one must understand both the grounds on which they render their simplifications or constructions, and the particular constructions they create (Shulman, 1986, p. 17).

The purpose of this study was the discovery of the pedagogical constructions of immersion teaching possessed by six elementary French immersion teachers. As a secondary purpose, the influence of these constructions on their interactive decision making was explored. These goals necessarily required a qualitative research approach and an emergent research design. This type of research design belies a definite a priori description of the research. The image of the hermeneutic circle (Dilthey, 1976) is useful to the conception of the emergent research design. One begins with a "bounding" of the study (Lincoln & Cuba, 1985) and some general conceptions, then proceeds to more particular ideas as the data analysis suggests. Subsequent stages in the research guide its direction and any modifications of the design. Each stage serves to focus and deepen the inquiry.

The study was comprised of three stages: orientation, data collection and analysis, and audit. Techniques appropriate to each stage were utilized. Based loosely on the Teacher Beliefs Study (Morine-Dershimer, 1983; Nespor, 1984a, 1984b, 1984c), this research
employed a presentation of the study, preliminary observations, and document analysis in stage one; participant observation (Spradley, 1980), structured interviews, and stimulated recall interviews (Bloom, 1965) in stage two; and member-checking and external auditing (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) in stage three. Triangulation was achieved by the use of these various techniques (see Morine-Dershimer, 1983). This cross-verification of data analysis contributed significantly to the trustworthiness of the study.

**Orientation**

After obtaining appropriate permissions from the city's public school district superintendent and the elementary school principal, the researcher spent the first six weeks of the study becoming familiar with the school. Preliminary observations and conversations were conducted during this stage. The researcher also studied documents and spoke informally with secondary informants, such as principals, aides, and custodians, to establish rapport while trying to become more unobtrusive in the classroom. During this stage, an *emic* perspective was established; that is, the researcher attempted to operate with an "insider's" viewpoint in the school context. Her facility with the French language was a definite asset, allowing her to converse in the francophone teachers' native language. Enthusiasm for the immersion approach as well as genuine admiration for public elementary school teachers increased her acceptance into the school community.
Analysis of preliminary data helped the researcher to refine her research questions and define the categories for study. Because the focus of the study is teachers' beliefs as they relate to the facilitation of immersion school learning, many presage and context variables emerged as influential to the processes occurring in the classroom (Dunkin & Biddle, 1974).

**Data collection and analysis**

After presenting an information sheet to the principal and deleting journal entries from possible data collection techniques at his request, the researcher explained the purposes and methods of the study to all nine teachers at the school during a staff meeting (see Appendix A, September 12, 1988). Because two teachers were beginning immersion teachers and one was taking maternity leave during data collection, the remaining six were chosen as respondents, and they all enthusiastically agreed to participate. During this meeting, one research question was significantly modified (see Appendix A, September 14, 1988, updated information sheet) at one teacher's insistence.

The researcher then scheduled observations of and interviews with each of the six immersion teachers (see Appendix A, September 14, 1988, schedule). Purposeful sampling (Bodgan & Biklen, 1982), which identifies respondents with maximum variation in their construct systems, was used. Both native speakers and non-native speakers, primary teachers and upper-elementary teachers served as respondents. During the two-day observation period, two hours of each participating teacher's classes were videotaped. Although ethnographic semantics
interviews (see Spradley, 1979; Donmoyer, 1985) were planned, structured interviews were conducted at the request of the principal, who wanted to approve interview questions before their use.

From these two-hour tapes of classroom interaction, the researcher and camera person prepared 30 minutes of representative tape for each teacher. Activities that illustrated significant methodological procedures were included as was footage that promised to stimulate discussion. These tapes were then used for the stimulated recall procedures, which have been used in several studies of interactive decision making (Blank, 1986; Clark & Peterson, 1976; Haigh, 1981; Lowyck, 1986; MacKay & Marland, 1978; McNair, 1978-79; Morine-Dershimer, 1983; Nespor, 1984a, 1984b, 1984c; Peterson & Clark, 1978). All interviews were audiotaped and transcribed for future analysis.

The researcher was especially interested in the teachers' comments about explicit French language teaching and error correction in the immersion setting. Other concerns surfaced during the orientation period and are reflected in the structured interview questions and the stimulated recall interview questions, which were different for each teacher (see Appendix A).

Good and Brophy note that teachers are often unaware of their teaching behavior (1973, p. 25). The stimulated recall interviews proved to be useful for consciousness-raising and as a stimulus for teacher self-reflection, which, according to Shulman and Elstein (1975), is the essence of learning.
To increase the trustworthiness of the study, a non-self-report method of data collection was used to corroborate or disprove the findings from the self-report data—the structured interviews and the stimulated recall procedure. Classroom observations, which depended upon researcher reports, were particularly valuable to the integrity of the study. The purpose of these observations was not to answer the question "What works?" but rather to find out "What is happening here and why?" (Clark, 1978-79). Participant observations, recorded in field notes, took place over a period of 10 weeks. Field notes were transcribed and examined for teachers' implicit beliefs as evidenced in their classroom behavior. The data derived from observations was analyzed and compared with interview data. This triangulation of methods helped the researcher make sense of the data (see Mathison, 1988).

**Trustworthiness Measures**

Throughout the study, the researcher made notes on methodology and theory and recorded her perceptions of the study. After presenting all the teachers with their descriptions and single-case analyses, individual 20-minute member-checking interviews were conducted to verify the accuracy of the descriptions and the validity of the analyses, thus adding to the trustworthiness of the findings. As a result of these interviews, some grammatical changes were made in the teachers' reported utterances. Nadine requested that her clarifications be included in the document and that some material be deleted. Because of her strong feelings, the researcher made some substantive
modifications. In all other cases, only grammar was changed.

The categories dictated by the research questions and modified by the study were judged to be reliable by interrater reliability procedures: A near-native French-speaking graduate student and the researcher watched videotapes of one teacher during classroom activities and during her interview. A correlation coefficient of .81 was achieved. After intensive further training, the process was repeated with another teacher's videotapes, and a coefficient of .98 was reached.

After the 420 pages of raw data were entered by category into a data management system, printouts were obtained for each teacher and again for each category. This enabled the researcher to perform both the single-case analyses and the cross-case analysis with all of the data in view. Examples of these printouts, both by teacher and by category, can be found in Appendix C.

Instances of references to a given category of behavior or thought were counted for each teacher (see Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 216). Quotations were assumed to be 10 lines long; those that were longer were counted as one occurrence per 10 lines of data. These occurrences were tabulated and appear in the Individual Data Matrices. The Crosscase Combination Data Matrix resulted from analyses of observation and interview data by category across teachers.

An audit trail (Lincoln & Cuba, 1985, pp. 319-320) was maintained as evidence of the carefulness of the researcher. Categories included in the audit trail are raw data, data reduction and analysis products, data reconstruction and synthesis products, process notes, and instrument development information.
CHAPTER IV
DESCRIPTION

What we're trying to do is make an environment that is conducive to an atmosphere where people can learn.
(Robert Loffland, principal)

Glenwood School is a one-story, beige brick building, built in 1962 as a neighborhood school in an apparently affluent area of a large midwestern city. Wooded lots and well-established homes reflect the security and prosperity of the immediate neighborhood. Elementary-school enrollment in the neighborhood did not remain constant, however, causing the school to be closed and subsequently leased to a local hospital as a rehabilitation unit for occupational therapy. The hospital personnel vacated in the spring of 1987, leaving a shell of a building to be prepared for its re-opening as a school in the fall of 1987. On August first, the principal began working in his office without even a desk. By the end of August, though, furniture and supplies were ready, and Glenwood School re-opened as an elementary alternative school with French as the dominant language of instruction.

Eighty-eight elementary schools serve this public school district. Twenty-two of these are alternative schools that emphasize special content areas or methodologies: science/math/environmental, fine arts, international, literature based/language arts, Spanish, French, and academic/physical education content areas and Montessori, traditional, informal, individual instruction, and open-space
methodological orientations. Although some alternative schools also serve as neighborhood schools and require children in the vicinity to attend, all students, who live throughout the city, apply for admission.

Parents may apply to two alternative schools per year for their children. Chosen by lottery for admission, alternative school enrollments must reflect the racial composition of the 66,000 students in the local public school district. As a result, students at Glenwood are 45% non-white and 55% white, and 33% have free or reduced-price lunch status as specified by the federal government's family income guidelines. Glenwood's success is apparent in its continued growth: Although it opened in the fall of 1987 with 127 students, it finished that academic year with an enrollment of 167, and the enrollment for 1988-89 is 226.

Because students are bussed from neighborhood school pick-up points throughout the city, they sometimes spend more than one hour in transit. Seven busses transport children to and from Glenwood on a daily basis, two others transport morning kindergarten children home at noon, and another one brings children to afternoon kindergarten at 12:45. Bussing causes safety concerns for the principal because parents hold the school responsible for their children until they arrive at home.

Relationships with Glenwood parents are generally excellent. The Parent-Teachers Association is extremely active and generous: over 50 parent volunteers helped at the school, and the PTA paid the salary of the vocal music instructor during both years of Glenwood's operation.
(1987-88 and 1988-89). Its president spends many hours a week at the school, sometimes performing duties of the paid staff, such as answering the telephone when the secretary is busy. Because of the diverse socio-economic statuses of the students, the principal insists upon a consistent and strict discipline code. Although the children come from home situations with varying attitudes toward discipline, Glenwood's discipline code governs them when they are at school. The teachers understand and respect these rules, sometimes making an inside joke of what they have heard very often: "We don't do that at Glenwood School."

Although the playground is limited by a railroad track that crosses 100 feet behind the school, the Glenwood building itself is spacious, including a computer laboratory housing 16 Apple IIe units, a workroom with a large capacity laminating machine, a two-room library/media center, and two teachers' lounges—one smoking and one non-smoking. The smoking lounge, where most of the European teachers congregate and French is the predominant language of communication, is also the kitchen area. Birthday celebrations, news exchanges, and general mutual support sessions take place in this lounge.

When the school was being readied for its opening, the library was one small, empty room. As a result of visits to other immersion schools in Milwaukee; Montgomery County, Maryland; and Canada, Mr. Loffland made some tradition-breaking decisions about the Glenwood library. He removed a wall in order to join two rooms—one for French and one for English—and, because the central office wanted to catalog all the French and English books together, Christine Farkas, the librarian, assumed the task of separately cataloging the 3000 new French
children's books. She thoughtfully placed her desk in the larger French room, where there are five tables, including one that serves as a multi-media learning center with a multiple headset tape-recorder and a screen for slides or filmstrips. Subscriptions to French-language magazines supplement the regular curriculum in science and primary-level education, and all bulletin boards, book marks, and notes sent home from the library are in French. The English room, where Mme Farkas reads English stories to each class once a week, houses globes, reference books, non-fiction and fiction books—a total of about 3000 holdings. The entire staff is justifiably proud of the library at Glenwood School, and teachers anticipate the day when their students will be fluent enough to enjoy the French books more completely.

Besides the librarian, other full-time staff members include Sandra Kinnard, the secretary; Willard Powell, the night custodian; and Roger Hill, the head custodian. Part-time staff include the teacher's aide, who helps with materials production and supervises students on the playground; and the food service worker. All the staff seem committed to educating the whole child, and Mr. Hill, especially, often helps discipline the children. As the only Black staff member, he often adds insight and perspective to interactions with Black children, and Mr. Loffland encourages him in this role.

Two-thirds of the nine teachers at Glenwood are native speakers of French: five are Belgian and were hired away from French as a Second Language programs in Louisiana, and one is a French citizen who most recently ran a bilingual pre-school. All of them began teaching at Glenwood last year. The non-native speakers of French include one
returning teacher—a native speaker of both English and Italian—and two new teachers this academic year—one a local resident and the other a native of Brazil, for whom French is a third language. When the local public school system was recruiting teachers, they first advertised in the metropolitain area and within the school system, but generally found only "elementary teachers who knew a little French" or "high school/college-professor types who thought that they could come in and teach kindergarten," according to Mr. Loffland. In his words, "I wasn't willing to settle for either one."

He chose instead well-qualified, dedicated teachers and arranged staff development activities to make them even more current and effective in the classroom. Sessions with resource personnel guided them in organizing their reading/writing curriculum and informed them about student learning styles while a first-year-teacher coordinator intervened in concerns they expressed to her. As part of a large urban public school system, the teachers benefit from resource personnel and comfortable salaries but are constrained by the city-wide "Graded Course of Study," which dictates content to be covered at each grade level. Completing this curriculum while instructing in French is the constant struggle Glenwood teachers face.

In spite of this time-filling struggle, all of the Glenwood teachers chose to participate in the current study. Because two were first-year teachers, and one was on maternity leave during data collection, only six teachers were selected to be observed and
interviewed. This description section concludes with sketches of the teachers and descriptions of their classrooms, their students, and their school days. The teachers will be called Pierre, kindergarten; Denise and Marie, first grade; Nadine, second grade; Patrice, third grade; and Estelle, fifth grade.

Pierre

"Tout commence à zéro." ["Everything begins at zero."]

The Teacher

The only male member of the Glenwood teaching staff, Pierre was born in Belgium and educated at the Institut Supérieur de Pédagogie de l'Etat in Brussels. He first taught three years in Louisiana's French as a Second Language program, then one year in an "école maternelle" ["kindergarten" for children ages three to six] in Belgium—his best preparation for immersion, he believes—then another two years in Louisiana. Although his certification was "pré-scolaire," Pierre convinced the Belgian government to send him to Louisiana to teach kindergarten through eighth graders. His argument was that his training to teach beginning kindergarten-age learners better prepared him for teaching any age beginning second-language student.

He taught in Louisiana for five years, one of which was spent with five fifth-graders in a French-only class in an otherwise English-language elementary school. Although it was called "immersion," Pierre believes it was a misnomer when he compares it to Glenwood's program. Single, 29 years old, he devotes his free time to classes
that he must take to be certified in the United States as an elementary school teacher.

Pierre insisted on teaching kindergarten at Glenwood School so that he could help socialize the younger students. He is very serious about his work and believes that he is succeeding. Last year's kindergartners are "bien formés" ["well disciplined"], he believes, and Marie, their teacher this year, concurs. Pierre is devoted to the program and would like to see even more of a school community with teachers feeling free to share learning centers, field trips, and performances with other classrooms.

According to Pierre, he has two tasks: His top priority is assuring each child's success in kindergarten; his second concern is their learning the French language. Bilingualism by fifth grade is the goal of Glenwood's program, an early total immersion program, which demands that the kindergarten teacher speak only French. This requirement sometimes frustrates Pierre, who wonders whether spending the first day in English would help the children understand rules and procedures better. He believes that they should know he understands English so that they feel more at ease, and he sometimes addresses individual children in their native tongue, out of earshot of the class as a whole.

Pierre is extremely patient in his classroom, but finds life to be a struggle sometimes. His visa expires at the end of this academic year, a fact that seems to distress him. In addition, Pierre believes that the classes he must take for certification are often irrelevant, yet he must pay private college tuition for them because the nearby
state university was unsympathetic to the dilemma of five European teachers needing American certification, he thinks.

The Classes

Nearly double the size of last year's classes, the morning kindergarten has 27 children; the afternoon has 22. Pierre finds his ability to establish order inhibited by these large classes and is relieved to have an occasional college-student helper.

The classes are a mélange, as are all classes at Glenwood: a determined French teacher's son; an immature, asthmatic boy, who is distracted by the stimuli in the room; a tearful blond girl; and a rattailed hunk of a five-year-old who comprehends and uses "Monsieur" ["Mister"] and "assis" ["seated"] the first day. In general, the morning class has less task orientation, completing activities more slowly than the afternoon group. Pierre explains this by noting that more of the morning children ride busses, some spending an hour in transit each morning. This results in children who arrive fatigued and restless. The afternoon class is also a problem: The children are "nervous" and cannot sit still 20 minutes, according to Pierre. Both classes are "wild" compared to those he taught last year, and Pierre finds himself "dead on his feet" by four o'clock.

The Room

Room 1—the "jardin d'enfants" ["kindergarten"]—is wonder-filled with color. Mobiles of animals with color words on their
backsides, bright red apples, and green streamers hang from the ceiling. Shiny yellow posters with bright red objects, each representing a quantity from 1 to 10, decorate the upper walls. Huge crayons with color names written on them in French occupy the front bulletin board while colored buses help each child remember which one to board.

The main room is filled with games, puzzles, books, easels, posters, and blackboards; a private restroom solves emergency problems; and a separate hallway houses a playhouse, playground equipment, and other large play-time paraphernalia.

The School Day

8:55—Pierre bounces down the hall to the entrance hallway where the kindergartners are lined up waiting for him. A cheery "Bonjour" starts their day as he leads them to Room 1. They enter quietly, hang
their coats and bookbags, and take a seat inside one of the squares
drawn on the carpet—a necessity to separate so many children in close
quarters. Pierre begins "circle time" with a song, "Bonjour, mes amis,
bonjour" ["Hello, my friends, hello"], which he repeats with individual
student's names. He remarks on David's return to school after an
illness and everyone's good behavior: "Tout le monde est bien assis
comme les Indiens" ["Everyone is sitting nicely, Indian-style"]—what
Pierre would call "assis comme un tailleur" ["seated like a tailor"] if
he were teaching in Belgium.

Next, the class sings "Frère Jacques," performing body movements
with the words—sleeping and ringing bells. They repeat the song
several times, singing "doucement" ["softly"], then humming to help
memorize the song while performing the body movements, a technique
called "intérieurisation," according to Pierre.

Then, to the tune of "Who's afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?" they
sing a song that Pierre created:

Qui a peur du petit fantôme?
Ce n'est pas nous, ce n'est pas nous!
Qui a peur du petit fantôme?
Ce n'est pas nous du tout!

Qui a peur de la sorcière? (etc.)
Qui a peur du grand squelette? (etc.)
Qui a peur du gros chat noir? (etc.)

["Who's afraid of the little ghost? Not us, not us! Who's
afraid of the little ghost? Not us at all! Who's afraid of the witch?
(etc.) Who's afraid of the tall skeleton? (etc.) Who's afraid of the
fat black cat? (etc.")]

Expanding on the song and integrating language studies and math,
Pierre asks, "Qui peut montrer à Monsieur la sorcière? Camille, viens
montrer la sorcière à Monsieur." ["Who can show me the witch? Camille,
come and show me the witch." She hasn't understood, so he calls on
Tim, who points to one of the witches hanging from the ceiling. They
all count how many witches there are, "Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq,
six, sept, huit, neuf, dix." ["One, two, three, four, five, six, seven,
eight, nine, ten."] Pierre then asks for the "gros chat noir" ["fat
black cat"], the "petit fantôme" ["little ghost"], and the "grand
squelette" ["tall skeleton"]. He takes the skeleton down from its
hanger, asks, "Où est la main du squelette? La tête? Les épaules?"
["Where is the skeleton's hand? His head? His shoulders?"] and then
sings:

Tête, épaules, genoux, pieds, genoux, pieds.
Tête, épaules, genoux, pieds, genoux, pieds.
J'ai deux yeux, deux oreilles, une bouche, et puis un nez.
Tête, épaules, genoux, pieds, genoux, pieds.

["Head, shoulders, knees, feet, knees, feet (repeated once). I
have two eyes, two ears, one mouth, and one nose. Head, shoulders,
knees, feet, knees, feet."]

Pierre has the "squelette" act out the movements—something the children
find very amusing. Then, he instructs the children, "Mettez-vous
debout." ["Stand up."] They all sing this translation of an American
body-movement song that Pierre learned during his years in Louisiana.
To vary the repetitions, Pierre commands, "Très, très vite," then "très
lentement maintenant" ["very, very fast," then "very slowly now"
].

Integrating science, Pierre moves the cardboard skeleton into
poses impossible for children, "On chatouille les oreilles avec les
pieds? C'est possible pour un enfant? Non, c'est impossible!" ["Can we
tickle our ears with our feet? Is that possible for a child? No,
that's impossible!"].
Next, Pierre begins his daily routine, "Quel est le jour de la semaine? Betsy?" ["What day of the week is it? Betsy?""] Betsy answers that it is Wednesday. Pierre says, "Oui, c'est mercredi." Then, pointing to the October Wednesdays on his calendar, he asks, "C'est le cinq, le douze, le dix-neuf, ou le vingt-six? Oui, le vingt ... le vingt-six." ["Is it the fifth, the twelfth, the nineteenth, or the twenty-sixth? Yes, the twenty ... the twenty-sixth."] By his rising intonation, the children know to complete the date, "octobre."

"C'est combien de jours jusqu'à Halloween?" ["How many days is it until Halloween?"] Pierre helps the children count, "Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq" ["One, two, three, four, five"]. Continuing the theme of Halloween, he asks, "Qu'est-ce que tu vas être?" which one of the children helps the entire class understand by saying, "What are you gonna be for Halloween?" to another child. The children's English explanations avoid the use of English by the teacher and "make(s) the children feel good, too," according to Pierre.

Pierre asks each child what his costume will be. "Skeleton." (Pierre offers "un squelette.") "A fairy"—"une fée." "A monster"—"Un monstre. Monsieur a peur des monstres." ["Monsieur is afraid of monsters."] "A vampire"—"Un vampire avec des grandes dents?" ["A vampire with big teeth?"] Each child's choice is valued and translated, again making them "feel good about the answers," Pierre believes.

soleil?" ["Jane, look at the weather. Listen to Jane and listen to
there small clouds? A little sunshine?"] After going to the window to
check, Jane offers that there are clouds, which there are not. Pierre
then walks to the window himself and says, "Jane, viens, où sont les
nuages?" ["Jane, come, where are the clouds?"] After asking another
student to help her decide the weather, Pierre states, "Non, il n'y a
pas de nuages. Il y a un gros soleil et le ciel est tout bleu." ["No,
there aren't any clouds. The sun is shining and the sky is very blue."]
He holds up a giant blue crayon to demonstrate.

Pierre and the class then recite and perform the rhythmic finger
play:

Frappe, frappe, frappe, les doigts croisés;
Frappe, frappe, frappe, les bras croisés;
Frappe, frappe, frappe, les mains fermées;
Frappe, frappe, frappe, les pouces levés.

["Clap, clap, clap, fingers crossed; clap, clap, clap, arms
folded; clap, clap, clap, hands closed (into a fist); clap, clap, clap,
thumbs raised."]

9:35—Calling roll while lining up the children for a visit to
"les toilettes" [the restroom], Pierre says, "On écoute Monsieur et on
dit 'présent.'" ["Listen to Monsieur and say 'present.'"] As he calls
each child's name, they line up in one of two lines—boys' or girls'.
Pierre is happy that all are at school today, he says. The children
pair off, holding hands, and Pierre reminds them of good hallway
behavior: "Dans le couloir, on parle? Non. La bouche fermée. Est-ce
qu'on court?" ["In the hallway, do we talk? No. Mouths closed. Do we
run?"] The children answer negatively, and Pierre gives them permission
to walk: "Avancez." ["Go ahead."]

The two lines stop outside the restroom/washroom area, and Pierre sends three or four children (counting "un, deux, trois, quatre") into the toilet area at a time. He remarks on the towheaded girl who sometimes cries, "Anne ne pleure pas. Elle est contente." ["Anne doesn't cry. She is happy."] He gives her a little hug, which she appreciates with a half-smile.

Starting back to the room, Phlippe again reminds them, "Est-ce qu'on parle? Non. Avancez, la bouche est fermée" ["Do we talk? No. Move ahead, mouths closed"] and "Ne touche pas le mur" ["Don't touch the walls"]. The two lines stop outside the door of Room 1. Pierre enters the room first, hands out Halloween dittoes to the children as they arrive, and sends them to their seats. On the board, he then hangs sketches of the procedures to follow with the ditto as he explains: "Un—on écrit son nom. Deux—avec le crayon on va se dessiner. Trois—on colorie. Un—écris ton nom; deux, on se dessine habillé pour Halloween; trois—on colorie. Travaillez." ["One—write your name. Two—draw with your pencil. Three—color. One—write your name; two—draw yourself dressed for Halloween; three—color. Work."] The sketches of activities are new this year and help Pierre keep a routine in the children's work.

10:00—"Encore une minute et puis on va faire autre chose." ["One more minute and then we're going to do something else."] Pierre stamps all the papers with a happy face, which he always does if they are not graded. Then, to indicate a change of activity, he again leads the class in "Frappe, frappe, frappe," ending with "La bouche fermée."
Some children are still finishing, "Un, deux, finis maintenant. Trois. Mets le papier dans le pupitre." ["One, two, finish now. Three. Put the paper in the desk."] He shows them a picture of what "dans le pupitre" means.

Pierre calls the children to the carpet area, where they take their places inside their squares. He holds up a large, happy pumpkin face, "Regardez la citrouille. La citrouille est . . ." ["Look at the pumpkin. The pumpkin is . . ."] A child answers "content" ["happy"]. He then holds up a sad-faced pumpkin: "La citrouille est . . ." A child answers, "sad," to which Pierre responds, "triste. Pourquoi? Pourquoi est-elle triste? Pour quelle raison?" ["sad. Why? Why is it sad? For what reason?"] He prompts, "Quelqu'un a une idée? Peut-être qu'elle a perdu sa maman: 'Maman, où es-tu?'" ["Someone has an idea? Maybe it lost its mother: 'Mother, where are you?'"] A child offers, "maybe because he got carved."

Pierre then holds up a frightened pumpkin face. "Elle a peur. Pourquoi?" ["She's afraid. Why?"] The students understand better this time, "Because he's ascared of Halloween stuff." Pierre continues with an angry pumpkin face, to which one child responds that the pumpkin "doesn't want to share." Pierre offers the French, "Oui, elle ne veut pas partager." Another child thinks perhaps, "Someone yelled." Pierre says, "Oui, quelqu'un a crié." After discussing the last pumpkin, which is sleepy (the children seem to know the word "fatigué"), Pierre reviews the emotions—"content, triste, peur, fâché, fatigué"—without having the students repeat.
To involve the children even more, Pierre calls individuals forward ("Ronald, viens chez Monsieur") and draws a happy face on a paper plate, which Ronald holds in front of his own face. Pierre says, "Ronald est con . . ." to which the children respond, "content." He calls other children forward to hold sad, angry, fearful, and tired faces, then asks "Qui est content? Qui est triste? Qui est fâché? Qui a peur? Qui est fatigué?" ["Who is happy? Who is sad? Who is angry? Who is afraid? Who is tired?"] The children answer the questions with the participating children's names; those holding plates sit down, leaving the plates on Pierre's desk. Next, Pierre calls other individuals to choose plates that show the different emotions. These children hold the plates they chose in front of their faces as Pierre asks why they are feeling as they do, eliciting such answers as "happy because I got some cookies" and "angry because you can't go with your friend." Validating and expressing feelings seem important in Glenwood's kindergarten.

Pierre marks the boundaries between activities by again reciting the finger play, "Frappe, frappe, frappe." Next, he explains the steps to follow for the pumpkin-face ditto (see Appendix B), "Un—on écrit son nom. Deux—avec un crayon de couleurs, on colorie. De quelle couleur est la citrouille? Orange." ["One—you write your name. Two—with crayons, you color. What color is the pumpkin? Orange."] Then he sends the children to their seats—"On va s'asseoir à sa place"—and gives each one a ditto.

the scissors on the name"] (the name tag on each desk). He checks to be sure that everyone does this. Then, "Regardez Monsieur. Mettez le petit pot (a small plastic container) sur le nom. Est-ce que Monsieur va vite? Non, on coupe lentement. On va couper les lettres et les mettre dans le petit pot. Si tu as du papier sans lettres, mets-le dans la poubelle. Travaillez. On peut travailler. Lentement." ["Look at Monsieur. Put the 'petit pot' on your name. Does Monsieur go fast? No, we cut slowly. We are going to cut the letters and put them in the 'petit pot.' If you have any paper without letters, put it in the trashcan. Work. You can work. Slowly." ] Pierre puts a picture of scissors on the board, then a picture of glue, adding, "Tout le monde a fini de couper? Prenez la colle. Monsieur a marqué 'LA CITROUILLE.' On va chercher la lettre et la mettre dans le bon endroit. On peut coller les lettres. Qui connaît cette lettre? 'L,' oui. On peut coller le 'L.' La deuxième lettre?" ["Everyone has finished cutting? Take the glue. Monsieur has marked 'LA CITROUILLE.' We are going to look for the letter and put it in the right place. You can glue the letters. Who knows this letter? 'L,' yes. You can glue the 'L.' The second letter?"]

This attendance to minutiae may seem overdone to the casual observer. Breaking the activity into subactivities, however, helps the students follow the lesson, thereby promoting their self-esteem. It also helps the teacher maintain control of the class, helping instill two of the basic values of Glenwood—self-control and a sense of order. For example, when one child goes too fast, Pierre says, "Stop. Tu dois attendre Monsieur. Monsieur aime bien que tu le fasses en ordre."
"Stop. You must wait for Monsieur. Monsieur prefers that you do it in order."

Pierre continues to lead the children in gluing all the letters of "LA CITROUILLE." This handout will serve as a cover to a child-made book that will illustrate the different emotions of a pumpkin. Pictograms will be used, such as:

La 🎃 est 😊

The children will draw appropriate pumpkin faces, then glue the pictogram sentences on the bottom of each page. Pierre shows one child's finished cover so that the other children have a good example to follow.

Next, it is time to cut out the pumpkin shape with the words "LA CITROUILLE" glued on it. "Mettez la colle dans le pupitre et fermez bien la colle. Regardez chez Monsieur. On prend les ciseaux . . . et lentement on va bien couper sur la ligne. Oui?" ["Put the glue in your desk and close it well. Look at me. Take your scissors . . . and cut slowly and carefully on the line. OK?" ] One child imitates his pronunciation of "oui"—"ouais." Keeping control, Pierre reminds one boy, "Lentement, James, lentement." ["Slowly, James, slowly." ]

When most children seem to be finished cutting, Pierre instructs them, "Mettez les ciseaux dans la boîte." ["Put the scissors in your (crayon) box." ] As they do this, Pierre leaves the room to get the day's snack and returns with apples and applesauce.
11:00—"Ecoutez ce que Monsieur a pour le snack. C'est de la compote de pommes. Les filles, vous venez chercher. Tu vas t'asseoir à ta place." ["Listen to what Monsieur has for the snack. It is applesauce. Girls, come and get some. Go sit down in your seats."] Some of the girls choose apples instead of applesauce, "Ceux qui ont pris des pommes, viens chez Monsieur pour laver les pommes... Alors les garçons." ["Those who took apples, come with me to wash them... Now the boys."] The children wait for Pierre's command, "On peut manger. Mange, mais ne parle pas." ["You can eat. Eat, but don't talk."]

Pierre has forgotten the treat that Ronald's mother brought today for his birthday—cookies in the shape of a number six. When he remembers, "Quel âge est-ce que tu as, Ronald? Cinq ans?" ["How old are you, Ronald? Five?"] Ronald holds up six fingers, proudly. Pierre reacts with enthusiasm, "Six ans!", puts a candle on one cookie, and sings "Joyeux anniversaire" ["Happy Birthday"]. The whole class joins in for the countdown: "Un, deux, trois," and Ronald blows out the candle. Children then come forward, get a cookie and a napkin, and Pierre tells them when to eat. Afterwards, "Quand on a fini on met la serviette dans la poubelle." ["When you are finished, put your napkin in the trashcan."]

"Mettez-vous debout derrière la chaise et regardez Monsieur qui est ici." ["Stand up behind your chair and look here at Monsieur."] Pierre begins the song (to the tune of "If you're happy and you know it, clap your hands"): 
If you have joy in your heart, clap your hands; if you have joy in your heart, if you have joy in your heart, if you have joy in your heart, if you have joy in your heart, clap your hands. If you have joy in your heart, stamp your feet (etc.) If you have joy in your heart, click your fingers (etc.) La, la, la . . . . . clap your hands (etc.) La, la, la . . . . stamp your feet (etc.) La, la, la . . . click your fingers (etc.)"

The last rendition is sung without words, again for the purpose of "intérieurisation," according to Pierre.

This attention-getter/boundary-marker song prepares the students for the next activity, a ditto with four different types of leaves, which the students are to color in four different colors—"brun, rouge, jaune, orange" ["brown, red, yellow, orange"]. Pierre passes out the dittoes, then says, "Prenez le crayon brun, rouge, jaune, et orange, et vous les mettez sur le nom." ["Take your brown, red, yellow, and orange crayons and put them on your name."] Then, "Un—qu'est-ce qu'on fait d'abord? Un—j'écris mon nom. Combien y a-t-il de feuilles? Qui sait compter les feuilles?" ["One—what do we do first? One—I write my name. How many leaves are there? Who can count the leaves?"] There are 12—the number required by the local school system's "Graded Course of Study" for kindergartners to be able to "recognize and associate the set with the number," according to Pierre. The class counts together, then colors like leaves in like colors, an exercise in
11:35—It is time to prepare to go home. Pierre passes out two papers for the children to take home regarding Halloween procedures—costumes, parties, the parade. They must now stop coloring: "STOP. Mettez les crayons dans la boîte. On va les donner à Monsieur. On va les finir demain. C'est trop tard. Finis. Les crayons dans la boîte... Quand on dit le nom, on va chercher le sac et le manteau."

["STOP. Put your crayons in your box. Give them to Monsieur. We will finish them tomorrow. It's too late. Finish. Crayons in the box... When I say your name, go get your book bag and your coat."]

As Pierre and some of the class sing, "Au revoir, mes amis, au revoir" ["Good-bye, my friends, good-bye"], the children put on their coats and gather up their papers and bookbags. The fifth grade "patrouilleurs scolaires" [school patrol leaders] lead them down the hall and help them safely board their buses or find their rides home.

Denise

"After twenty years I am mastering it. It's time."

The Teacher

Born in Algeria, November 28, 1944, Denise is the only French citizen on the staff at Glenwood Elementary School. One's first impression is that she seems to be little taller than her first grade students. A tiny woman (under 5 feet, 90 pounds), she approaches her tasks with the confidence of one who has spent many years teaching: 6 years in France, 8 years in Quebec, 4 years as a substitute, and 2 years
in a bilingual pre-school. This experience provides her with a rich repertoire of solutions to problems and language teaching techniques. It is, however, her adaptable nature that causes her success in immersion teaching. Her brown hair, brown eyes, and light olive skin are typical in the south of France, and her lilting voice has a hint of what Denise calls "un accent du Midi."

The unofficial "doyenne" ["dean"] of the primary classes, Denise's preparation was rigorous in France, where she received a "Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique" after four years in an "Ecole Normale" ["Teachers' College"] and two more years as a student teacher. Finally, after a year of teaching all levels from kindergarten to ninth grade, the inspector from the Ministry of Education decided that she was worthy, and she became "titulaire"—a teacher for life. Denise values this status and the security afforded to her by the French Social Security system, where she remains enrolled in order to insure her future retirement benefits. She also maintains her family ties in France, and permanent visa status permits her to visit in Menton every summer.

The Class

The first grade class in Room 15 consists completely of students new to Glenwood School. In Denise's words early in the year, "Ils sont sauvages . . . fatigants, épuisants . . . nerveux" ["They are wild . . . tiring, exhausting . . . nervous"]. In truth, there are some problems: seven of her students are labeled "hyperactive" and four of those are on medication for the condition; one lives in a foster home with 15
children; one bounces from her mother's house to her father's every two
days—a product of joint custody. Denise finds this class to be one of
the most difficult she's had in 20 years of teaching.

Some children's parents chose Glenwood for its excellent
reputation, however: a round-faced, cherubic blond girl whose secure
affluence is apparent, and a quiet, pensive boy whose protective mother
visits weekly to help him cope with the "problem children."

The Room

Lively with colors and computer-made labels, Room 15 is the only
Glenwood classroom with a sofa—used only for special occasions such as
silent reading time. The carpet area, where "circle time" and group
activities take place, is near the windows. Denise positions herself
near the front board with its numerous visuals or at the other end of
the carpet with her easel.

On the front board are two faces, one smiling and one frowning,
that head lists of well-behaved or problem children's names. Words
printed on tagboard are often attached to this board—an indication of
the sight-reading approach, or the "méthode globale," according to
Denise.
The School Day

The day begins at 9:00 A.M. with the ubiquitous attendance and lunch counts—"une perte de temps" ["a waste of time"], according to Denise. The children enter quietly, hang their coats and backpacks on the hooks on the wall, and seat themselves on the carpet near the windows for circle time. After singling out a student who is well-behaved, Denise leads the class in singing (to the tune of "Frere Jacques") "Où est Holly? Où est Holly?" ["Where is Holly? Where is Holly?"] and Holly stands and sings, "Je suis là. Je suis là." ["I am here. I am here."] The class continues: "Comment vas-tu aujourd'hui? Comment vas-tu aujourd'hui?" ["How are you today? How are you today?"], Holly answers, "Très bien, merci. Très bien, merci," ["Very well, thank you. Very well, thank you,"] and sits down, while the song continues
with other students.

As Denise calls roll, the students answer "Présent," and she continues to try to get an accurate lunch count: "Repas chaud ou boîte? Tu as une boîte?" ["Hot meal or box? Do you have a (lunch) box?"] They help her count: "Levez la main si vous avez une boîte à lunch ce matin. Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq. On va marquer vite, vite, vite. On va commencer notre journée." ["Raise your hand if you have a lunch box this morning. One, two, three, four, five. Let's do this very quickly. Let's begin our day."] A student messenger takes the attendance and lunch count data to the office. During this time, Denise is constantly admonishing the children to be "bien assis comme des Indiens" ["well-seated like Indians"]—cross-legged on the rug.

Denise is on a chair in the corner where the windows and the front wall meet. A song fills the time as students continue to arrive: "C'est un monde tout petit" ["It's a Small World"], which the teachers translated the previous year. Because all of last year's Glenwood students learned the song to perform together in celebration of the school's opening, Denise thought it appropriate to teach to her newcomers:

C'est un monde tout petit.
C'est un monde tout petit.
C'est un monde tout petit.
C'est un monde tout petit.
On y trouve l'amour; on y trouve la joie.
On y trouve l'amour; on y trouve la joie.
C'est un monde en couleurs,
C'est l'école du bonheur,
Et nous le chantons en chœur.

C'est un monde tout petit. (4 times)
On y trouve l'avenir; on y trouve l'espoir.
On y trouve l'avenir; on y trouve l'espoir.
C'est un monde en couleurs.
C'est l'école du bonheur,
Et nous le chantons en choeur.

C'est un monde tout petit. (4 times)

["It's a very small world. Here we find love; here we find joy. It's a colorful world; it's the school of happiness, and we sing this in chorus. It's a very small world. Here we find the future; here we find hope. It's a colorful world; it's the school of happiness, and we sing this in chorus."]

When nearly all the students are present, Denise begins her routine, discussing the weather, the day, and the date. She elicits correct responses by offering incorrect ones, "Quel temps fait-il? Je crois qu'il y a du soleil." ["What is the weather like? I think the sun is shining."] The students counter that it is raining. One says "pleut" ["rain"], which Denise asks him to show her on the wall chart, and he does. Denise continues by offering a negative answer, "Quel jour est-ce aujourd'hui? C'est lundi?" ["What day is it today? Is it Monday?"] They tell her that it's "vendredi" ["Friday"]. "Ou est vendredi?" ["Where is Friday?"] Denise asks, and a student points it out on the wall chart and on the calendar. She then points randomly to all the days of the week and the children read them. To reinforce, Denise leads the class in singing the song about the "canards," which describes the activities of ducks on different days of the week. Finally, "Quelle est la date?" ("le 4") "Quel est le mois?" ("novembre") and "Quelle année?" to which the entire class responds: "mil neuf cent quatre-vingt-huit" [1988].

The end of circle time is marked by Denise's movement from her chair to the other end of the carpet where she has a large easel with lined paper. "Attention. Mon message." On the easel, she writes "le
journal," as she has every day since she began teaching at Glenwood School. Today she writes, "Aujourd'hui c'est vendredi, 4 novembre 1988" and asks, "Est-ce qu'il pleut beaucoup ou un peu?" ["Is it raining a lot or a little?"] Someone answers, "beaucoup," which Denise expands: "On dit beaucoup—fort." ["We say a lot as 'fort.'"] On the easel, she writes "Il pleut fort," and then asks, "Qu'est-ce qu'il y a dans le ciel?" ["What is in the sky?"] to which they answer, "nuages" ["clouds"]. Denise writes, "Il y a des nuages" ["There are clouds"] and asks, "Qui peut me lire ce message?" ["Who can read me this message?"] A volunteer tries; Denise helps by pointing out familiar words, an aspect of the "méthode globale," which Denise finds most useful with immersion students. She prompts by indicating what sounds the words begin with, if necessary, reminds them not to make up words ("N'inventez pas"), and asks them to read in unison ("Tous ensemble"). The journal ends with "Ça va être notre journal et qu'est-ce qu'on va dessiner ici?" ["This will be our journal and what are we going to draw here?"] The children offer suggestions, one stating, "You can make your family with an umbrella and the pleut is coming down." (Denise inputs "un parapluie" when he mentions an umbrella.) The large sheet she has been writing on is later moved from the easel and attached to the front blackboard with magnets so that the students can copy from it.

On a fresh sheet of large paper, Denise begins "le programme": "Voila ce qu'on va faire aujourd'hui," ["Here is what we're going to do today,"] and eventually she writes:

1 ours brun
2 une dinde multicolore
jaune orange rouge brun vert 3 math 4 journal

Before she writes, however, she discusses each activity with the children. "On va faire le livre poisson rouge?" ["We're going to do the goldfish book?"] They respond negatively and tell her that the book is " ours brun" ["brown bear"], which she then lists as number one.

She announces a new thematic unit: "On va commencer l'action de graces. Qu'est-ce que c'est?" ["We're beginning Thanksgiving. What is this?"] and shows a ditto of a turkey with color names marked on its feathers (see Appendix B). Answering her own question, Denise continues: "C'est une dinde. Cette dinde va avoir beaucoup, beaucoup de couleurs. Regarde comment je l'appelle." ["It's a turkey. This turkey will have many, many colors. Look at what I call him."] She writes "une dinde multicolore" on the easel, has the class repeat, and then asks them to read it with her as she points to the words. After Denise lists the turkey's colors, volunteers try to read them. She gives clues (for " brun," "comme dans l'ours") [for "brown," "like in the bear"], mentions beginning sounds, and continues reading practice by pointing randomly to the color words and asking individual children to read them. To illustrate number 3, Denise shows the class the math ditto they will complete; number 4 is the journal that was previously discussed.

Denise begins the routine for " ours brun": "Qui peut me faire un cercle? Un, deux, trois. Vite. On fait un cercle. J'ai les
grandes images." ["Who can make me a circle? One, two, three. Quickly.
Let's make a circle. I have the big pictures."] Denise shows the
children large cutout drawings of various colored animals on laminated
poster board, cautions them to handle the pictures gently or sit down,
and asks, "Qu'est-ce que c'est?" ["What's this?"] (holding up a large red
bird). They answer "oiseau" ["bird"] and then "rouge" ["red"] when
Denise asks, "De quelle couleur?" ["What color?"] She then calls on
students to hold the animals and line up facing the circle: "De Shawn
est notre cheval" ["De Shawn is our horse"], for example. They line up
with "oiseau rouge, poisson orange, cheval bleu, ours brun, éléphant
rose, canard jaune, grenouille verte, chat violet, mouton noir, chien
gris, institutrice (professeur), enfants" ["red bird, orange fish, blue
horse, brown bear, pink elephant, yellow duck, green frog, violet cat,
black sheep, grey dog, teacher, children"]. A translation of a
commonly used English-language reading activity notable for its
predictability, "ours brun" consists of repetitious dialogue, which the
students repeat for each cutout: "Grenouille verte, que vois-tu? Je
vois un chien gris qui me regarde." ["Green frog, what do you see? I see
a grey dog who is looking at me."] Although Denise supplies "chien
gris" for this sentence, she asks a student to choose the next animal.
The student picks "éléphant rose," and the class repeats its sentences:
"Chien gris, que vois-tu? Je vois un éléphant rose qui me regarde."
The "éléphant rose" picks the "cheval bleu," who picks the "oiseau
rouge." The entire class repeats the sentences for each animal, but
when they get to the "institutrice," Denise must explain that it is
another word for "professeur," which they already know. In order to
share materials with Marie, the other first grade teacher, who prepared lessons with the word "institutrice" instead of "professeur," Denise must teach her students the alternate word. Denise had chosen "professeur" because of its proximity to English; Marie chose the more precise term for an elementary school teacher.

After the students with animal cut-outs line up in the order they are called, Denise calls on seated class members to tell what they see. She takes the cut-outs from those standing as the others repeat the sentences then discusses where the animals are to go—the zoo, the forest, or the farm—an exercise in categorizing. All students participate in some way.

9:45—It is time for a restroom visit. The children form two lines, "Une ligne de garçons. Une ligne de filles." ["A line for boys. A line for girls."]], but they are too noisy: "Retournez sur le tapis. Non, on ne va pas sortir comme ça. Je ne suis pas d'accord. . . . Les filles, faites une belle ligne. Les garçons. Ça y est. On avance. Bien alignés." ["Return to the carpet. No, we're not leaving like that. I don't agree . . . Girls, make a good line. Boys. That's it. Go ahead. A nice line."] They finally leave the room, walking quietly to the restroom/washroom area, where Denise sends in two children at a time as she whites out the word "yellow" on the feet of 24 turkey dittoes. When asked by a student what she is doing, Denise explains that she was so tired the day before that she made a mistake: When she was preparing the turkey ditto by covering the English color words and replacing them with French words, she neglected to cover "yellow" and xeroxed the drawing with the error. She and the student have a lengthy
conversation; Denise in French and the student in English.

10:00—The two lines—one boys', one girls'—stop outside the door to Room 15. Denise gives them pre-entrance instructions, "On va s'asseoir à son bureau. Au bureau. La bouche est fermée." ['We are going to sit at our desks. At the desks. Mouths are closed.'] Once seated, she directs their attention to "notre phrase d'aujourd'hui" ['today's sentence']: "Poisson rouge, que vois-tu? Je vois une institutrice qui me regarde." ['Goldfish, what do you see? I see a teacher who is looking at me.'] They read each word as she points to it. Then, "Entoure le mot 'regarde.' Je cherche quelqu'un qui est bien assis, bien calme." ['Circle the word 'regarde.' I'm looking for someone who is sitting nicely, very calmly.'] She calls on a well-behaved student who circles "regarde." Then, in order to "les influencer un petit peu à participer, pour montrer que c'est eux qui vont décider, qui savent lire" ['to influence them to participate a little, to show that it is they who are going to decide, who know how to read'], Denise asks them, "C'est ça? Vous êtes les juges. Ce n'est pas moi, le juge... C'est juste?" ['Is that It? You are the judges. I'm not the judge. Is it correct?'] This appeal to the children's reasoning ability not only encourages speech but also their sense of responsibility. The students affirm, "C'est juste." The same procedure is followed for each word in the sentence. One child wonders, "And the question mark?" which Denise answers with a question, "Pourquoi y a-t-il un point d'interrogation? On va me dire pourquoi." ['Why is there a question mark? Tell me why.'], and the child answers, "Because you asked a question."
Denise reminds the students of the schedule. On the front board, she writes "1, 2, 3, 4," and below the numbers, she attaches the ditto for "ours brun" (1), the turkey ditto (2), the math ditto (3), and writes the word "journal" (4). (See Appendix B.)

An integrated reading/writing activity based on the "ours brun" format follows: Denise passes out the books—small, individually made books resembling the oversized book that the class made as a group. Each day, the students have a ditto stating the day's sentence (see Appendix B), whose individual words they cut out and put in a small, plastic cup. They then arrange the words in order and glue them in their books at the bottom of each page. Later in the year they will write their own sentences, but at first the dittoes are necessary because their writing is unclear. After arranging the sentence, each child must read it to Denise to verify correct word order and comprehension of the individual words. One little boy says "poison" ["poison"] instead of "poisson" ["fish"]—a common, but significant error, which Denise corrects by modeling, "Regarde ma bouche: 'poisson.'" ["Look at my mouth: 'poisson.'"], and he repeats without being prompted. Then, "Qu'est-ce qu'on dessine aujourd'hui dans le livre?" ["What are we drawing in the book today?"], she asks the class, and a student answers, "poisson," which Denise affirms, "Le poisson, huh?"

When the sentences are glued and the drawings finished, the children put their "ours brun" books in a a brown basket on the front bookshelf. Denise collects them and calls those children who are finished to the carpet area, where she hands them their books and they
read all the pages they have produced so far.

10:45—As the reading group children return to their desks, the rest of the class continues to work. Those who finish Number 1 move on to Number 2: "une dinde multicolore." Denise writes its title below the drawing on the ditto and tells the students to do the same. Three different colored baskets will hold the completed activities: "Le journal dans le panier rouge. La dinde dans le panier blanc. 'L'ours brun' dans le panier brun." ["The journal in the red basket. The turkey in the white basket. The 'brown bear' in the brown basket."] Taking responsibility for one's work is part of learning to be a first grader.

11:00—Denise turns off the lights to get the children's attention because she has decided to change the schedule somewhat. As she turns the math ditto over and erases number 4, she says: "On ne va pas faire les feuilles de math maintenant ... Quand vous avez fini un, deux, et trois ("journal" is re-numbered "3"), venez me voir. J'ai quelque chose pour vous." ["We aren't going to do the math papers now ... When you have finished one, two, and three, come and see me. I have something for you"]. What she has for them is a Pilgrim girl ditto, which they are to color, glue to tag board, cut out, and staple to popsicle-type sticks to make stand-up puppets for a Pilgrim village display. The students who have finished all three numbered activities proceed with the Pilgrim girl ditto, then a Pilgrim boy while Denise circulates, keeping order and helping students with difficulties. She takes several individual students to a table and has them read their previously completed books entitled "Moi."
11:30—Denise tells the class to "ranger leurs pupitres" ["straighten their desks"] and asks who has finished numbers one, two, and three, assuring those who haven't that they can finish after lunch.

11:35—Denise turns the lights off again and instructs the students to sit on the carpet. This is a "calming down" time before lunch and they sing:

Pommes de reinette et pommes d'Api,
Tapis, tapis rouge.
Pommes de reinette et pommes d'Api,
Tapis, tapis gris.

["Pippin apples and apples of Api, red carpet. Pippin apples and apples of Api, grey carpet."]

This play-on-words song, presented to the students the first day of school, emphasizes different colors and is used with blue and purple, yellow and green, for examples, as a multi-media approach to color learning. It is followed by another song:

Au clair de la lune, mon ami Pierrot,
Prête-moi ta plume pour écrire un mot.
Ma chandelle est morte;
Je n'ai plus de feu.
Ouvre-moi ta porte,
Pour l'amour de Dieu.

["In the moonlight, my friend Pierrot, lend me your pen so that I can write something. My candle is out; I have no more fire. Open your door, for the love of God."]

11:40—The children get their jackets and lunches, line up for lunch, and proceed to the entrance hallway, where they wait their turn to enter the lunchroom. When they pass the restroom area and some raise their hands to ask permission to use the facilities, Denise calls their names to give them individual permission. They all then proceed to the lunchroom and take their places as Denise escapes to the teacher's
lounge for her lunch hour.

At 12:45, Denise gathers her students, who are lined up at the back entrance doors, and leads them to Room 15. After they hang their coats and take their seats, she instructs them, "On va chercher un livre dans le plus grand silence." ["Look for a book in the greatest silence."] When she calls their names, they get a book and pick their own comfortable reading spot (including the sofa), where they are allowed to stay as long as they are quiet. Denise takes advantage of this time to grade papers or read, in order to offer the students a good example.

1:00—"Vous avez encore deux minutes. Les enfants, sur la pointe des pieds, rangez vos livres." ["You still have two minutes. Children, on tiptoe, put your books away."] After the children return their books to the shelves and take seats on the rug, Denise begins the story of "La petite poule rousse" ["The little red hen"]. She shows the "mare" ["pond"], reminding them that it is like the "mare avec les canards" ["pond with the ducks"], and jokes with the class, saying that the dog with sunglasses "mettait de l'huile et il se bronzait" ["put on oil and lay in the sun"]. As she reads, she discusses the red hen's activities, "Qu'est-ce qu'elle fait? Elle plante des graines, uh? 'Qui va m'aider?' Le cochon dit, 'Pas moi.'" ["What does she do? She plants seeds, uh? 'Who will help me? The pig says, 'Not I.'"] The students chime in on the "pas moi" with great enthusiasm as each animal refuses to help. At the end of the story, the hen avenges herself by eating the bread she produced alone, not sharing with the other animals. When Denise asks, "Qu'est-ce qu'ils font?" ["What do they do?"]}, the children
answer, "triste" ["sad"]. This does not answer the question, so Denise repeats it, "Mais, qu'est-ce qu'ils font?" ["But, what do they do?"], and finally answers it herself, "Ils sont autour et ils regardent." ["They are around her and they watch."]

Next, Denise begins the math activity. She calls the students to the rug, draws a large 8 in the middle of the easel paper, and elicits the various combinations of numbers that will equal 8. Denise conceived this method of presenting math combinations, which she now uses to introduce each number from one to ten. "Qui a une addition?" ["Who has an addition?"] she asks, to which a child answers "quatre et quatre" ["four and four"]. Denise then draws a line out from the number 8, writes "4 + 4," and draws four small circles under one 4 and four small circles under the other one. They all count: "Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, six, sept, huit" ["One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight"]. "Oui, c'est juste" ["Yes, that is correct"], says Denise. The next child offers "8 + 1," which Denise, of course, knows is incorrect. Instead of saying the combination is wrong, however, she says, "On va voir." ["We'll see."] She draws eight circles and one circle, the class counts, "Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, six, sept, huit, neuf" ["One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine"], and Denise then admits, "Non, il y a une erreur." ["No, there is a mistake."] After all possible combinations (and some incorrect ones) are offered and evaluated, Denise hangs a math ditto on the board under a newly written number 4 and instructs the class to complete it (see Appendix B). "Ça sera numéro 4 pour la journée. C'est fini pour la journée." ["This will be number 4. That's it for the day."]
1:40—It is again time for a restroom visit: "On va aller aux toilettes. Le groupe de Michael. Le groupe de Karen." ["We're going to the restroom. Michael's group. Karen's group."] They line up noisily, following the normal restroom routine, and when they return, Denise reminds them, "Fais quelque chose. Il reste dix minutes." ["Do something. You have ten minutes"] (before recess). At 2:10, Denise says, "Les enfants qui ont tout fini, levez la main. Il y a cinq minutes avant la récréation. Tu peux prendre ton ardoise ou un livre." ["Children who have finished everything, raise your hand. There are five minutes before recess. You can use your slate or a book."] The slates were a school purchase, but Denise did not need them last year. She has found that this year's class needs more hands-on activities better suited to less mature children.

Denise again turns off the lights to get the class's attention and then says, "Ceux qui ont fini leur travail... s'alignent. On vient s'aligner." ["Those who have finished their work... line up. Let's line up."] Those not finished will stay in during recess while Denise grades papers.

2:30—The children return from recess, hang up their coats, sit at their desks, and continue numbers 1 through 4 or the Pilgrim dittoes. It is Friday, which involves special responsibilities and special privileges. Students must take a folder of the week's papers home to their parents on Fridays and return it with parental signatures on Monday. Friday has its rewards also: Children are permitted to watch a French Smurf cartoon movie ["Les Schtroumpfs"] on television. Before the movie, however, Denise asks them all to clean around their desks:
"Chacun regarde sous sa table. Mets les papiers dans la poubelle."
["Everybody look under your table. Put the papers in the trash can."]

One of the students helps her by announcing loudly, "La classe is not a poubelle!"

2:42—The Smurfs begin as the children continue to cut, paste, and color: Some make large yellow-paper turkey cutouts while others finish their Pilgrims. Because the level of language and its speed of delivery make the Smurf dialogue incomprehensible to these beginners, at 3:05 when the movie ends and they are happy to sing along with the theme song. Denise turns the television off and gives end-of-the-day instructions: "On écoute. On range tout. Rangez les papiers dans la poubelle, les chaises sur les bancs. On va s'asseoir sur le tapis."
["Listen. Straighten up everything. Put your papers in the trash, the chairs on the desks. We are going to sit on the carpet."]

While the rest of the class sings, Lindsay erases the board and Jeffrey waters the plants. These are, apparently, their responsibilities for the week, and they do them without reminders. Denise leads the class in singing, "C'est un monde tout petit," followed by:

Tiens, voilà main droite.
Tiens, voilà main gauche.
Tiens, voilà main droite, main gauche.
Tiens, voilà les deux.

["Look, here is my right hand. Look, here is my left hand. Look, here is my right hand, my left hand. Look, here are both of them."] (This song is accompanied by hand movements in an effort to teach the children right from left.)

This is followed by the song that serves as a reminder not to move:

Poisson rouge, poisson d'or.
Si tu bouges, tu es mort.
Si tu bouges, tu es mort.
Poisson rouge, poisson d'or.

["Goldfish, fish of gold. If you move, you are dead. If you move, you are dead. Goldfish, fish of gold."]

The students have calmed down; it is time to go home. Denise commands: "Les filles, allez vous aligner. Doucement, bien calme. Les garçons, bien calmes." ["Girls, line up. Quietly, very calmly. Boys, very calmly."] After a student asks, "Is it deux lignes?" and Denise replies, "Oui," he helps her by announcing, "Deux lignes, deux lignes!"

The children line up and Denise gives them each a handout about the upcoming election as they sing, "Au revoir, les amis, au revoir" ["Good-bye, friends, good-bye"]. Denise leads the two lines to the front entrance where the students board their busses, walk, or get their rides home.

Marie

"Les choses les plus importantes ... c'est le fait que je dois absolument être consistente et positive." ["The most important things ... it is the fact that I must be absolutely consistent and positive.]

The Teacher

Boundless enthusiasm and long, ash-brown hair form one's first impression of Marie. Her ready smile and cheerful confidence complete the picture. She is the essence of what Kounin (1970) would call "withitness."

Marie was born March 16, 1956, in Fossé-Sur-Salm, Belgium, and completed her certification as an "Institutrice pré-scolaire" at the Ecole Normale de l'Etat at Arlon, Belgium, in 1979. Her early teaching experience was special, according to Marie, because she was able to
teach in a pilot school where children from ages five to eight were grouped together and allowed to progress at their own pace, regardless of age. Marie taught five years in Belgium kindergarten, first grade, and second grade, and three years in Louisiana in a French as a Second Language program, where she instructed more than 200 students a day. She prefers immersion teaching "à cent pour cent" ["by 100%"], finding the child much more at the center of instruction in immersion, with activities based "sur le vécu de l'enfant" ["on the child's experiences"].

Marie thinks carefully about immersion, its philosophy, and its implementation. It is important to her that immersion be seen as an integrated activity, with content lessons being taught through the medium of the French language. Modeling of corrected responses, extensive repetitions, and frequent non-verbal comprehension checks are central to its success, in her opinion.

The Class

Marie's first-grade students are all returnees from last year's kindergarten classes. They appear to be a perfect class: an Egyptian quick-study who assimilates the morning's menu words enough to include them in her dictionary that afternoon, a Black achiever whose mother gives him double-digit addition problems for fun, and a serious blond who disciplines a rule-breaking child. Perfection does not exist in classrooms, however, and an easily distracted student's name is often mentioned, with frequent reminders to continue working.
It is a calm class, according to Marie, and, because of this, she can give them extra responsibilities and extra privileges. They enjoy being responsible, helping her with such tasks as taking notes to the office, arranging books, leading the lines to the restroom, passing out and collecting papers, taking charge of the balls for recess, throwing papers in the trash, putting chairs on the desks at the end of the day, putting the small carpet squares in order, and notifying the aide that they are last in line for the busses. The most remarkable responsibility, however, is the designation of one child to attend to students' seatwork problems while Marie works with a small reading group.

All of these responsibilities seem to be privileges to the children, enhancing their self-esteem. Marie believes that successfully completing responsible tasks at their level of ability makes them feel good about themselves. More usual privileges include music that enlivens their seatwork, extra free time, and much teacher praise.

The Room

Marie chose to arrange the desks in the shape of a "U," so that all the children would be facing her and she could see exactly what they were doing. A darker area serves as a reading-group corner while the carpet area, which is near the windows, promotes group interaction—story telling, sharing time, and group reading. Marie admits that her desk serves only to hold her papers.
The School Day

Students are greeted with a quiet "Bonjour" and instructions to hang their bags and coats. Marie watches closely for problems, asking students to do things calmly, not to talk, and to wait in their seats with their arms folded until all the others arrive. When the day's activities begin, she wants them to be respectful, polite, and listening to one another.

Because it is Monday, Marie asks questions about the children's weekend activities. They all want to talk at once, so she must remind them, "Qu'est-ce qu'on fait quand on a une question?" ["What do we do when we have a question?"] The children all answer, "On lève le doigt." ["We raise our hands."] Out of respect for the others in the class, waiting one's turn to speak is a top priority.

One child offers, "I went to my friends' house," about which Marie asks, "Tu es allé dans la maison de tes . . . comment dit-on?" ["You went to the house of your . . . how do we say that?"] and the
children answer, "amis" ["friends"]. As she inputs this French, she draws a picture of a house on the board, and tells them that they also are to explain their weekends by drawing in their journals. She helps them begin by asking "Quel jour sommes-nous?" ["What day is it?"] The children respond that it is Monday, "Lundi, le 10 octobre," and all chime in on the year, "mil neuf cent quatre-vingt-huit" ["1988"].

Next, Marie begins listing the activities of the day:

1. Journal
2. Calendrier

"Combien de calendriers?" ["How many calendars?"] she wonders aloud. The children respond in French, "deux" ["two"], which she praises: "J'aime beaucoup quand tu parles en français!" ["I really like it when you speak in French!"] She then asks them to proceed with numbers 1 and 2 while she does the lunch count. Anticipating, she adds, "Pourquoi est-ce qu'on ferme la bouche?" ["Why do we keep quiet?"] The children know: "So you can get done faster."

The class quietly begins its work. If a child speaks out, Marie asks, "Tu as fini numéro un et numéro deux? Non?" ["You have finished number one and number two? No?"] which reminds them all to keep on task.

The lunch routine involves Marie's asking, "Repas chaud?" ["Hot meal?"] to which the child responds either "oui" or "non, froid" ["no, cold"]. If possible, Marie collects money for the entire week on Monday. She has forgotten something, however, and tells the students, "Tout le monde, les bras en haut!" ["Everyone, arms up!"] She now has their attention and reminds them that they are to draw their journals on
Several children want to tell about their families. Marie takes this opportunity to "valoriser" her students, to make them feel worthwhile. "Si tu as deux papas, OK, pas de problème; deux mamans, OK, pas de problème. Si ta grandmaman habite dans la maison avec toi, pas de problème." ["If you have two fathers, OK, no problem; two mothers, OK, no problem. If your grandmother lives with you, no problem."]

Another child had a birthday; Marie again expresses her respect for the children and their interests: "C'est important, les anniversaires." ["They're important, birthdays."]

9:25—Lunch count is finally completed. After scanning the list on the bulletin board and determining who is "responsable d'aller au bureau" ["in charge of going to the office"], Marie sends this child to the principal's office with the lunch tally sheet.

9:32—Marie draws the journal activity to a close with "Il faut terminer maintenant" ["You must stop now"]. As she looks at individual journals, she praises the students' work ("Bravo, c'est bien" ["Bravo, that's good"]) and their behavior ("Bravo, Leslie, elle a les bras croisés" ["Bravo, Leslie, she has her arms folded"]). To mark the boundary between activities, allow the children to move, and focus their attention on her, Marie begins "Jacques a dit" ["Simon says"]: "Jacques a dit, 'les mains en haut'; Jacques a dit, 'les mains en bas'; Jacques a dit, 'les bras croisés'; Jacques a dit 'on se tient correctement.'" ["Simon says, 'hands up'; Simon says, 'hands down'; Simon says, 'arms folded'; Simon says, 'sit up straight."]
A student collects the journals and another collects the calendars while Marie adds number 3 on the board and remarks that numbers 1 and 2 are finished for now:

3. Canard jaune

She also lists the subactivities of number 3, which is the "ours brun" reading/writing book also used in Denise's class. Marie sketches these subactivities

\[12\]
\[4\]
\[2\]
\[6\]

and explains the order of activities: "Numero un, je regarde; numero deux, je découpe; numero trois, je les place; numero quatre, je les colle." ["Number one, I look; number two, I cut; number three, I position them; number four, I glue them."] Then, numbers 4 through 6:

4. \[1\]
   1. rouge
   2. jaune
   3. bleu
   4. orange

5. Bibliothèque
6. Repas

The sketches of activities are helpful as an aid to comprehension, but Marie will discontinue them as soon as possible to prevent the children's dependence on them: "Au fur et à mesure qu'on comprend le vocabulaire, j’écris le mot." ["As they progressively
understand the vocabulary, I will write the word."]

A student passes out the papers for the children's individual books, following the "ours brun" format. After she and Mme Tuot translated this book, it was offered to the children as a whole story, according to Marie. The students were then presented with the individual vocabulary items, which they worked with as a group, then individually. Each day the sentence pattern repeats, but the animal and its color change.

Marie shows the children one piece of paper and how it will include pages 1 through 4, then how three pieces of paper will fit together to make a book with 12 pages. Today's paper begins page 3. To practice forming the numeral "3", Marie asks them to draw a three in the air—first "un grand trois" ["a big three"], then "un petit trois" ["a little three"], then "un tout petit trois" ["a very little three"]. Next, "Maintenant, on écrit un trois sur la feuille. En haut? En haut?" ["Now, let's write a three on the paper. At the top? At the top?"] The children respond, "Non, en bas." ["No, at the bottom."]

Offering another incorrect response to elicit the correct one, Marie asks, "On dessine un cheval noir?" ["Are we drawing a black horse?"] to which the children reply, "Non, un canard jaune" ["No, a yellow duck"]. To review, Marie asks students to show examples of yellow around the classroom as well as examples of how to spell the word "jaune." This leads to thoughts of ducks and Marie's song that she learned from a cooperating teacher in Belgian kindergarten:

Lundi, les canards vont à la mare, mare, mare.  
Mardi, ils s'en vont jusqu'à la mer, mer, mer.  
Mercredi, ils s'organisent un grand jeu, jeu, jeu.
Jeudi, ils se promènent dans le vent, vent, vent.
Vendredi, ils se dandinent comme ça, ça, ça.
Samedi, ils se lavent à ce qu'on dit, dit, dit.
Dimanche, ils se reposent et voient la vie en rose.
La semaine recommencera demain, coin, coin.

["Monday, the ducks go to the pond, pond, pond. Tuesday, they go to the sea, sea, sea. Wednesday, they organize a big game, game, game. Thursday, they walk in the wind, wind, wind. Friday, they waddle like this, this, this. Saturday, they wash themselves, people say, say, say. Sunday, they rest and see they world anew. The week begins again tomorrow, quack, quack."] (The translation of this song has no meaning as a memory aid, which it is in French. In French, the syllable at the end of each line is the first syllable of the name of the next day of the week. The song's value lies in this play on words.)

The students begin their ditto, part of the "ours brun" book (see Appendix B) after Marie reminds them of the subactivities—cutting out the words, scrambling, re-arranging, and then gluing them to the bottom of page 5. While the class is occupied with this task, Marie calls individual students to the reading corner. If they can successfully read the entire first child-made book, "Moi," they will receive a medal to hang on the Olympics bulletin board in front of the room.

While Marie works individually with students, the group continues its efforts with a designated child as "responsable." This child answers questions in Marie's absence. Today it is Marc who helps two students: "This is 'qui'; this is 'que," for example. The children raise their hands for his help, showing amazing self-control and maturity for first-graders.

10:10—In the absence of a morning recess, students now pause for "les toilettes" ["the restroom"]. Two lines are formed—one for girls, one for boys—and Marie repeats her hallway routine: "On regarde . . ." The children answer "devant." Marie: "On a les bras . . ."
Marie: "On ne marche pas . . . " Children: "comme les canards, comme
les pingouins, comme un cheval" ["We look . . . " "ahead."
"We have our
arms . . . " "down."
"We have our mouths . . . " "closed."
"We don't
walk . . . " "like ducks, like penguins, like a horse"].

10:15—The two lines walk quietly to the restroom area where
Marie enters the room with the large sink, a multi-child fountain where
the children rinse their hands. After they use the restroom facilities,
the children line up facing outward in the sink area. Marie then
designates each child as number 1, 2, or 3, which indicates that they
are to drink at water fountain 1, 2, or 3 in the entrance hallway. They
are not allowed to change to a different fountain.

After drinking, the students line up in two lines facing away
from the entrance and toward Room 2. Marie again reminds them to look
forward, close their mouths, put their arms down, and walk like grown-up
children. When they stop outside the classroom, Marie tells them to go
to their seats, which they do very quietly.

The students are having difficulty arranging today's sentences:
"Canard jaune, que vois-tu? Je vois un cheval bleu qui me regarde."
["Yellow duck, what do you see? I see a blue horse that is looking at
me."] Marie asks, "Qui a un problème?" ["Who has a problem?"] Those
who raise their hands are given the words from the sentences on
laminated tag board. She then asks, "Qui a 'canard'?" ["Who has
'canard'?"] The child with the word brings it forward and places it
where Marie shows him on the easel in front of the class. She then
asks, "Qui a 'jaune'? Qui a 'que vois-tu'? Qui a 'je vois'? Qui a
"un'? Qui a 'cheval bleu'? Qui a 'qui me regarde'?" ["Who has 'jaune'? Who has 'que vois-tu'? Who has 'je vois'? Who has 'un'? Who has 'cheval bleu'? Who has 'qui me regarde'?"] After the completed sentences are in place, the class reads them in unison and Marie turns the easel to face the wall. She further leads the children in the activity by having them all place their words simultaneously: "Mettez un peu 'canard' tout le monde. Mettez un peu 'jaune'" ["Put 'canard' everybody. Put 'jaune'"] and so on with each word or word group.

Marie then circulates, making certain that each child has the words properly placed in the small book before they glue. (The children know this is an important step because it was indicated by a small drawing of the teacher in the day's schedule.) They then glue the words and draw their pictures of yellow ducks. Those who finish quickly, indicated by their raised hands, join Marie at the reading table, where they practice reading sentences and words without picture clues. This is the advanced reading group; the intermediate group goes to another table in the reading corner when they finish. They work with tag board words, putting them together to make sentences from the first book, "Moi" ["Me"]. The last group goes to the carpet area when they finish their day's sentences and drawings of yellow ducks.

10:55—It is time to line up for the library. This time the students form a single line, but Marie still repeats their expected behavior: "On regarde ..." Children: "devant," and so on. The group moves quietly down the hall, stops outside the library door, and waits to be told to enter. Marie enters first and places each child carefully on the carpet in the front corner of the library.
Marie reads the book for today, *Un alligator sous le lit*, acting out whatever she can. This book is particularly interesting to the students because of its appeal to their imagination. It is a story of a little boy who keeps an imaginary alligator under his bed. The children are puzzled about where the alligator goes when Mother and Father come in the bedroom to look for it. Marie addresses their confusion of reality and imagination by asking, "Est-il possible d'avoir un alligator sous le lit? C'est une histoire réelle? Non, c'est imaginaire. C'est possible d'avoir une souris sous le lit? Oui, mais pas un alligator." ["Is it possible to have an alligator under the bed? Is this a real story? No, it is imaginary. Is it possible to have a mouse under the bed? Yes, but not an alligator."]

Marie completes the first reading and her explanation of the book. She now involves the children in the story. She turns the pages, asking "Qu'est-ce qui se passe?" ["What is happening?"] A picture of the little boy looking around the corner at the alligator prompts her to ask, "Garçon, que vois-tu?" ["Little boy, what do you see?"] to which the children answer, following the pattern of their "ours brun" book: "Je vois un alligator qui me regarde." ["I see an alligator who is looking at me."] She discusses the book with the children, then excuses them to get their library books: "Tu peux prendre un bâton et choisir un livre." ["You can take a stick and choose a book."]

A coffee can full of numbered paint sticks helps the students and the librarian keep the books in order. A child removes a book from the shelf to examine it, leaving the paint stick to keep the book's place. Then, if the child chooses not to check out that book, he or she
replaces it and removes the paint stick. When the children decide upon their books, they are responsible for writing their names and room numbers on the library book cards and giving them to Mme Fleigel, the librarian. If the children do not return the book they borrowed the week before, they are not allowed to check out a new one.

After choosing a book, the children form their line facing toward the hallway. They return to Room 2 where Marie allows them to look at their books for three minutes. They are not, however, allowed to look at each other's books, "On n'échange pas de livres." ["We don't exchange books."]

11:40—Marie instructs the children to stand up—boys who have their books already in their desks first, then girls who are quiet and have their books in their desks. They wait behind their chairs until told to form the line, where they again repeat their hallway routine—looking forward, closing their mouths, putting their hands down, walking properly. After reminding them, "On doit être très correcte quand on joue dans la cour de récréation" ["You must be very careful when you play on the playground"], Marie leads the children to the lunchroom, then goes to the teacher's lounge to eat.

12:45—Marie greets the children at the door of Room 2, tells them to hang their coats and clear their desks. She reviews what they have already accomplished: the journal, the "ours brun" book, the library, and lunch. They discuss the library story, and Marie asks if the alligator was under the desk, to which the children respond, "Non, sous le lit!" ["No, under the bed!"] To see if they comprehend prepositions of place, she instructs the children, "Nettez les mains sur
le banc. Mettez les mains dans le banc. Mettez les mains sous le banc."
["Put your hands on your desk. Put your hands in your desk. Put your hands under your desk."] Many students are unable to follow these directions so Marie sings an original body-movement song to help them understand the prepositions. It is accompanied by hand movements:

Sur, sous, dans. Sur sous, dans.
Devant, derrière. Devant, derrière.
A droite, à gauche. A droite, à gauche.

["On, under, in. On, under, in. In front, behind. In front, behind. To the right, to the left. To the right, to the left."]

The children move their hands with her, repeating the song "très vite" ["very fast"] and "doucement" ["gently"], then without her help. This leads to another round of "Jacques a dit," this time including the prepositions.

Marie next discusses the caterpillar ditto, number 4 on the schedule. She asks the children to read the color words: "Numéro un—quelle couleur est-ce?" ["Number one—what color is it?"] As each color is read, Marie involves the students by asking, "Qui porte un pantalon jaune?" ["Who is wearing yellow pants?"], for example. She also tests their letter recognition skills by asking, "Quelle couleur commence par 'b'?" ["What color begins with a 'b'?"

When the children have finished number 4, they will do an activity with the duck song. Marie asks, "Ce sera numéro cinq? Numéro six? Numéro sept?" ["That will be number five? Number six? Number seven?"]], to which the children answer negatively twice, then affirmatively. She writes on the board:
Marie then calls the students to the carpet area where she sings "Tête, épaules, genoux, pieds," then begins a group reading activity. The new "livre collectif" ["group-made book"] is completed, and Marie leads the class in reading it. As she points to each word, the students read in chorus, an activity that helps those who are unsure, according to Marie. They reward themselves by singing, "Bravo, les amis, bravo" when they finish.

To review numbers, Marie next leads the students in the "comptine" ["counting rhyme"]:

Un, deux, trois, je m'en vais au bois.  
Quatre, cinq, six, cueillir les cerises.  
Sept, huit, neuf, dans mon panier neuf,  
Dix, onze, douze, elles seront toutes rouges.

["One, two, three, I go to the woods. Four, five, six, to pick cherries. Seven, eight, nine, in my new basket. Ten, eleven, twelve, they will all be red."]

1:28—Marie asks, "Numéro quatre, c'est fini? Mettez un peu les couleurs sur le banc—rouge, bleu, jaune, orange." ["Number four, is it finished? Put your crayons on the desk—red, blue, yellow, orange."] She instructs them to begin the caterpillar ditto, while she plays music as background for their seatwork. Marie hangs a computer-made banner on the front board with the days of the week listed, and when the children finish coloring, they are to copy the days of the week on the backs of their papers.
1:45—It is again time to go to the restroom. They do it quickly and quietly, returning at 1:52. Marie lets them exercise with "Jacques a dit," the preposition song, then the "Si tu es content" song, a somewhat different translation from Pierre's "Si tu as de la joie au coeur" song.

Next, she reads the days of the week banner, having the children repeat after her, then asking, "Quel est le premier jour de la semaine? Le deuxièmè? Le troisièmè?" ["What is the first day of the week? The second? The third?" ] and so on through the seven days. She then passes out the dittoes with sketches of the ducks' activities on them (see Appendix B). Marie questions the children to assure their comprehension of the song, though she believes that their ability to act it out shows that they understand it. She asks what the ducks do on each day of the week, but when she reaches Thursday (when the ducks walk in the wind), she integrates a discussion of the weather by asking the children to show how the wind blows, how rain is, and what the sun looks like. Friday's activity is to waddle, which Marie has the children stand up and demonstrate. She then asks if, on Sunday, the ducks see life in blue, to which the children respond, "Non, en rose." There is no explanation of this idiomatic expression, but Marie's facial expressions show the children that seeing life "en rose" is seeing it as "rosy."

2:10—It is nearly time for afternoon recess. Marie explains that the children will do the duck ditto afterwards, stating that "On va mettre en couleurs la chanson." ["We will color the song." ] They begin to line-up with "Les garçons qui ont les bras croisés" ["Boys with their
2:15-2:30—The children are at recess. When they return, Marie asks, "Vous avez été correcte en récréation?" ["Were you well-behaved at recess?"] and they answer, of course, that they were. Once again, her question reminds them of her expectations while forcing them to think about their behavior.

Most of the class begins the duck ditto while Marie takes the advanced reading group—four children—to the reading table. She praises the good behavior of the large group while asking the readers to touch numbers, letters, and words in their pictureless books—a comprehension check that can be assessed immediately. When they finish, Marie excuses them to return to their dittoes and she again plays music for the class.

3:05—Marie calls those who are finished to come to the carpet area where she does an exercise with geometric shapes. They are then allowed to look at their library books on the carpet.

3:12—Ginny "reads" a story to interested children. At first, Marie prompts her to repeat the French for what she is saying in English, then allows her to continue in English. This is a wonderful activity for the children, according to Marie, who values child-to-child interaction.

3:22—It is time to line up to go home; they are all tired, but not too tired to repeat the hallway rules. This time, Marie asks questions rather than for sentence completions: "Qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec les mains?" ["What do we do with our hands?"] to which the children reply, "Mets en bas" ["Put them down"]. She also wonders, "Où est-ce
"Where do we look?" ["Where do we look?"] to practice another interrogative. The children respond, "devant" ["in front"], obviously understanding the question. They all agree to walk like grown-up children, and they sing "Au revoir, mes amis, au revoir" ["Good-bye, my friends, good-bye"], before being led down the hall to the awaiting busses or parents.

Nadine

"You just have to walk in a new path yourself and the next day you have to lead the kids down that path . . . But, it's following their own interests that you're going to get there."

The Teacher

Nadine is an intuitive, sensitive teacher who believes that students must feel loved in order to achieve. She shows them affection physically, verbally, and in her approach to teaching—basing her lessons on the children's interests.

Certified in 1982 as an "Institutrice pré-scolaire" by the Institut Supérieur de Pédagogie de l'Etat in Brussels, Nadine had five years of experience before coming to Glenwood—two years in a Belgian kindergarten and three years in a French as a Second Language program in Louisiana. She loved teaching French in Louisiana and believes that the children she taught achieved fluency. Immersion teaching involves more disciplining of the children—something she dislikes doing.

Nadine's shoulder-length auburn hair is naturally curly; her blue eyes sparkle when she talks about her students. Her love for them is obvious as is her general "joie de vivre" [love of life]. Much of
her teaching occurs spontaneously, stimulated by something a child
brings to class or an interest expressed by a student.

The Class

Nadine's second-grade class of 24 includes 7 students new to
immersion this year. Two of these should be in a special school,
according to Nadine. One boy sucks his fingers constantly and is unable
to write a simple story in English; another is somewhat belligerent and
defies orders to stay in for recess. On the other hand, Nadine has some
good students: the PTA president's daughter and two serious boys who
appear to be quite fluent and speak often in complete French sentences.
The disparity in French ability bothers Nadine, however, and she
sometimes uses English to communicate better with the new students.

The Room

Arranged unconventionally, the children's desks form no
particular pattern but do permit all children a view of the teacher and
the front wall. An inhabited rabbit hutch and gerbil cage spark
interest while posters reflect Nadine's love of the French language.
Conjugations of avoir and être are both colorful and instructive.
The School Day

Beginning at 9:00, Nadine conducts a French language arts activity: "Prenez votre journal." ["Take out your journal."] She asks "Quel jour sommes-nous? Quelle est la date? Quel est le mois?" ["What day is it? What is the date? What is the month?"]], to which the children reply that it is Monday, the third of October, the month having changed during the weekend. Nadine asks, "Qui sait ecrire 'octobre'?' ["Who knows how to write 'octobre'?"], encourages the children to sound out the word, and then gives the journal topic for the day, which she writes on the board, "Qu'est-ce que vous avez fait ce weekend?" ["What did you do this weekend?"] The students are eager to tell her about their weekends before writing about them. One offers, "Je joue" ["I play"], about which Nadine questions, "Attention, c'est derrière nous, devant nous, ou maintenant?" ["Attention, is it behind us, in front of us, or now?"] and the child self-corrects to "J'ai joué" ["I played"]
Others went to a car race; one boy offers "I went . . ." and Nadine asks, "Comment dit-on 'I went'?" ["How do you say 'I went'?"], to which one child responds, "J'ai allé," an unacceptable answer. Another offers the correct auxiliary verb, "Je suis allé," which is approved. The first boy continues, "Je suis allé à la race . . ." and Nadine inputs "à la course," while writing on the board, "Je suis allé voir la course de voitures." ["I went to see the car race."] Nadine believes that the children need five or ten minutes of oral language before writing so that they can share ideas.

Oral corrections are offered for "ma ami" ("mon ami" ["my friend"]—"mon" before a vowel), "chez me" ("chez moi"["at my house"]—stress pronoun after a preposition), and "de cheval" ("de chevaux"["of horses"]—plural is needed for a horse race). Explanations are not given, however, except for the initial mention of past tense verbs, which are corrected several times. Nadine expects the children to repeat her corrections and sometimes requests it—"'moi.' Répète un peu." ["'me.' Just repeat."]

As they write their journals, one child checks a phonics bulletin board for spelling; another begs for a dictionary; some ask Nadine, who spells quickly for them. Her concern with correct language is also obvious when she writes several sentences on the board for them to copy. By her actions, she shows how important accuracy in language is to her.

9:27—Nadine does the lunch count while the children write in their journals. She asks, "Chaud ou froid?" ["Hot or cold?"], which seems to be quite efficient. When the children bring her their lunch
money, she asks them to count it, which they do, using "septante" ["seventy"] and "nonante" ["ninety"], as is done in Belgium. 9:40—"Les enfants qui ont fini—il faut que tu me lises." ["Children who are finished—you must read to me."] Nadine has been thinking about the journals, has forgotten to send her lunch count and attendance to the office. 9:41—Sandra, the school secretary, is on the intercom: "Excuse me. I need your attendance. Was there anybody absent in your class today?" to which Nadine responds negatively.

Some children are writing about a story they have read recently. They are eager to read in front of the class, and Nadine makes it fun even while making corrections. She explains to one boy who reads, "Le petit rouge poisson" ["The little fish gold"], that "rouge vient après" ["gold comes after"]. Word order in English and French is reversed for adjectives and nouns, and a "goldfish" in French is called a "red fish."

One of the new children reads his story in English, receiving encouragement and praise from Nadine and from the other students: "He is playing with a fish." Nadine: "That's right. That's correct." The student: "He sat in the sand and became all dirty with no car," to which another student emotes, "That was good!" The new boy continues, at Nadine's urging, until she finally concludes his presentation with "That's very good, you know. We can finish the story right there."

The boy who begged for the dictionary begins, "Je suis allé . . ." and Nadine gives him clues: "C'est comme dans poisson, mais c'est 'v' . . ." ["It's like in 'poisson,' but it's 'v' . . ."]. Another student helps: "voir" ["to see"]. The first boy repeats, then gets stopped by the word course. Nadine encourages him, "La /k/ . . . o et
"enfants, c'est quel son?" ["The /k/ . . . o and u, children, that's what sound?"] The students respond, "ooooo." The first boy has it now: "voir la course de voitures" ["to see the car race"]. Nadine marks a happy face on his paper and tells him how good it is.

The next activity is a weather worksheet (see Appendix B). Nadine asks, "De quoi est-ce qu'on va parler?" ["What are we going to talk about?"] and a child responds, "Il parle de quel temps dehors" ["It's talking about what the weather (is like) outside" ]—a verbless clause that is not corrected. Nadine continues by showing a new child the correct picture for the day and explaining, "Le soleil est absent" ["The sun is absent"], in his level of language. Nadine's child-cued behavior includes the ability to adjust her language to the child's level.

She continues with a discussion of different ways to express weather. She describes "orage" ["storm"] as clouds, wind, and noise, which the children first guess as "thunder" until Nadine explains and gestures, "Tous ensemble." ["Everything together."] She describes fog: "On ne voit plus rien." ["You can't see anything anymore."] One child offers, "Il vente" ["It is windy"], which Nadine explains is used in Belgium, but that in Canada people say, "Il y a du vent." ["There is some wind."] She then writes on the board:

\begin{align*}
\text{Il vente} & \quad \text{Il y a du vent.} \\
\text{Il fait du soleil.} & \quad \text{Il y a du soleil.}
\end{align*}

["It is windy. There is some wind. It is sunny. There is some sun."]

Varying ways of expressing the same concepts expand the children's cultural awareness. They then work on the worksheets while Nadine helps
the new students in a group in the corner. Nadine pleads to one new boy, who tapes his crayon box and has no apparent interest in the worksheet, "Why don't you sit down and write this?"

Inspired by the children's concerns about losing their baby teeth, Nadine writes on the board:

Ma dent de lait

Petite souris

Viens a

Prends s'il te plaît

Ma cœur de lait.

Elle est tombée

Quand je jouais

Petite souris

Viens a

["My baby tooth. Little mouse, come at midnight. Please take my baby tooth. It fell out when I was playing. Little mouse, come at midnight."

10:22—Nadine asks, "Qui est-ce qui est prêt? Nous partons pour les toilettes dans deux minutes." ["Who is ready? We are leaving for the restroom in two minutes."] She cautions them to be quiet, "comme des souris" ["like mice"], but tells them they are like rats because they are so noisy. She then calls them to line up by rows and areas of the room: "Enfants du fond. Troisième rangée. Deuxième rangée. J'écoute. C'est bien. Les chaises n'ont pas fait de bruit. Première rangée." ["Children in the back of the room. Third row. Second row. I'm listening. That's good. The chairs didn't make any noise. First row."] The children file out of the room, leaving two behind to finish
their worksheets.

10:40—When the class returns and everyone has "les bras croisées," ["folded arms"], Nadine explains the poem on the board about "dents de lait" ["baby teeth"]. After she reads it, she checks the children's comprehension with literal questions. "A quelle heure?" ["What time?"], to which the children respond, "Minuit" ["Midnight"]. "Pourquoi est-ce que je demande à la souris de venir?" ["Why do I ask the mouse to come?"], she asks. One child offers, "Pour jouer," but another corrects, "Non, pour prendre la dent" ["No, to take the tooth"]. When finished asking questions, Nadine re-reads the poem, then reads one line and chooses children to read the alternating lines. During the next reading, individual students each read one line, then one child reads the whole poem. Finally, two students alternate reading lines followed by a choral reading by the entire class. Varying the repetitions of materials prevents boredom and promotes language comprehension.

Nadine encourages the children to memorize the poem: "On va fermer les yeux. On va essayer de le retenir. Je vais effacer deux phrases." ["We are going to close our eyes. We are going to try to remember it. I am going to erase two sentences."] She erases lines two and four and the children "read" the poem, supplying the missing lines. She then erases lines six and eight and the children again recite the missing lines. Finally, she crosses out all but three lines, and the children recite the entire poem in unison. The lack of order in the room is bothering Nadine, however: "Tout le monde bouge. Il y a trop de bruit. Si une souris vient, elle n'entrera pas." ["Everyone is
moving. There is too much noise. If a mouse came, she wouldn't enter
the room."

11:00—Patrice, the third grade teacher, comes in the room and
asks to have her reading group come to Room 3 from 11:00 until 11:40.
Patrice and Nadine are sharing the French language duties of a second
grade teacher who is on maternity leave. An English-speaking substitute
offers the English language arts for all three classes—Patrice's,
Nadine's, and Jeannette's, but to prevent a total loss of input, Nadine
and Patrice have agreed to prepare extra materials and interrupt their
own schedules to provide French instruction to the children.

Some of Nadine's students leave and some of Jeannette's enter
the room for reading groups. After Nadine re-writes the poem's missing
lines, she tells all group two students from both classes to copy the
poem from the board and "Faites un petit dessin et essayez de le
mémoriser." ["Make a little picture and try to memorize it."

While group two works on the poem, group one students go to the
carpet area for reading. After reminding group two, "Je répète les
règles. Les enfants qui sont ici se taisent" ["I repeat the rules.
Children who are here are quiet"], she has group one turn to page 57 in
their reading books and reviews what has already happened by referring
them to the picture on page 53. "Qui sont les personnages?" ["Who are
the characters?"] she asks, and the children answer, "René et Jojo." By
offering wrong answers, she elicits right ones, "René et Jojo sont deux
filles?" ["René and Jojo are two girls?"] which the children counter
with "Non, deux garçons." ["No, two boys."
The group two children, who are working on the poem, are too noisy. Nadine addresses them in English to prevent any misunderstanding, "I have to repeat the rules. You do not talk there. It's not allowed."

In reading group one, Nadine has individual children read aloud, encouraging the others to "suivre avec votre doigt" ["follow with your finger"]. Past tense is still a concern as Nadine asks, "Quelle est la différence? Maman fait un bon gâteau ou Maman a fait..." ["What is the difference? Mama makes a good cake or Mama made..."] to which the children respond that the second one "already happened." As they read, Nadine explains or paraphrases to assure the children's comprehension. She also asks frequent comprehension questions, such as "Le gâteau—un flan ou un gâteau au fromage?" and "C'est pour qui le gâteau—Tante Milou?" ["The cake—a flan or a cheesecake?" and "Who is the cake for—Aunt Milou?"]

Nadine enjoys the richness of the language as well, asking, for example, "Qu'est-ce qui rime? bateau et _____?" ["What rhymes? bateau and _____?"] to which the children answer "gâteau" ["cake"]. When finished with the day's reading lesson, Nadine instructs the children to leave the books on the chairs and go copy the poem at a desk. She then calls for the group two children, who begin reading on page 56 in the same basal reader. Nadine reads—explaining, paraphrasing, and gesturing to increase comprehension. When the children don't understand "confiture" ["jelly"], for example, she says, that it is "Ce qu'on met sur le pain le matin" ["What we put on bread in the morning"]. Explaining "tante" ["aunt"], she states that it is "la soeur de Maman"
"Mother's sister", and "poussière" ["dust"] is described by Nadine's pretending to find some and blow it away.

11:40—It is time for reading groups to end: "Les enfants de l'autre classe peuvent se ranger devant la porte. C'est l'heure pour le déjeuner." ["Children from the other class can line up in front of the door. It's time for lunch."] Jeannette's students leave, Nadine's return, and all go to eat in the lunchroom while Nadine goes to the teachers' lounge.

12:45—Immediately after lunch, Nadine has Jeannette's class all together for French activities. She begins with a "petite révision des heures" ["little review of telling time"]. "Comment est-ce qu'on pose la question?" ["How do we ask the question?"] she asks. The children know: "Quelle heure est-il?" ["What time is it?"] Then, Nadine asks, "Qu'est-ce qu'on regarde d'abord—la petite ou la grande aiguille?" ["What do we look at first—the little or the big hand?"] To add interest, Nadine tells the children to imagine that the little hand is a "grenouille" ["frog"] that jumps from 5 after, to 10 after, to 15 after the hour and so on. Integrating math concepts, she writes on the board: "5 . . . 10 . . . 5 + 5 + 5 = 15 and 5 + 5 + 5 + 5 = 20" and says, "La grenouille parle: 'cinq, dix, quinze, vingt.'" ["The frog speaks: 'five, ten, fifteen, twenty.'"] She then explains: "Il y a deux façons de dire 'deux heures trente'—(C'est la moitié de l'horloge)—'deux heures trente' ou 'deux heures et demie.' On peut dire 'deux heures quinze' ou 'deux heures et quart.'" ["There are two ways to say 'two-thirty'—(It is half of the clock)—'two thirty' or 'half past two.' We can say 'two fifteen' or 'a quarter past two.'"] After this
explanation, Nadine calls on individual students to change the moveable hands on the clock and choose someone to tell what time is represented. Several have turns before Nadine leads the class in singing the song about the little mouse, "Quelle heure est-il?" ["What time is it?"] (see also Appendix B):

Quelle heure est-il?
Midi.
Qui l'a dit?
La petite souris.
Où est-elle?
Chez mademoiselle.
Que fait-elle?
Une grosse vaisselle.
Et oui, elle travaille aujourd'hui.

["What time is it? Noon. Who said so? The little mouse. Where is she? At Mademoiselle's house. What is she doing? Lots of dishes. Ah, yes, she's working today."]

A math worksheet is next, and Nadine announces the change: "Ce sont les mathématiques" ["This is math"], she states as she passes out the worksheets. Then, "You need to look at your paper even though you don't understand." After she reads, "Fabi a cinq pommes" ["Fabi has five apples"], Nadine has a student draw five apples on the board. She continues: "Combien est-ce que Donna a de pommes? Donna en a quatre."

["How many apples does Donna have? Donna has four."] Another student draws four apples on the board, after which Nadine asks, "Combien de pommes est-ce qu'il y a ensemble?" [How many apples are there all together?] Because the students suggest "eight," Nadine has them count those drawn on the board, "Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, six, sept, huit, neuf" ["One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine"], and they realize their error.
1:20—Nadine notices the time: Restroom visits are scheduled carefully for all classes; she must use her time slot: "On va continuer avec cette feuille demain . . . Si j'entends un seul mot, on va rester avec moi pendant la récréation. On va aller aux toilettes. Après, je voudrais vous enseigner, vous apprendre une petite chanson." ["We will continue with this worksheet tomorrow . . . If I hear one single word, you are going to stay with me during recess. We are going to go to the restroom. Afterwards, I would like to teach you, to teach you a little song."] She calls them by rows and does some physical movements in line to release energy: "On frappe. On touche la tête. On frappe en l'air. On tape les doigts. On ne frappe plus. On touche les doigts. On croise les bras. On est prêt. On va." ["Let's clap. Let's touch our heads. Let's clap in the air. Let's tap our fingers. Don't clap any more. Let's touch our fingers. Let's fold our arms. We're ready. Let's go."]

1:35—The class returns to Room 3 and Nadine announces, "Je vais vous apprendre une chanson à propos des pompiers—ce sont les gens qui se battent contre le feu." ["I am going to teach you a song about firemen—they are the people who fight fires."] This is Fire Prevention Week, and Nadine remembered this song from her college training:

Dans les rues de la ville,
Ces deux notes ont résonné,
Une auto rouge file
Qu'est-il arrivé?
Pin, pon, pin, pon,
Nous arrivons.

[In the city streets, these two notes sound out. A red car speeds along. What happened? Pin, pon, pin, pon. We are coming.] ("Pin, pon" imitates the sound of emergency vehicles in Europe.)
Momentarily having forgotten the tune, Nadine sends a student to Room 14 to bring one of her regular students to this room (Room 3) to help her. While she waits, she explains, "Il y a un feu, une maison enflammée, en incendie" ["There is a fire, a burning house, blazing"] as she draws pictures of the city streets, the speeding car, and the burning house on the board. Her student arrives and helps Nadine present the song, which the children sing with her.

1:45—When the substitute teacher arrives in Room 3, Nadine leaves to gather her own students from their restroom visit. It is time for an art program on educational television. Until Glenwood has a regular art teacher second semester this year, "Art Chest" is a substitute in several classes. Today's fifteen-minute lesson is about designs. The children are mesmerized: Instruction in English plus the prospect of hands-on art activities calm them considerably. Although the television program is in English, Nadine discusses the activity with the children in French, explaining symmetry and that they will do the activity after recess.

Before recess, however, Nadine provides her group with the second verse of the song about the firemen:

Voyez les pompiers passent,
Autres, piétons, garez-vous.
Il leur faut de la place,
Vite, écartez-vous.
Pin, pon, pin, pon,
Nous arrivons.

[See the firemen go by. Others, pedestrians, park yourselves. They must have room. Quickly, get out of the way. Pin, pon, pin, pon. We are coming.]

Nadine explains "garez"—"Par exemple, Papa est dans l'auto; Maman est
dans l’auto; on se gare" ["For example, Papa is in the car; Mama is in
the car; they park"]). To illustrate, she draws a car parking on the
board. She then paraphrases "écartez-vous" ["step aside"] as "bougez"
["move"].

Nadine sings the song for the class, has a student read it
aloud, then explains that the "piétons" ["pedestrians"] are "les gens
qui marchent, les marcheurs" ["the people who walk, the walkers"], which
one child understands and says, "Oh, the walkers," thereby informing the
entire class.

2:15—Because Nadine has had various discipline problems all
day, she has decided to keep the offenders in the classroom during
recess. She explains their offenses in English and names the ten
students who will remain in Room 14 with her.

2:30—As the other children return, Chris hands Nadine a
detention slip; he apparently played tetherball after the bell and was
given one detention (see Appendix B). Nadine begins the art lesson:
"Pendant que je passe les feuilles, tu prends les ciseaux et la colle."
["While I pass out the papers, take out your scissors and your glue."]
Nadine accepts responsibility for this task and appears to enjoy caring
for the students; she often sharpens their pencils and sometimes helps
them clean out their desks.

The children each choose the colors of construction paper they
want and cut out their own designs. The new students seem much happier
with this project. The one who sucks his fingers is particularly
content and his art work is excellent. Hands-on activities are more
necessary with this group of children than with others.
Nadine circulates, appreciates the children's accomplishments, and tells one boy that the cut-out part of his design is like a "fusée" ["rocket"]. She then terminates the art project, collects the children's work, picks up scraps of paper off the floor, and passes out three papers for the children to take home. She reminds them, "Manteau, la petite boîte, chaise sur la table." ["Coat, lunch boxes, chair on the table."] They all comply, then line up noisily and leave.

Patrice

"Je demande que les enfants se concentrent, qu'ils contrôlent leurs corps ... Ils se respectent toujours." ["I ask that the students concentrate, that they control their bodies ... They respect themselves always."]

The Teacher

Her nearly six-foot frame, long blond hair, distinctive low voice, and enormous blue eyes make Patrice a stand-out whose physical characteristics empower her considerably in the classroom. She is a contented teacher who enjoys the children and teaches them self-respect along with subject matter and French.

Unlike several of the K-2 teachers, Patrice was trained as an elementary school teacher and as a "lower secondary" foreign language teacher (through grade 10). Her preparation was demanding, including required courses in French, two foreign languages, psychology, pedagogy, physical education, mathematics, science, philosophy, music, and art; and electives in games, sports, rounds and dances, manual activities, and audio-visual education.
Patrice taught two years in Belgium, where she spent six months teaching physical education and two months teaching the deaf. In the classroom, these experiences manifest themselves in her exaggerated gestures and emphasis on body language.

Patrice thinks this year's class is "wonderful. I love my class," and she values each child as an individual. One indication of this is the bulletin board she designed with photographs of each child labeled as the best at something—best artist, best writer, or best in math, for examples. Because Patrice has a healthy self-image, she attempts to promote that in her students by teaching them self-respect.

The Class

Of Patrice's twenty-five third-grade students, five are new to Glenwood this year. Patrice tries to team the new ones with veteran immersion students, which works well until the veteran over-teaches and must be reminded not to translate so frequently.

Student abilities vary, with a group of advanced mathematics students who challenge each other with student-created math problems leading the class. Overall, though, it is an unusually bright class, with most of the students achieving above grade level and only one getting as low as a D on his report card.

The Room

Room 4 reflects Patrice's beliefs about organization and discipline: one poster illustrates various classroom procedures; another is an "Avertissement," listing disciplinary actions that result
from misbehavior; an octopus chart specifies children's classroom responsibilities; another lists names and rewards for good behavior; and a 9-compartment box categorizes completed papers by subject.

The School Day

Patrice begins her day with breakfast room duty as she supervises those who eat at school—part of a government program. Because this duty makes her somewhat late for class, Mr. Loffland is keeping order in her absence.

9:05—Patrice enters, asks a student to erase the board and another to write the date on the board, then begins discussing the children's weekend activities, "Qu'est-ce que tu as fait pendant le weekend? Tu as travaillé beaucoup? Qui est-ce qui est allé au parc? s'est promené? a marché? a fait de la bicyclette? a regardé la télévision? a dormi toute la journée?" ["What did you do during the
weekend? You worked a lot? Who went to the park? took a walk?
walked? rode a bicycle? watched television? slept all day?"
] The children raise their hands to express their participation in the various activities. As the children express themselves, Patrice inputs French. One boy offers, "I watched . . . ," Patrice says, "J'ai regardé . . . ,"
and the child repeats the French.

The first activity is a writing assignment, "Expliquez en quelques lignes ce qu'on a fait pendant le weekend. Pour les nouveaux, en anglais, OK? Racontez le weekend et dessinez une chose. Moi, je vais compter l'argent pour le déjeuner." ["Explain in several lines what you did during the weekend. For the new students, in English, OK? Tell about the weekend and draw one thing. I'm going to count the lunch money."] She reminds them about "majuscules" ["capital letters"] at the beginnings of sentences and "points" ["periods"] at the ends.

9:12—On the intercom, Patrice (in the principal's absence) introduces the reader for the day. The student reads greetings, news, the menu, and wishes everyone a "bonne journée" ["good day"].

Lunchcount continues with Patrice's question: "Chaud ou froid?" which seems to be the most efficient method for determining the count. As she questions each child, she reminds the class, "Tout le monde est assis correctement et je regarde." ["Everyone is sitting correctly and I'm watching."] When students ask how to spell words, Patrice first says, "joli—j-o-l-i" ["pretty"] for a child, then tells the next student, "Tu écris comme tu penses" ["Write it like you think"], encouraging him to sound out the words. As she logically states, "It's not important. It's a writing assignment; it's not a spelling
assignment." When the lunchcount is completed, Patrice ascertains attendance by asking, "Et les absents?" ["And the absentees?"], to which the children reply, "Non," and the student responsible for taking messages to the office leaves with both reports.

Because it is Monday, the large manila envelopes that the children take home on Friday filled with papers must be collected. The parents sign and write comments on the cover sheet stapled to the envelope. This procedure saves Patrice many hours of telephoning parents, she believes.

9:40—Patrice leaves Room 4 for Room 3, where she is assuming two hours of French-language duties for the second-grade teacher on maternity leave. After again assuring that everyone is seated correctly, she begins her routine: "Bonjour. Comment ça va? Très bien? Bien? Pas mal? Qui est-ce qui ne va pas? Qui est-ce qui est malade? Qui est-ce qui est fâché? Pourquoi?" ["Hello. How are you? Very good? Good? Not bad? Who isn't well? Who is sick? Who is angry? Why?"] As each question is asked, the students raise their hands in response. Roberta is angry, she says, and tells why, "Parce que mon petit frère fait 'wah, wah' tout le temps." ["Because my little brother goes 'wah, wah' all the time."]

On the back board, Patrice begins the "journal" by asking the students "On se retourne, regarde. Regardez par ici." ["Turn, look. Look here."] Attached to the board is a paper that says:

Aujourd'hui, c'est...
(temps)...
Il y a ___ élèves absents.
Au menu il y a...
J'aime...
Je n'aime pas . . .
Aujourd'hui je suis . . .

["Today is . . . (weather) . . . There are ___ students absent. For the menu there is . . . I like . . . I do not like . . . Today I am . . . "] A happy face with a question mark indicates that the children are to express their feelings.

After Patrice elicits the completion for the first sentence, which she writes on the blackboard beside the paper, the students read what she has written. She discusses the weather and the number of absentees, but does not write either on the board. The menu, however, is listed in its entirety to help the students decide what they like and what they do not like about it. Patrice comments upon the "purée de pommes de terre" ["mashed potatoes"] by explaining that in Belgium and Louisiana, they are called "patates," and she demonstrates with her foot how they are "mashed." Further explaining "pommes de terre," she tells that they are "pommes qui poussent au-dessous de la terre" ["apples that grow below the earth"], which she demonstrates with a deep scooping motion that amuses the children. To complete her explanation of the journal, Patrice tells the children, "Faites-moi la tête" ["Make a face for me"]; asks for surprise, sadness, happiness, illness, and anger; draws each expression on the board; and tells the children to declare their moods for the day in their journals.

One misbehaving child demands an infrequent negative comment: "Tu es vraiment un bébé. Tu ne sais pas s'asseoir." ["You are really a baby. You do not know how to sit."]

Patrice next tells the students that she will do the journal with them twice, then they will have to do it alone. This attempt at forcing them to assume more responsibility for their work meets with
trepidation, "You won't help us?" one student asks, which Patrice answers negatively. She also allows only 15 minutes for this activity, stating, "Je voudrais un travail écrit plus vite." ["I want faster written work."]

10:15—Patrice readies the children for their restroom visit by invoking the Glenwood teachers' favorite role model: "On va aller aux toilettes... Comment font les Indiens? Ils ne parlent pas. Ils marchent sur la pointe des pieds. En silence." ["We are going to the restroom... How do the Indians do? They do not speak. They walk on tiptoe. In silence."] Imitating Indians, the children line up quietly in two lines with their boy and girl leaders. After using the facilities, they again line up facing toward Room 3. Patrice reviews body-part vocabulary, helps prevent misbehavior, and gives the children some exercise by asking them to "Touche le nez, la tête, la bouche, les pieds, le ventre, le cou, les joues, les yeux, les oreilles, un oeil; lève la main droite, lève la main gauche." ["Touch your nose, your head, your mouth, your feet, your stomach, your neck, your cheeks, your eyes, your ears, one eye; raise you right hand, raise your left hand."]

Physical movement is a top priority for Patrice, who exercises frequently after school.

10:25—The class returns to Room 3, where Patrice turns off the lights for attention and tells the children, "La tête sur le banc." ["Heads on the desks."] She then asks those children who are finished drawing four mother- and-baby animal pairs to go to the rug for a story. She puts flashcard pictures of the animals in the chalk tray, writes "Les animaux et leurs pettes" on the board, and marks two columns below
the title for those still working. On the carpet with those who have finished, Patrice questions the children about the names of the mother and baby animals that they have drawn. She elicits "La chatte, le chaton; la chienne, le chiot; le cheval (le jument), le poulain; la brebis, l'agneau; la poule, le poussin." ["Mother cat, kitten; mother dog, puppy; horse (mare), colt; ewe, lamb; hen, chick."]

10:40—The group returns to their seats as Patrice asks all the students, "Qui est-ce qui peut me trouver la maman du chiot?" ["Who can find me the mother of the puppy?"] The children come forward individually, pick the proper flashcards, and hand them to Patrice. She then tells them "Tu vas me dire le nom de l'image et puis tu vas me donner une belle phrase. Ecoute. 'Le chaton est le bébé de la chatte.'" ["You are going to tell me the name of the picture and then you are going to give me a good sentence. Listen. 'The kitten is the baby of the mother cat.'"] She holds up two cards at a time to prompt the sentences that the children produce with each pair.

10:55—It is time for second-grade reading groups, which Nadine and Patrice share. Some children from Room 14 enter Room 3 while others from Room 3 leave to join those remaining in Room 14. Patrice brings all those in Room 3 to the carpet area, saying, "Asseyez-vous comme les Indiens." ["Sit down Indian-style."] She begins to read the large book that Pierre adapted and illustrated: "Le lapin et la tortue" ["The Tortoise and the Hare"], whispering, "Bonjour, Madame Tortue. Bonjour, M. Lapin" ["Hello, Mrs. Tortoise. Hello, Mr. Rabbit"] as she shows the appropriate illustration. The children repeat after her, "reading" the story. As she reads, she asks, "Le lapin, il va lentement? Non, il va
"vite" ["The rabbit, does he go slowly? No, he goes fast"], and tells a student to demonstrate. Describing the rabbit's strategy, Patrice uses synonym to help the children understand: "Le lapin s'arrête" ["The rabbit stops"]—"STOP." After reading the entire book, she says, "Je vais montrer les images et vous allez me dire ce que c'est." ["I am going to show the pictures and you are going to tell me what they are."] She chooses new students for this simpler activity.

The children are then instructed to sit at desks as she writes "Le lapin court vite" ["The rabbit runs fast"] and "La tortue marche lentement" ["The tortoise walks slowly"] on the board. After telling the students "Reculez les bancs" ["Push the desks back"] and "Debout, tout le monde" ["Stand up everyone"], she has a student read from the board, and the class acts out the sentences by running quickly and walking slowly. She then tells them, "Montrez-moi une tortue" ["Show me a tortoise"], which they gesture to describe, and the same procedure is followed with "court vite" ["run fast"], "lapin" ["rabbit"], and "marche lentement" ["walk slowly"]. Patrice then covers the words "lapin" and "tortue" and has the children read the sentences and fill in the words. Next, Patrice says, "Viens me montrer le mot 'tortue.'" ["Come and show me the word 'tortoise.'"] Individual children circle each word she asks for—an exercise in sight reading. Finally, the children read the sentences individually and Patrice gives them coupons with "fantastique" on them as a reward.

11:40—After Room 14 students leave Room 3 to return to their room and those from Room 3 return, Patrice sings the "Tête, épaules, genoux, pieds" song to fill time, focus attention, and review
vocabulary. She then leads the class to the lunchroom, assures their
good behavior, and goes to the lounge, where Denise and Marie, the
first grade teachers, suggest teaching techniques for Jeannette's second
graders. The entire K-3 staff is helping carry Jeannette's load in her
absence.

12:45—Patrice happily returns to her third-grade class in Room
4 and begins a story, "Casquettes à vendre" ["Caps for sale"], asking
comprehension questions as she tells the story. In answer to how many
hats of each color there are, Patrice tells the students, "Comptez par
quatre—quatre, huit, douze, seize, et un égalent dix-sept" ["Count by
four-four, eight, twelve, sixteen, and one equals seventeen"],
integrating math skills into the story. Because the vendor in the story
falls asleep with the hats on his head and all but one disappear,
Patrice asks the children to imagine what happened to them, "Où
sont-elles, les autres?" ["Where are the others?""] The children answer
imaginatively: "Ils allaient dans le vent" ["They went in the wind"],
"Une personne vient vendre les casquettes" ["A person comes to sell the
hats"], "Dans la poche" ["In the pocket"], and "Comment dit-on
'dreaming'?" ["How do you say 'dreaming'?"]

Sixteen monkeys have stolen the hats and are wearing them on
their heads as they climb in the tree above the vendor. Patrice again
challenges the children to be creative by asking, "Qu'est-ce que tu
ferais?" ["What would you do?"] One loquacious little girl answers, "Tu
prendre le singe et tu vas dans la rue avec les singes et les singes
peut marcher derrière toi et les personnes vont venir voir les singes et
ils vont acheter les casquettes." ["You (to) take the monkey and you go
in the street with the monkeys and the monkeys can walk behind you and the people are going to come to see the monkeys and they come to buy the hats." Although this answer lacks some subject-verb agreements, it is a remarkable example of the communicative ability of one third-grade French immersion student.

1:07—Patrice announces: "Les mathématiques maintenant. Quelle multiplication?" ["Mathematics now. What multiplication?"] A student answers, "Par sept" ["By seven"] as Patrice writes on the board: "La multiplication par 7" ["Multiplication by 7"]. She then lists all the multiplication combinations of numbers (from 1 to 10) with 7 as the children, two at a time, offer the answers in competition with one another. In this game called "Voyage" ["Traveling"], the loser has to sit down while the winner continues to compete with other students. The children's values are evident when they tell Patrice to give a new student credit because he answered in French, and Patrice's show when a returnee loses and vents his anger: "Oh, là, là, le mauvais perdant! Ce qui va arriver c'est que tu ne joueras jamais. Il faut être gentil." ["Oh, là, là, a bad loser! What will happen is that you will never play. You must be nice."]

After the game, Patrice has the class count by seven as a review. She then takes the advanced group to the table in the front corner while a student passes out worksheets to the entire class. The advanced group does the worksheet quickly, then works on double digit multiplication. They seem to understand "rapport" ["carrying"] the tens or hundreds place digit into the next step of the problem and show it by writing the number to the right of the problem, then crossing it
1:35—Patrice calls "les responsables de la ligne" ["the line leaders"] to stand by the door as the others begin to line up for music class. First, she calls "les filles qui portent un pantalon" ["girls wearing pants"], "les filles qui portent une robe" ["girls wearing dresses"], and "les filles qui portent une jupe" ["girls wearing skirts"]. Then she calls the boys to line up: "les garçons avec les yeux bleus" ["boys with blue eyes"], "les garçons qui portent des lunettes" ["boys wearing glasses"], "les garçons qui portent des chaussures blanches" ["boys wearing white shoes"], and "les garçons qui portent des pantalons bleus" ["boys wearing blue pants"]. This complicated procedure has several motivations—to keep order, to present some vocabulary, and, at times, to hold the poorly behaved students until last as a consciousness-raising effort, according to Patrice.

1:45-2:15—The lines proceed to the music room, where they participate in vocal activities, led by a non-certified, aide-status teacher. When first established, alternative schools gradually phase in their special teachers. This year they have a certified physical education teacher and a certified art teacher for one semester, but an aide-status music teacher.

2:15-2:30—After Patrice retrieves her students from music class, they return to Room 4, then go outside for recess. At 2:30 the students return from recess and Patrice begins a flashcard competition,
again using the "Voyage" format. The flashcards are simple addition and subtraction problems, which the new students are allowed to answer in English. Patrice reminds them, "Restez gentils, s'il vous plaît. Il ne faut pas être méchant." ["Be nice, please. You mustn't be mean."] If the two students answer in unison, Patrice calls, "Ensemble" ["Together"], and they get a new problem.

2:40—Students line up for a special session in the gym with Patrice. They enter at 2:45 and seat themselves cross-legged in a circle, Indian-style. Patrice sits with them and leads the activities, which are designed to promote self-control as well as physical fitness. Patrice chose this circular configuration because those who do not understand can watch those who are more knowledgeable so that "Ils ne vont pas être frustrés." ["They will not be frustrated."]

Patrice leads the exercises, "Mains sur la tête, les épaules, en haut (on attrape les choses en l'air), sur les hanches ... On se tient bien droit." ["Hands on your heads, on your shoulders, up high (you're catching things in the air), on your hips ... Sit up very straight."] The exercises are performed slowly, with control, nearly yoga-like. She continues, "La main droite en haut. La main gauche en haut. Les jambes tendues, bien droites. Les mains aux hanches et on touche les pieds." ["Right hand up. Left hand up. Legs stretched, very straight. Hands on hips and touch your toes."]

Next, Patrice tells the students to stand and hold hands, reminding them of the circus: "On fait l'équilibriste. Sur la pointe des pieds, on descend doucement." ["We are tight-rope walkers. On tiptoe, go down gently."] The goal of the exercises is ultimately
improved self-respect. All are designed to help the students concentrate, control themselves, and calm themselves afterwards, according to Patrice. They walk on tiptoe, run on tiptoe, take little jumps, and take big jumps with their hands on their hips. Next, she announces exercises for the upper body: "Faites-moi les hélicoptères. Les pieds joints. Vois comment je respire. J'inspire (mains hauts). J'expire en baissant les mains." ["Make helicopters for me. Feet together. See how I breathe. I inhale (hands up). I exhale while lowering my hands."]

A group activity follows, but self-control is still the rule. Patrice organizes a relay with twelve students in one line, eleven in the other. (Two students have been sent to the first grade room as punishment for immature behavior). The relay is controlled: "La première dans la ligne reste debout; les autres restent . . ." ["The first one in the line stands; the others stay . . ."], which the children complete with "assis" ["seated"]. They are to walk quickly, holding a beanbag, touch the opposite wall, walk back, and give the bag to the next student. After this relay, Patrice begins another with the beanbag on the students' heads. They are allowed to cheer but only with self-control: "On dit 'allez, allez,' mais calmement." ["You can say 'go, go,' but calmly."]

The final activity is a game similar to "Fox and Geese," requiring that the students form a circle. One student stands to be the fox [renard], then taps one who is seated to chase him or her. Whoever wins the race back to the tapped student's empty spot in the circle gets to sit there. The loser has to go "Dans la marmite" ["In the pot"] to
be eaten. They all sing, "Ne regardez pas le renard qui passe. Regardez seulement quand il est passé" ["Do not look at the fox who goes by. Look only when he has passed"]—first slowly, then accompanied with clapping at a much faster tempo. Merging music, P.E., language, and francophone culture, this game delights the children.

3:20—Before leaving the gym to return to Room 4, Patrice reminds the students to "Respirez trois fois seulement parce que si on le fait plus, on aura la vertige." ["Breathe three times only because if you do more, you will get dizzy."]

3:25—Room 4—The students gather their things and Patrice leads them to the front door, where she says that the day wasn't perfect, but rather a mixture of good and bad. "Ce n'est pas toujours roses et violettes." ["It is not always roses and violets." ("Life is not always easy.")]

Estelle

"I'll do anything that will get them involved using their hands . . . It generates language. They can actually see it and feel it and touch it, you know, multi-sensory involvement . . . It works really well for this concrete-operational stage child."

The Teacher

A petite, dark-haired woman of Italian heritage, Estelle is the only native speaker of English participating in this study, though she learned Italian concurrently with English. Her years of experience in a variety of settings and her bilingual background gave her the abilities and confidence to become a French immersion teacher. Although she often enjoys her students by joking with them, she is a strict teacher who
expects responsible behavior from her students.

Estelle recently received her M.A. degree, and many of the courses she took for the degree have helped her with immersion teaching. Originally certified to teach secondary school French, she is currently pursuing a re-training certificate in elementary education. These courses have also proven useful to her at Glenwood and have reinforced her belief in the importance of involving the student in activities.

Beginning her career as a secondary French teacher, Estelle most recently taught 12 years at St. Joseph's, a pre-school-through-eighth-grade Montessori school. It was there that she began integrating content into her French lessons, finding that similar math and geography activities could be used for different levels of students.

Although only 40% of the fifth-grade day is expected to be conducted in French during this phase-in period, Estelle tries to use the language whenever she can. Math, hands-on science activities, language arts, and nearly all classroom management procedures are conducted in French as well as frequent reinforcement lessons for content that is first presented in English. She compensates for her non-native French with frequent verifications of language with the dictionary and with the European teachers.

A mainstay of the staff, Estelle is the only teacher to receive a perfect attendance pin for the 1987-88 school year. She is also the building representative to the local teachers' association and the teacher-in-charge, who assumes the responsibility of the school when the
The Class

Ten- and eleven-year-olds vary considerably in size, shape, and physical maturity. Estelle's class fits this description and presents varying disciplinary and instructional problems. Physically mature girls who tower over her and pre-pubescent boys who find girls a bother form the emotional and physical limits of the children. Attitudes also vary—from the stubborn girl who refuses to utter "un mot" ["one word"] to gain restroom permission to the analytical boy who worries excessively about his French pronunciation.

The Room

All desks face toward the center of Room 9, probably to capitalize on peer-group influence at this age. Estelle's desk sits in the far corner, affording her a view of the entire classroom and the hallway.

Estelle promotes Canadian culture with Quebec maps, flags, and city sketches, while the "Artiste du Mois" ["Artist of the Month"] may be any francophone. One entire section of the front blackboard is filled with the assignments of the day or week—a semi-permanent reminder of work to be completed by the students.
The School Day

At 9:00, the students enter, take their chairs down from their desks, consult the front assignment board, and begin to work. Estelle greets the students in French, reminding them "Il faut commencer à travailler immédiatement." ["You must work immediately."]

9:05—She reads the assignments on the front board, specifying activities that need immediate attention: "Il faut finir les images sur les Jeux Olympiques. Il faut écrire 'Concentration sur l'Excellence.' It's the U.S. motto for the Olympics." ["You must finish the pictures about the Olympic Games. You need to write 'Concentration on Excellence.'"] Future projects are also reiterated: exams in math on Wednesday, science on Tuesday, spelling on Thursday, and social studies this afternoon. She also announces the journal topic for today: "The Olympic event I would like to participate in and why."
After explaining these assignments, Estelle states, "J'ai besoin de dix minutes maintenant sans interruptions" ["I need ten minutes now without interruptions"], and begins attendance and lunch counts. "Tu as un sac ou une boîte à dîner?" ["Do you have a sack (lunch) or a lunch box?"], she asks each student. Negative answers provoke the questions, "Tu as de l'argent?" ["Do you have money?"] or "Qu'est-ce que tu as?" ["What do you have?"] If a student brings lunch money, Estelle has him or her count out the money in French.

The routine of the day is quite regular, though it is not listed chronologically. At 9:30, Estelle begins the math lesson with a clear marker, "Je vais commencer la leçon de mathématiques maintenant." ["I am going to begin the math lesson now."] The math lesson is integrated with other content, however, including the date, the weather, and a conversion of Fahrenheit temperature to Celsius. Two calendars must be completed (see Appendix B)—one that charts the temperature and general weather conditions and another that reflects the days, dates, temperature, and symbols for sun, rain, snow, wind, and clouds, which the children are to draw. The conversion of temperature from Fahrenheit to Celsius is a three-step process that involves several different mathematical operations:

1. Fahrenheit temperature (e.g., 77) - 30 = 47
2. 47 - 2 = 24
3. 24 + 10% (2.4) = 26.4 or 27 degrees Celsius.

This procedure is performed on the front board daily for a month, giving the students practice in math, science, and cross-cultural thinking.

Another mathematical activity, which is integrated with French-language reading, is a reading exercise involving French
spellings for birthdates (see Appendix B). Numbers have only been learned in context, not in an abstract situation such as counting, according to Estelle. This reading lesson is the culmination of a study of dates in numeral form, which the students have seen and heard often. They have never seen the numbers written in French words before, but because they have worked with them orally, they have an experience base to draw from, Estelle believes.

She begins "une petite révision" ["a little review"] by asking, "Est-ce que tu peux lire les dates? Quelle est la date de naissance de JoAnn?" ["Can you read the dates? What is the birthdate of Joann?"] referring them to the numerically expressed dates on the back blackboard. This appears to be simple to them. Estelle then passes out the worksheets, asking the students first, "Il faut la tourner au dos et il faut écrire les dates que je vais vous dire." ["You must turn it over and write the dates that I am going to say to you."] She instructs them to write their names and number their papers, cluing them into both procedures by giving examples: "Suzanne, Denise, Thomas . . . Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq." ["Suzanne, Denise, Thomas . . . One, two, three, four, five."]

"Number one. Il faut écrire 'le quatre juillet, mil sept cent soixante-seize.'" ["Number one. You must write 'July fourth, seventeen hundred seventy-six.'"] After noticing errors on several papers, she cautions: "Ecoute: mil sept cent, pas mil neuf cent." ["Listen: seventeen hundred, not nineteen hundred." To the children, she offers a "Bravo" when she sees a correct response or a repetition to help them self-correct. To one she remarks, "Ça, c'est soixante-sept: il faut
soixante-seize." [That's sixty-seven; it's seventy-six."
Knowing
that many of them are familiar with the Belgian numerical system, she
reminds them, "Les Belges disent quelque chose de différent. Au lieu de
dire 'soixante-seize,' ils disent 'septante-six.'" ["Belgians say
something different. Instead of saying 'soixante-seize,' they say
'septante-six.']"

10:00—Estelle continues dictating dates: July 14, 1789, and
August 25, 1944. She stops the quiz there, saying, "Je pense que ça
suffit pour maintenant" ["I think that is enough for now"], and asking a
student to put the first date on the board. As he does so, Estelle
reviews some basic math in French, "Qui peut me dire le produit de deux
fois deux? trois fois trois? quatre fois trois? cinq fois quatre?
cinq fois cinq?" ["Who can tell me the product of two times two? three
times three? four times three? five times four? five times five?"]
The answer on the board is correct except for the omission of "le"
before the date. After the student reads the date, Estelle asks, "C'est
juste? C'est vrai?" ["That's correct? That's true?"], to which the
children respond affirmatively. Estelle again involves the students,
this time by allowing them to act as peer teachers.

The next activity is the actual reading lesson: "Au verso de
ton papier, il faut mettre encore une fois ton nom et la date. Qui sait
lire numéro un?" ["On the other side of your paper, you must again put
your name and the date. Who knows how to read number one?"] When a
student offers, "La date de ma naissance est ..." ["My birthdate is
..."]], Estelle adds, "Il faut remplir le tiret avec la date de ta
naissance" ["You must fill the blank with your birthdate"], and he does
so correctly. The children continue reading the entire worksheet, filling in the birthdate of one of their classmates for number two. When they finish, Estelle praises, "Très bien. Bravo. Il faut applaudir" ["Very good. Bravo. We must applaud"], and they all do.

10:35-10:43—After having a student collect the finished Olympics pictures, Estelle instructs the class "Mettez-vous en ligne, s'il vous plaît" ["Get in line, please"], and the line leader takes the class to and from the restroom.

10:45—A hands-on math activity follows, using student-made materials—green cards with geometric shapes on them. The twelve cards are decorated with three different shapes—triangles, circles, and squares—that vary in size and color—a large blue, a large red, a small blue, and a small red of each shape. Estelle holds up several different cards and elicits a description of the shape—"Un petit cercle bleu" ["A little blue circle"], for example. This is an excellent activity for adjective order in French, which differs significantly from English.

One student holds the "Fiche d'indice" ["Index card"], and the others are to guess what specific shape it contains. The student in charge describes it, "Ce n'est pas grand. Ce n'est pas bleu. Ce n'est pas un triangle. Ce n'est pas un carré." ["It's not big. It's not blue. It's not a triangle. It's not a square." ] When Estelle asks, "Qu'est-ce?" ["What is it?"] , another student answers, "Un petit cercle rouge." ["A little red circle."] The game continues with other students in charge while Estelle corrects (by modeling) the students' omissions of un before the shape name and responds to "Un grand bleu carré" ["A big square blue"] with "Non, carré bleu." ["No, blue
square."

Estelle is demanding, but also enjoys humor with the class. She wonders aloud if one little girl's "petit cercle rouge" might be "Une fleur, je crois. Une tulipe?" ["A flower, I think. A tulip?"] which the class finds quite amusing.

11:00—Estelle marks the end of the math lesson and instructs the students to get out their reading books. There are three reading groups: Flights of Color, Ride the Sunrise, and Green Salad Seasons. After the students identify themselves as members of a certain group by raising their hands, she distributes the proper "skill packet" to each one, telling them all, "These are all due tomorrow," and that they are to be reading silently or working on reading pages for the next 15 minutes. The students are too noisy for Estelle, however, as she asks them for silence five times with no results. She finally issues the ultimate punishment, "OK, you will spend recess here with me."

11:20—Estelle tells the class that she forgot their library time this morning. It is only the fourth week of school, and she does not yet have her routine firmly in mind. After checking with the librarian, she takes the class to the library, but only to check out books. Arriving at the library at 11:23, the students are told that they have only 12 minutes to complete the check-out procedure, and the "patrouilleurs scolaires" ["school patrols"] have only 7 minutes.

11:30—After three school patrol students leave to lead the kindergarten children to their buses, the other students line up for lunch. They stop outside Room 9 and Estelle announces, "We're going to wait here a few minutes until everyone gets quiet and stands properly."
After Estelle gives the signal, the student leader, Sally, leads them into the room.

11:45—Estelle tells the students to straighten their desks, get their lunches, and line up, which they do noisily. At Estelle's suggestion, Sally yells "Silence," they quiet down, and file out of the room.

Estelle is on lunchroom duty today in the principal's absence. When she arrives in the multi-purpose room, the food is on the tables, waiting for the children. Prepared in a central school district kitchen, the meals are brought to Glenwood, re-heated, and distributed. All children from one room sit at the table labeled with their teacher's name, including those with lunches from home.

Patrice and Marie enter with their classes, place their students properly, and leave. When the children become too noisy for Estelle, she raises her hand and all is silent. She announces, "No talking. If you have your hand up for a napkin or fork or something, be patient. It's coming," and cautions them, "My hand is up." After the other teachers bring their classes into the room in an orderly fashion, the children begin to eat very quietly.

Not only does Estelle have to supervise the lunch room, but she also is in charge of detention, which follows lunch. She announces, "In a few minutes I'm going to read the names of people who need to stay in with me. You already know who you are. That's good," and asks them to sit on the stage steps when they finish eating. She then continues walking around the room with a basket, passing out napkins and straws and encouraging the children to ask for them in French.
12:10—After disposing of their lunch remains, the children who have detention reluctantly sit on the stage steps as the others go outside for recess. Roger, the custodian, helps supervise the entire process, moving tables, storing them upright along the walls, and sweeping the floor. When one little boy sitting on the steps misbehaves, Roger tells him to stand up and "Don't you move again." After excusing each table individually, Estelle goes to the stage steps and tells the boy to sit down. When another child on detention says the custodian told him to stand, Estelle supports Roger's efforts by saying, "Then stand."

After Estelle takes those on detention to the latchkey room for thirty minutes of play deprivation, she comes to Room 9, where her students are lined up outside. Before entering the room, she reminds them that they must give her their Olympics pictures for the bulletin board. Many of them hand her their completed work as soon as they enter the room, while others continue working. She tells those who are finished that they have a social studies test soon, spelling to prepare, and a journal due today as well as skill packet pages for tomorrow. The students work quietly until 1:15, when Estelle instructs them to line up for the restroom.

1:25—The class returns and Estelle announces that it is time for the social studies test (see Appendix B). Desks are moved into test formation, and Estelle carefully goes over the test, remarking that the xeroxing is imperfect:

Part I—Put letters of the definitions in the blanks by the words. Part II—Use key words in a paragraph to describe a river. Part III—Write true/false.
Write the entire word, please, not T and F. Thinking Things Over (for 10 points)—Explain how land forms and nearness to water affect climate. Where do we write Thinking Things Over? On the back of your paper.

For 30 points, Part IV—Write the letter of the land form on the map in the blank.

The test continues until 2:00—time for a French lesson.

Estelle collects the test papers, then begins, "Quel jour sommes-nous? Quelle est la date? Qui peut me nommer les parties de la fleur?" ["What day is it? What is the date? Who can name the parts of the flower?"]

The class has studied the parts of a flower in French; this is a review.

The next activity is a modification of "Win, Lose, or Draw"—"Gagne, Perd, ou Dessine"—that a Canadian publication, "Communicartes," inspired. It serves as a review of the names of body parts. Estelle begins by drawing on the board

![Diagram]

and asking the students to identify certain parts by pointing to them.

The students do not seem to know "orteils," so she gives clues—"On a cinq quoi?" ["We have five what?"] and finally answers her own question, "Ce sont les orteils." ["They are toes."]

After naming all the specified body parts, the children are asked to get a sheet of paper for a quiz: "Il faut dessiner un menton. Il faut faire une image. N'écris pas le mot." ["You must draw a chin. You must make a picture. Do not write the word."] The students seem
not to understand until one asks, "Does that mean a drawing?" which Estelle affirms. She continues the exercise by dictating:

1. le menton [the chin]
2. le nez [the nose]
3. le front [the forehead]
4. le pied [the foot]
5. cinq orteils [five toes]
6. les oreilles [the ears]

To correct the quiz, Estelle asks the students to draw the answers on the board, label them, and put the number of the body part beside the drawing. They draw a chin, a nose, and a forehead, numbered 1, 2, and 3. Although the 2:15 recess bell rings, the children want to continue. Another draws a foot and labels it number 4; toes, number 5; ears, number 6. After all parts are drawn and labeled, Estelle has the children repeat all their names. She has also changed her mind about keeping them in for recess, an understandable inconsistency. Lunchroom and detention duty stole her noon-hour break; she needs one now. "Laissez-moi souffler un peu." ["Give me a little break."] "I need a break. We're going to go outside." They rush out elatedly.

2:30—The students return to Estelle's chiding about their misuse of balls on the playground. She tells them to let the responsible ball-person handle any problems on the playground from now on. She then explains the special physical education session procedures: "Get everything ready to take home. We have to go to the bathroom, then we have to go to the gym, because it's your gym time. We'll get on the bus from the gym. Homework—all you have is health, which will be due on Monday."
2:45—They all line up in an orderly fashion and walk to the gym. There, they sit on the stage steps as Estelle tells how they will do "European rhythmic running" around the gym. On the long sides of the rectangular gym, they will run normally, pacing themselves. On the short sides of the rectangle, they will do special activities. The first two times around, they will run in a low space (crouching); the second two times, they will skip in a low space; and the third two times, they will hop in a crouched position. Two boys lead stretches for the entire class before the children spread out, loving the freedom of the physical space.

Estelle performs the activities with her students, praises them, "OK, that was good," then tells them to sit down while she gets the parachute. The students walk toward the stage steps until Estelle says, "Excuse me for not being clear. Sit on the line on the floor."

After spreading out the parachute, Estelle reminds the students only to walk when they move from place to place in the gym, emphasizing how important it is to their safety. The children take places around the parachute and perform "mushroom" and "popcorn" activities with nerf balls bouncing on top of the parachute—activities to build upper-body strength, Estelle explains.

3:20—After the students help put away the parachute and nerf balls, they line up in an orderly fashion and file out of the gym to their awaiting busses or rides home.
CHAPTER V
ANALYSIS

Research Questions

The research questions presented in Chapter I were modified considerably by the evolutionary nature of this inquiry, as described by the hermeneutic circle image in Chapter III. The questions were eventually combined, deleted, and expanded to form 25 categories that served as units of analysis. Question 1: "What are the pedagogical constructs of six elementary French immersion teachers?" was the overriding concern of the study. Beyond the search for these constructs, however, was a focus on teacher thinking: Do these immersion teachers really act upon the constructs that they verbally espouse? This focus incorporated Question 7 in its response: "Are elementary French immersion teachers' classroom decisions consistent with their implicit theories?"

Question 2: "Do French immersion teachers integrate subject matter teaching with target language instruction, and if so, when, and why?" was answered often during observations. Instances of this integration of content and language quickly became too frequent to note. It became a meaningless question: They always integrate both, according to Marie, who insisted that this question read as it now does rather than as a reference to "interrupting" subject matter teaching with target language instruction, which was its first form. The immersion
approach is the integration of subject matter learning and target language instruction, albeit implicit target language instruction. In the "total immersion" stage, neither happens without the other. This question was answered by responses to the category groups "Content comprehension techniques," "Specific content area techniques," and "Second language input."

Question 3: "Do elementary French immersion teachers use the students' native language, and if so, when and why?" was incorporated into discussions of "Content comprehension techniques" and "discipline" as a means of achieving both these ends.

Questions 4a and 4b proved to be especially limited by the researcher's biases. Asking, "What are the implicit theories of elementary French immersion teachers about (a) teaching subject matter and (b) presenting the target language" separately proved nearly impossible. Immersion teaching is the combination of these two teaching efforts in nearly all instances. The French language teaching background of the researcher proved to be very limiting in addressing this issue. These two questions became incorporated into "Content comprehension techniques," "Specific content area techniques," and "Second language input."

Question 4c: "What are the implicit theories of elementary French immersion teachers about teacher role?" was answered in observation and referred to by each teacher. The immersion teachers seem to see their role as that of modeler of language, teacher of content and values, and surrogate parent. This question was answered by responses recorded under the category group "Teacher presage variables"
and teacher role."

Question 4d, which asks about teachers' implicit theories regarding student roles, was answered in observations and interviews: Glenwood teachers think students should participate in their own learning and help teach one another. These responses became part of the categories "child-cued" and "K to K (child-to-child)." Question 4e: "What are immersion teachers' implicit theories about the teaching-learning process" was incorporated into the category groups "Content comprehension techniques" and "Specific content area techniques." Question 4f: "What are immersion teachers' implicit theories about the context of the school?" was answered through the category "content" and in Chapter IV.

Question 5: "Do French immersion teachers believe that teaching materials are appropriate for their students?" was a topic often mentioned in the immersion literature. It proved to be a major concern for these immersion teachers also, as evidenced by their frequent discussions of materials production, especially during the predominantly teacher-initiated stimulated recall interviews. "Materials" remained as a category. (Samples of teacher materials may be found in Appendix B).

"Are there differences between the pedagogical constructs of European-trained and American-trained elementary French immersion teachers?" (Question 6) was limited in generalization by the participation of only one American-trained French immersion teacher. Several European-culture-based teaching strategies were observed and mentioned by the teachers, however. This question became one facet of the category of "Cultural input."
Question 8: "Are there differences between native-speaker and non-native-speaker teachers' error corrections?" became part of the category of "L2 input" and proved, in general, to show few differences based on native-language background. The American teacher tended to model correct pronunciation of troublesome sounds for anglophones, such as /y/, perhaps because of her increased awareness of them as a non-native French speaker.

Question 9: "Are there factors in this French immersion school context that are related to the school's recent beginnings?" was subsumed under the category "team" and influenced the responses to Question 10: "Are there any instances of native speaker/non-native speaker team teaching?" Because of the newness of the school, the teachers seemed to cooperate more and communicate better, especially between the native French and non-native French.

Question 11: "What routines do French immersion teachers follow?" was described at great length in Chapter IV and expanded to include the daily program (including such routines as "circle time"), lining up routines, sub-routines for activities, and frequent boundary markers between activities. All of these surfaced as familiar organizational clues for the students to follow. Routines formed part of the categories of "routine," "units," and "integrate" as well as the category groups "Specific content area techniques" and "Second language input." "Discipline," was also related to routines in many instances, often following the teacher's general disposition toward classroom management. Routines appeared in the category group of "Improving the child's self-image," also: Teachers often had nearly automatic,
child-valuing responses to classroom happenings.

Question 12: "Are there differences between primary and upper elementary French immersion teachers?" Main differences appeared under the categories of "integrate" (with more obvious integration at upper levels) and "K to K" (with more peer teaching occurring in the upper grades); and under "personality traits" and "teacher role." Because fewer parental tasks were required at the upper levels, teachers' personalities could thus become more businesslike.

Question 13: "Are there any unique uncertainties that occur in French immersion teaching?" became the category group "Classroom surprises." Each teacher had at least one to report, and some were observed first-hand.

Question 14: "Are there implications that can be drawn from responses to the above questions for elementary French immersion teacher education?" was an overriding concern that did not become a specific category. It is hoped that all responses to the above questions will serve to inform immersion teacher education, either directly or indirectly.

Categories

The following 25 categories evolved from the research questions, with modifications, additions, and deletions suggested by the teachers' behavior or comments. Because of the interrelatedness of many immersion teaching behaviors, these categories sometimes overlapped.

1. Teacher role—any activities that a teacher performs apart from classroom management and instruction.
2. Preparation—influences resulting from a teacher's training program.

3. Experience—influences resulting from past teaching experiences (in either the first language or the second language).

4. Personality traits—specific personality traits in a teacher.

These four categories were clustered into the category group of **Teacher presage variables and teacher role**.

5. Content—references to what must be taught as specified by the school district's Graded Course of Study.

6. Comprehension input—techniques used to convey the meaning of content, including visuals, physical movements, English, simplified French, and frequent repetition.

7. Routine—examples or mentions of the day's structure, boundary markers between activities, and specific sub-activities.

8. K to K (child-to-child)—interactions between children that help to convey the meaning of content, either in the L1 (English) or the L2 (French).

9. Child-cued—teacher behavior or mentions of responding to the child's abilities, interests, learning styles, or needs, as well as instances of involving the child in learning activities.

10. Comprehension checks—any methods that teachers use to verify comprehension in students. They may be visual, physical, spoken or written, in the L1 or the L2.

11. Units—the use of thematic units (e.g., Halloween, Christmas) as organizational structures.
12. Integrate—lessons where more than one subject was taught in an interdisciplinary approach.

13. Materials—mentions of materials production or evidence of it, including translating English materials, adapting French materials, or teacher production of materials.

These nine categories were combined to form the category group **Content comprehension techniques**.

14. Reading techniques—specific techniques used for teaching reading (e.g., whole language methodologies, sight reading approaches).

15. Writing techniques—specific techniques for writing, including the writing process advocated by the local school district.

16. Math techniques—specific math techniques, including the use of manipulatives, songs that involve math, physical movement, or involvement in math activities.

These three categories were grouped into **Specific content area techniques**.

17. L2 teaching—explicit out-of-context teaching of the L2, including sentences generated to teach a specific grammar point and references to phonics that were not suggested by the content lesson.

18. L2 input—techniques used to help the children understand and acquire the L2, including simplified teacher talk, error correction, teachers' colorful L2 input, separation of L1 and L2, repetition, expectations of comprehension before speech before reading and writing, games and songs, non-verbal clues, and encouraging the children's L2 output.
These three categories were combined to form the category group **Second language input**.

19. Organization—classroom arrangements that help promote classroom control (e.g., desk arrangement and organization of materials).

20. Discipline—any methods that promote classroom control, including positive and negative reinforcement, giving directions, teaching responsibility, teacher actions, student movements (both to prevent misbehavior and to punish it), repetition of rules by the teacher or the students, efforts to please or displease the teacher, mutual respect, self-control, use of English or visuals, student classroom tasks, and politeness.

These two categories combined to form the group **Classroom management techniques**.

21. Outsiders—teachers' relationships with people outside the school setting (e.g., parents, visitors, school district staff members, and university students).

22. Team—the group mentality of the Glenwood staff, including the sharing of materials, ideas, and emotional support.

These two categories were integrated into the category group **Teachers' relationships**.

23. Value child—teacher behavior or references to behavior that improves the child's self-image (e.g., praise, tangible rewards, person-to-person conversations, valuing the child's emotions, physical displays of affection, and English to reassure the child). This category formed the group entitled **Improving the child's self-image**.
24. Culture—cultural transfer either by teaching method or by deliberate inputting of cultural concepts (e.g., mentioning French, Belgian, or American francophone vocabulary) or integrating American culture into lessons. This category was called Cultural input.

25. Surprises or Classroom surprises—incidents that surprised the teachers and would not have happened in a regular classroom where the students' first language is the medium of instruction.

These 25 categories served as data entry units for PFS file. All raw data were entered into this data management system, then sorted by participant and tabulated. Entries in each category were counted. Each ten data lines was counted as one occurrence and multiple concepts within one entry were counted separately. These counted instances were tabulated for each participant, resulting in individual data matrices.

In order to verify the categories, a near-native French-speaking graduate student was asked to watch videotapes with the researcher of one teacher during classroom activities and during her interview. A correlation coefficient of .81 was achieved. After intensive further training, the process was repeated with another teacher's videotapes, and a coefficient of .98 was reached.

Single-Case Analyses

In line with Dunkin and Biddle's Model for the Study of Classroom Teaching (1974, p. 38), this study is concerned only with
presage, context, and process variables. Extensive research has been conducted in Canada to measure the products of immersion teaching (see Chapter II). This study seeks to explore the factors that influence this product but not to measure the extent of this influence. It is a study of process and of teacher thinking—what French immersion teachers do and what they think about what they do. Later studies may well address the issue of the relationship between this process and student achievement.

The following single-case analyses explore data that were gathered by extensive classroom observations; semi-structured interviews, during which all teachers responded to the same list of questions (see Appendix A); and stimulated recall interviews, when the teachers watched and commented upon their classroom videotapes, and the researcher questioned them about the tapes (see individual questions for stimulated recall interviews, Appendix A). Pertinent quotations and consistencies or inconsistencies among the differing data collections will be noted as evidence of agreement or disagreement between teacher behavior and teacher thought.

Pierre

Results. Table 1 shows the data tabulated for Pierre.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Total Observations</th>
<th>ST INT</th>
<th>SR INT</th>
<th>Total INT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher presage variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher role</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experience</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personality traits</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content comprehension techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension input</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>routine</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K to K</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-cued</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension checks</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>units</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integrate</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materials</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Specific content area techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading techniques</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing techniques</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>math techniques</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second language input</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 teaching</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 input</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classroom management techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organization of class</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discipline</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers' relationships</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outsiders</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>team</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Improving the child's self-image</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>value child</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural input</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classroom surprises</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion. Pierre expressed himself strongly about several topics discussed during interviews and became nearly impatient with the researcher's foreign-language-teacher orientation when she questioned the integration of language and content. He also may have believed that the interviews were opportunities to express frustrations about his teaching. His role is that of gentle influencer, and his strict adherence to discipline is tempered with genuine affection for the children. His beginning-of-the-year comments reflect these priorities.

Teacher presage variables and teacher role. The researcher noted the same personality trait as Pierre mentioned: patience. During classroom observations the first week of school, Pierre's patience was recorded several times in field notes. During observations, Pierre himself remarked to the researcher: "I usually run out of patience after two weeks," but later observations proved this to be false.

Organization was the only teacher presage variable Pierre commented upon during his stimulated recall interview, when he stated: "You should be organized." His organization was observed in both daily activities and year-long goals, which he articulates effortlessly.

Content comprehension techniques. Pierre feels constrained by the content dictated by the local public school system's Graded Course of Study—a restriction he considers important enough to interrupt an in-service workshop to mention. These "basic skills of kindergarten," however, are more important to him than his children's use of French. To impart these skills, Pierre would prefer all-day kindergarten, he notes during an interview. Although he finds the Course of Study
limiting, he recognizes its importance and adheres to it carefully, especially in math, where he assures the students' ability "to manipulate numbers up to 12 and recognize and associate the set with the number."

Use of a clear routine (including boundary markers and sub-routines) was noted 25 times during Pierre's observations, and he also acknowledged it as a priority in his teaching: "An important thing is to have a routine, a very good routine." Because the children do not understand the language or what school is about, according to Pierre, a consistent routine offers them some necessary structure. Beginning with circle time (which he mentioned during both interviews) and ending with "Au revoir, mes amis, au revoir" ["Good-bye, my friends, good-bye"], Pierre attempted to provide a comprehensible routine, marking activities with frequent boundary markers, which "frame the event," according to Wong-Fillmore (1985, p. 28).

Although Pierre does not list the day's major activities in writing, he often listed subactivities to help the children perform with less confusion. These subactivities were most often expressed in visuals, which are essential to his teaching, especially at the beginning of the year, he states. Visuals and other concrete referents are necessary to beginning second language learners, according to Dulay, Burt, and Krashen (1982, p. 29). Pierre cautions against over-dependence on them, however: "Now slowly you need to get rid of those visuals or they are going to need them all year long if you don't. As soon as something is known for the children, you should withdraw those visuals."
Student body language helps Pierre check comprehension, and teacher body language helps promote comprehension: Pierre often physically moved students; acted out vocabulary, instructions, and stories; and used "interiorisation" ["internalization"]—a phenomenon that is based on Vygotsky's theories (see Bruner, 1962, p. 90). With internalization, which Pierre explained during his stimulated recall interview, students mime a song or poem: "They do it in their heads . . . pour faire entrer dans la tete" ["to make it enter their heads"]. Pierre's obvious blending of theory and practice in this case showed that he was aware of and acted upon his implicit beliefs.

Children help one another understand classroom rules and second language (L2) speech by explaining in English what the teacher has said. Pierre is aware of this and, in fact, encourages it at the beginning of the year. Besides promoting child-to-child explanations, he bases his activities on what the children need at their developmental level and tries to involve them in the activities. As he stated during interviews: "You need to do a lot, to keep them busy . . . They need to move . . . You need to change a lot." He is aware of their level of interest and ability but wants to challenge them to go beyond it, "More than thinking, 'This is not their level yet. Wait.' No. I want to let them try." Classroom observations support this self-appraisal: Pierre seems to demand more than might be expected from his students in terms of higher-order questioning and manual dexterity, but students responded creatively to evaluation questions, such as "Pourquoi?" ["Why?"]}, and handled scissors, glue, and paper cutouts well.
Pierre chooses units for organizational structures, and he remarks that the teachers must "know exactly in your mind what your goals are for the whole year and what you're trying to accomplish during that particular time of the school year." Units also require integrating content areas in interdisciplinary activities. Content and language teaching are always integrated: Pierre remarked that "Everything's going to end up being language for them," and that language is never really taught separately. He also tries "to integrate math in everything"—a practice that was often observed; in fact, this integration was so complete that no observational entries for math techniques alone were recorded.

Specific content area techniques. Pierre reports that reading activities are mostly pre-reading, involving pictograms (until January) and predictable books that repeat sentence structure, such as the "Il s'appelle/ Elle s'appelle" ["His name is/Her name is"] book that the class read as a group. He also reported that the students participate in writing their own books: "I don't feel comfortable writing a book and reading a story. I feel more comfortable 'building' a story, then reading the book with them." No examples of this were observed, however, perhaps because it was early in the school year. During interviews, Pierre emphasized that many specific content area techniques change as the year progresses.

Writing activities involve actual letter-formation and are limited to pre-writing at this stage. According to Pierre: "Instead of telling them, 'You're going to write the letter A which is /a/ in French and you better know that it's /a/ in French,' I draw the point of a
pencil. And, I draw 15 pencils without the point and they are to actually put the letter A." Adding wheels to a bus to form the letter O illustrated this procedure during observations.

Math is integrated with many other subject areas, including circle time activities, physical education, and written activities: Books where the students draw one moon, two spiders, three witches, four black cats, five ghosts, and six pumpkins, for example, help reinforce number concepts as well as thematic Halloween vocabulary.

Second language input. Pierre's one comment about overt language teaching was negative: He wondered why grammar was still being taught. Rather than being able to teach grammar, in his opinion, inputting the second language well is the most important ability for an immersion teacher: "I would say the language and the culture are the major things." Although Pierre concedes that one must not be a native-born francophone to be an immersion teacher, he believes that one must have experienced the native culture and be able to speak the language fluently to be successful.

Inputting French is natural for him. Sometimes this input is conscious, as when he tells students the names for their Halloween costumes; at other times it is automatic, as when a child says, "Mister," and Pierre immediately says, "Monsieur." According to Pierre, "You have to constantly reinforce what they say. When they say it in English . . . you say it in French." Much of Pierre's input comes in the form of classroom directives—all of them context-embedded with visuals or movements. Another large grouping of second language input activities, accounting for nearly half of the recorded observations (8
of the 17), involves songs and poems, generally accompanied with body movements. These activities better input the L2 because of the physical involvement of the child. Many songs are familiar melodies for the children, but the words have been translated into French, thus building on the children's prior knowledge and thereby facilitating comprehension. To promote French language acquisition, Pierre often translates songs himself, as when he composed "Qui a peur du petit fantôme?" ["Who's afraid of the little ghost?"]

The children are encouraged but not expected to use French at the beginning of the school year. Pierre remarks that "If they try to speak French with me . . . I will phrase it correctly, but I will not force them to repeat it yet." This absence of child repetition seems to be a manifestation of Pierre's belief in the "silent period," when children are comprehending but not yet producing (see Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982; Krashen, Terrell, Ehrman, & Herzog, 1984). According to Krashen et al., "a silent period of six months duration is not unusual" (p. 270). Pierre seems to recognize this phenomenon: "Comprehension is step one, being able to speak is step two, and step three should be to write and read. . . It comes naturally, if we use it in the classroom." Observations confirm that he acts upon this belief. Even repetitions of corrections are not expected during the comprehension phase.

Classroom management techniques. Pierre's classroom is extremely organized, which he feels is necessary for beginning kindergarten activities: His materials are carefully filed, visuals are neatly displayed, library books are sorted for afternoon and morning
sessions, and children sit on the carpet within squares that he drew for them. Discipline is the major task at the beginning of the year, however, accounting for Pierre's largest category of observed behavior.

Directions occupy most of Pierre's classroom management actions. Tied closely to the students' second language ability, classroom control improves and Pierre is better able to give directions after the students acquire some basic vocabulary. He reinforces this vocabulary during frequent lining-up activities, calling: "les amis qui ont du blanc, les amis qui ont du brun, du rouge, du vert, du rose" ["friends with white, friends with brown, red, green, pink"], for example. Again, the second language influences and is integrated with other classroom activities.

During interviews, Pierre commented several times about his efforts to use positive discipline but acknowledged that, early in the year, positive reinforcement is difficult and limited to non-verbals and simple phrases in French. He was observed rewarding the children's good Indian-like behavior with stickers and their papers with a stamp to indicate his approval, but many instances of aversive motivation were also noted, which may be related to the time of year that data were collected. Negative reinforcement tends to be non-verbal, including facial expressions, teacher actions, and withholding privileges. Other actions prevent misbehavior and may therefore be considered positive, such as physically positioning students and having them perform body-movement poems or songs, both of which Pierre does often.

Pierre's students sometimes express their knowledge of classroom procedures, but most often, it is Pierre who reiterates classroom rules. During an interview, he wondered if expressing the rules in English on
the first day would be a good idea. He seems driven by a desire to socialize the students by whatever means necessary.

**Teachers' relationships.** Pierre was observed interacting successfully with an Ohio State methods student and with parents. During the semi-structured interview, he acknowledged the importance of parents to an immersion kindergarten: "Communication with the parents is extremely helpful." He must communicate with them often so that they understand and support the program, and he finds that when he has daily contact with the parents, the students behave better: "The children know that their parents are going to be at the door . . . and you can tell them how they were in the classroom." This is a problem at Glenwood, where most of the kindergartners are bussed home after class.

Visiting outsiders pose no problem for Pierre, who finds that Glenwood teachers are constantly being observed, but relationships among the classrooms could be better:

I would see the whole school like a community where you could go from one classroom to another with your children. I could have a field trip with a fifth-grade class; I could have fifth-grade children coming to read a story to my children. That's what I would like.

During observations, though, evidence of teamwork that included Pierre was apparent: Denise sent him paper plates to draw on, and Patrice sent him cardboard skeletons. In addition, Denise's students visited in Pierre's room, and Pierre's students visited in Marie's. It could be that Pierre's feeling of isolation arises from his being the only male and the only kindergarten teacher at Glenwood. He seems to have good rapport with the male principal, however, largely because Pierre appreciates his professional support: "I know that my principal knows
about immersion...is interested in immersion. I know that he'll do whatever he can to help you...And that's very important."

**Cultural input.** On the first day of school, Pierre explains to his kindergarten parents that cultural diversity and promoting cultural awareness are two of the strengths of Glenwood School. He is careful, nonetheless, to preserve the American culture and to integrate Canadian customs; he celebrates American holidays, such as Thanksgiving, and Halloween with Canadian versions of "Trick or treat."

Pierre compromises the differences between Belgian and American kindergarten curricula. Although children learn neither reading nor writing in Belgian kindergarten, Pierre begins these activities when he believes the children know enough French to undertake them. Belgian children also learn to write in cursive first, but Pierre follows the American tradition of first learning to print.

**Improving the child's self-image.** Pierre shows his students affection and appreciates them as children in many ways. He hugs a little girl who cries often, and encourages them all to explain things to one another in English because, "It makes them feel good about the answers." He celebrates their birthdays with them, thereby valuing what they find important, and he provides them with supplies and lets them talk English because "I don't want them to be frustrated." In fact, he may sometimes use English with an individual child—"They need that little chat in English sometimes"—but he does not address the entire class in English.
Classroom surprises. Surprises arise from misunderstandings in the classroom. One day Pierre was trying to:

put the children in order from the smallest to the tallest ones. . . . The tallest ones were Black. . . . I put the children in line, the smallest ones in front and the tallest ones in back. And, one of the children I had was a small Black child, and I put him in front of the line and another child said, 'Didn't you understand what Monsieur said? He wants the Black children to be in the back of the line!'

Such a misunderstanding would not occur in an English-language classroom.

Denise

Results. Table 2 shows the data tabulation for Denise.

Discussion. Denise's extensive teaching experience and reserved personality may have influenced her interview data. She expressed few implicit theories, perhaps believing that such ideas were common knowledge. Because of their similarities in age and family commitment, she and the researcher had a tacit understanding and nearly automatic rapport. This, too, may have limited the ideas she felt compelled to express because she assumed that they were already shared information.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Total Observations</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>SR</th>
<th>Total INT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher presage variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and teacher role</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher role</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experience</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personality traits</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content comprehension techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension input</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>routine</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K to K</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-cued</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension checks</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>units</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integrate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materials</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Specific content area techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading techniques</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing techniques</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>math techniques</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second language input</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 teaching</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 input</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classroom management techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organization of class discipline</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers' relationships</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outsiders</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>team</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Improving the child's self-image</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>value child</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural input</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classroom surprises</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Teacher presage variables and teacher role. As the mother of two young children, Denise tries to be both a conscientious immersion teacher and a good parent. The difficulties of her present job include the physical demands of immersion teaching, the requirements for American certification, the challenging class of newcomers that she faces daily, and her commitment to completing the Course of Study requirements in French. Mothering her students is also necessary: She must calm them during a rain storm, help them adjust to their new school, and answer their questions about morality, a task that obviously concerns her as she discusses it in the teachers' lounge.

Rigorously prepared as a lifelong teacher in France, Denise believes that her training for immersion teaching was adequate: "You have to know ahead what is immersion teaching, what they do, what you are expected to do, but not more than that." Classroom observations confirm this belief: Denise seems confident in her teaching without having had more immersion-specific training.

Her varied teaching experience—from pre-school to secondary school—affords her a perspective and a flexibility that permits her to adapt to immersion teaching: "I'm ready to change," which she does when the children demand it. Denise thinks that "You have to deal with the kids, with the child to know... their needs... I change at the last minute. It depends on their questions, whether they're understanding." Evidence of this flexibility appeared during classroom observations when the children needed a less demanding activity, and she substituted an art project for a math ditto.
Content comprehension techniques. Comparing teaching at Glenwood to first-language teaching, Denise states that she uses pictures, books, gestures, and repetition more in the immersion setting. Although she does not mention the concept, she acts upon the theory of relating the unknown to the familiar: She talks of a "mare" ["pond"] like the "mare avec les canards" ["pond with the ducks"] and uses the word "poubelle" ["trashcan"] to clue the children into the Little Red Hen's housecleaning activities.

Discussing her second-language teaching in Quebec in relation to immersion teaching, Denise finds that she prefers immersion teaching, where students seem to learn more naturally. Comparing using the "Lundi, les canards . . ." ["Monday, the ducks . . ."] song with presenting her Canadian students a list of days of the week, she states that the list "ne leur disait rien" ["told them nothing" (meant nothing to them)].

Stimulating students to respond correctly by offering incorrect answers serves both as comprehension input and as a comprehension check (Denise: "Je vois du soleil." Children: "Non, nuages." ["I see sunshine." "No, clouds."]). Other comprehension checks are physical (holding up vocabulary cards on cue) and visual (drawing what they understand from the day's sentence) as well as verbal—in English or French.

A clear routine (Denise's overwhelmingly largest category in this group) simplifies the confusion inherent in immersion teaching, and Denise believes that it is "very important for the kids so they know what to expect." She lists the schedule daily and notes that "C'est une
We have circle time, then the calendar . . . the lunch count and attendance . . . some math—we have counting . . . the program of the day . . . the weather, the calendar . . . the bathroom . . . language arts and spelling . . . some groups in reading . . . usually we have math. Then lunchtime comes. Twice a week we have music or computer or P.E. We have library in French too . . . After we have lunch, we start . . . silent reading, and we have science or health.

Denise is aware that writing the schedule helps the children to know what to do when. If she did not do it, she is certain that they would ask, "Qu'est-ce que je fais maintenant et maintenant?" ["What do I do now and now?"] She also announces activities, expresses time constraints, and marks some boundaries quite clearly (e.g., "Laissez cela pour l'instant." ["Leave that for now."]) Subactivities, though not listed on the board, are expressed verbally: "On va s'asseoir. On prend des ciseaux et un petit pot. On pose les ciseaux. On regarde ici." ["We are going to sit down. We take our scissors and a little pot. We put the scissors down. We look here."] By directing students in incremental steps with known vocabulary, she clarifies their instructions and offers them familiar organizational clues.

Although she tries not to, Denise will "ask a child to explain to another." She fears that the second child will not learn to listen under these conditions, but more socialized children do explain the day's routine: "That's before your journal," for example. Quicker students also help slower ones finish their work, and others lend supplies to those without them.
Denise is well aware of the varying abilities and age-level restrictions of her students. When discussing sight reading as opposed to phonics reading approaches, she notes that she will teach phonics "Pour ceux qui . . . n'ont pas de mémoire visuelle." ["For those who . . . have no visual memory."] She knows also that students "need to move. They need to express themselves," and she is aware of their fatigue at the end of the first day of school: "Ils n'ont pas l'habitude de rester à l'école toute la journée." ["They are not used to staying at school all day."] Denise reports that learning centers and games will allow for more variations in ability and learning style, and one listening center was in use during observations.

Rather than write on the chalkboard, Denise uses a newsprint easel, which makes retaining her work easier "parce que ça s'enlève, ça se déchire, et il n'y a pas de poussière" ["because it can be taken off, it can be torn off, and there is no dust"]. Other materials are less facilitative, however, as demonstrated by the turkey dittoes whose "yellow" feet required extensive revision (see Appendix B). Materials seem to be either too advanced in French (e.g., the Smurf movie) or in the wrong language—English. Denise reports that she spends "many, many hours . . . translat(ing) everything" and a "lot of time with my dictionary."

Specific content area techniques. Reading is the most often-mentioned specific content area in Denise's observations and interviews. As reported above, she uses both sight reading (the "méthode globale" in France) and phonics (the "méthode syllabique") approaches. Although the "méthode globale" is avoided in France because
it seems to inhibit correct French spelling, Denise found no spelling problems related to its use at Glenwood. Denise's reading theories are obvious in her classroom where posters with examples of vowel sounds balance the more usual sight words. She also succinctly expresses her rationale for using both methods: "For some kids, just the sight words won't work. They want to ... sound them out. So I will do the two methods."

Although Denise does not mention her students' developmental level and their resultant need for hands-on materials, she devised vocabulary cards "pour associer le mot avec l'image qu'ils ont vue auparavant" ["to associate the word with the picture that they have already seen"]. Large cutout animals also serve as hands-on materials for her students. As Bruner states: "Basic notions ... are perfectly accessible ... provided that they are ... studied through materials that the child can handle himself" (1960, p. 43). If this is an implicit theory for Denise, she does not make it explicit during interviews. It is, perhaps, so obvious for her that she believes it unworthy of mention.

Writing activities include the daily journal and the "ours brun" sentences, the words of which the children cut out, scramble, and glue in their books for reading exercises. Using dittoed sentences for this activity was Denise's idea, "Pour le premier livre, oui, parce que leur écriture est horrible ... j'étais sure qu'ils seraient capables de le relire après de cette façon-là." ["For the first book, yes, because their writing is horrible ... That way, I was sure that they would be capable of re-reading it later."] Subsequent books have been written in
the children's own handwriting, which has improved considerably.

Math is integrated throughout the day as Denise uses "concrete things. We manipulate a lot. We use our bodies just to count . . . and I do many, many games in math, so they can use the French at the same time." Counting boys and girls, lunch money, people in the room, and how many days they have been in school not only takes advantage of context but also reinforces French vocabulary. Based on counting, the webbing with the number 8 is especially popular with the children. This method of presentation also involves children discovering the validity of their own combinations. Ostensibly agreeing with Bruner that "It is far more interesting to learn the facts after one has tried to figure them out for oneself" (1966, p. 95), Denise does not tell the students immediately whether their mathematical combinations are right or wrong. Instead, she says that they "will see," the class counts the number of representative cherries, and then a decision is made.

Second language input. Denise believes that added context and repetition are the major second-language inputting devices in immersion. To add context, she uses gestures, visuals, facial expressions, poems, and songs, which are learned quickly because the students already know many of the melodies. All language is repeated often, but to prevent boredom, Denise adds that she varies repetitions, stating: "Every time I ask the questions differently."

Errors are corrected by multiple repetitions but few explanations. For the boy who said "poison" ["poison"] instead of "poisson" ["fish"], for example, Denise would not give him the pronunciation rule for voiced and unvoiced consonants (/z/ = ss and /s/
= s) because "They are too young to understand. It's like teaching them grammar." She will, though, have them look at her mouth and touch their vocal cords to feel the differences between sounds, she states.

Denise's own language is rich—she mentions "un drôle de bleu" ["a strange blue"]—and playful—telling the children to throw the imaginary key to their locked mouths "dans la poubelle. C'est un jeu de basketball" ["in the trashcan. It's a basketball game"]—both qualities of successful second language input, according to Wong-Fillmore (1985, p. 50). Denise expands student input whenever possible, telling them that "On dit beaucoup—fort" ["We say a lot—'fort'"] about the rain and that the Pilgrim boy and girl will make "un couple, la famille" ["a couple, the family"].

Apparently espousing the "silent period" theory, Denise does not require repetitions of corrections. She will, however, have the children "take my place sometimes . . . and teach a few things just to let them try to speak French more." Such activities were not observed, however. Recommended by Mohan (1986), peer teaching allows the child to become the expert, thus promoting self-image along with the second language.

Classroom management techniques. With triple the number of recorded observations of any other category, discipline can be assumed to be the top priority for Denise (see Table 2). This may be partially a function of timing because data were collected in the early autumn, or it could be related to the students' newness to the school and the heterogeneity of the class. According to the data, Denise's disciplinary actions are nearly equally positive and negative, and she
does not comment on positive reinforcement during interviews. She does state, however, that discipline at Glenwood is "more than I ever knew before . . . but it works."

Although Denise does not express her implicit theories about discipline during interviews, she was observed using several techniques to prevent or punish misbehavior. As aversive motivation, Denise uses actions (having students return to their seats when they move too noisily); withdrawing privileges (staying in for recess); visuals (names on the board under an angry face symbol and a poster with warnings for rule infractions); and verbal comments ("Tu peux marcher? Tu n'es pas un animal!" ["Can you walk? You are not an animal!"]). In severe cases, Denise will take a misbehaving child aside and speak to him or her in English, she reports. She also is positive, however, praising them when they line up quietly, writing their names on the board under a happy face symbol, and keeping a chart of good behavior to reward them with extra privileges: "Il y a une cassette à écouter . . . pour les élèves qui le méritent." ["There is a cassette to listen to . . . for students who deserve it."]

Also unmentioned during interviews, teaching the children responsibility is a priority for Denise. Students must put completed work in designated baskets, they have weekly responsibilities, and they are encouraged to assume control of their own tasks. She also reminds them to use self-control—"Occupe-toi de toi" ["Take care of yourself"]—and to be polite "Dites 'merci' à Mme Liggett." ["Say 'merci' to Mrs. Liggett."]
Teachers’ relationships. Outsiders, both parents and student-observers, are welcome in Denise’s class. One protective mother visits weekly to help her son adjust, and Denise tries to arrange for her OSU student observer to work with her regularly. During the stimulated recall interview, she was concerned about parents seeing her physically moving a child, which implies that she views parents as her ultimate judges.

Denise’s relationships with her colleagues are close, as she states: "It’s a good team here that I seldom saw somewhere else. We help each other . . . We work as a team and we enjoy each other.” Denise and Marie especially help one another, which was observed when they shared materials and when Marie disciplined two of Denise’s misbehaving children. Denise also feels appreciative of the principal, who, she states, "supports what we do." She respects his authority and expresses this respect to the children: "Quand M. Loffland parle, il faut écouter et ne pas parler." ["When Mr. Loffland speaks, you must listen and not talk."]

Improving the child’s self-image. Denise shows genuine concern for her students, commiserating with them after Halloween: "On est tous fatigués" ["We are all tired"] and worrying about their personal well-being. She assures one child, who hears a friend read the morning announcements, that "Un jour ce sera toi qui vas parler" ["Some day it will be you talking"] and hugs a girl who is frightened. She clearly values them as people and notes in interviews that they are proud of performing their classroom duties.
Cultural input. Because she is so overwhelmed with maintaining order, inputting French, and covering the Course of Study, Denise seldom presents more than one term for the same concept. She seems to choose vocabulary that is the closest to English or the simplest French and uses it consistently (e.g., "professeur" and "il vente" ["it is windy"]).

At the beginning, Denise rejected the "métode syllabique" [phonics approach] for reading, which is most often used in France, because Glenwood students had no background in the French sound system and needed the sight-reading approach's association of visuals and words in order to comprehend. She admits that she does not "understand all the American things" but believes that parents have recognized that immersion teaching "works and it pays to send the kids over here to learn another culture and their language."

Classroom surprises. Denise reported that her classroom surprises are a result of the children's second language awareness: When she forgot to erase "yellow" on the turkeys, the children knew that the word was in English and not in French. Student questions about French grammar also caught her unprepared: "Why do you say 'grise' and not 'gris'?" and "Why do we write just one s here and here it's two ss?" She remains in awe of her students' metalinguistic perception.

Marie

Results. Table 3 shows tabulated results for Marie.
TABLE 3. DATA MATRIX FOR MARIE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Total Observations</th>
<th>ST INT</th>
<th>SR INT</th>
<th>Total INT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher presage variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and teacher role</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher role</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experience</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personality traits</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content comprehension techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension input</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>routine</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K to K</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-cued</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension checks</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>units</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integrate</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Specific content area techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading techniques</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing techniques</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>math techniques</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second language input</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 teaching</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 input</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classroom management techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organization of class</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discipline</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers' relationships</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outsiders</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>team</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Improving the child's self-image</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>value child</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural input</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classroom surprises</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion. Marie's interview data were extensive and consistent. Apparently enjoying the opportunity to proselytize, she seemed at ease in interview situations. She verbally and operationally espouses immersion teaching theories, including ample second language input and implicit error correction, and classroom management theories that value positive and consistent disciplinary tactics.

Teacher presage variables and teacher role. Marie sees the immersion teacher's role as that of "une maman qui enseigne . . . à parler et à s'exprimer à un bébé" ["a mother who teaches . . . a baby to speak and to express itself"]. This mother role was extended during observations to more basic tasks—cleaning up after a child who had vomited and another who accidentally urinated on her chair. Both tasks were completed with quiet calm and comments of "C'est un accident. Ce n'est pas grave." ["It's an accident. It's not serious."]

Marie believes that the most important task of an immersion teacher is to provide consistent and positive discipline, but clarity is also a top priority: "C'est très important de bien expliquer les choses au départ." ["It's very important to explain things clearly at the beginning."] She is conscientious about her work and believes that a teacher must attend to all sorts of "petits détails" ["little details"] to prevent classroom problems. Although intense about her teaching, Marie stated at her first meeting with the researcher that she has a good time at Glenwood: "Je m'amuse ici." This attitude did not alter during observations or interviews.

Content comprehension techniques. Although Marie confides that "La matière est secondaire" ["Subject matter is secondary"] at the
beginning of the year, she acknowledges that she has a locally
prescribed curriculum to follow. To promote comprehension of the
required content, Marie states that she uses many gestures and adds that
it is important to choose gestures that correspond to what one wants to
express. Teacher drawings are also necessary to student comprehension
but must be "rapide et claire . . . pas spécialement très jolie" ["rapid
and clear . . . not especially very pretty"] and should be replaced with
words as soon as the children know them, she believes. Observations
verify that she uses both gestures and visuals effectively.

Marie believes that involving the children physically helps them
to learn: "Ça ne suffit pas de leur montrer. Il faut leur demander . . .
de le faire aussi." ["It is not enough to show them. You must ask
them . . . to do it also."] They were observed demonstrating their
comprehension physically and visually by pointing to words and numbers,
acting out the meanings of songs and directions, and drawing
illustrations. Examples of verbal comprehension checks included Marie's
offering incorrect answers to elicit correct ones and having students
re-tell a story, which she acknowledges as a productive comprehension
check: "Leur demander de raconter . . . l'histoire . . . ça me montre
s'ils ont écouté . . . s'ils ont compris." ["To ask them to tell . . .
the story . . . that shows me if they listened . . . if they
understood."]

As the largest observation category in this group, routine
accounts for much of Marie's ability to make content comprehensible.
She begins each day by writing the schedule on the board, and she refers
to it often: "Je pense que c'est très important d'avoir le programme
If students do not yet know the vocabulary items, she draws pictures to illustrate, and activities are numbered for easy reference. The journal, two calendars (one with the day and date, another with the weather), and language arts activities are usually numbers 1, 2, and 3, followed by math, lunch, quiet reading, library (twice a week), music (once a week), recess, and physical education (once a week). Marie states: "J'essaie de faire chaque jour les mêmes choses, plus ou moins." ["Every day I try to do the same things, more or less."] This consistency in organizational routine aids comprehension by providing familiar structure.

Marie lists subactivities for the "ours brun" ["brown bear"] book exercises in detail and mentions that "J'ai dessiné les différentes étapes." ["I drew the different steps."] Later, she adds, she replaced the drawings with words. Other organizational clues include boundaries between activities, which may be marked by body-movement games (e.g., "Jacques a dit" ["Simon says"]) or verbal announcement messages: "Maintenant on fait le calendrier." ["Now let's do the calendar."]

Marie previews activities to come and their time limits: "Après on fait le calendrier on aura encore cinq minutes pour dessiner ce qu'on a fait pendant le weekend." ["After you do the calendar, you will still have five minutes to draw what you did during the weekend."] Such announcements help the children take responsibility for their own school work and plan their time appropriately.

Students were often observed teaching other students in Marie's classroom (see Table 3, "K to K"). During French-language group
reading, children help one another understand. The stronger students offer English translations or explanations of the French. Marie is aware of this child-to-child teaching and approves of it because group reading is not a time for her to evaluate the students' reading ability; she evaluates them individually or in small groups of three or four.

Marie's largest interview category in this group, child-cued behavior is her biggest verbalized concern in terms of content input. She believes that immersion teaching is "beaucoup plus naturel . . . et l'enfant est beaucoup plus . . . concerné" ["much more natural . . . and the child is much more . . . involved"] than in second language teaching, which she did in Louisiana. She tries to involve the children as much as possible—helping compose the big "ours brun" book, for example: "C'est eux qui l'ont colorié. C'est eux qui l'ont dessiné" ["They colored it. They drew it."] She also bases activities on perceived student interest ("Je vois que ça les intéresse. Alors, je demande de la rechanter une fois" ["I see that this interests them. So, I ask (them) to sing it one more time"]) and their need for movement, as with the game of "Simon says" ("Je vois qu'ils ont besoin de s'exprimer . . . Alors je le fais spontanément" ["I see that they need to express themselves . . . So I do it spontaneously"]). Again, Marie verbally expresses the implicit theories that determine her behavior.

Marie adjusts for rising student ability level by replacing drawings and gestures with words, but sometimes intervention is needed: "Parfois je dois ré-expliquer des choses" ["Sometimes I must re-explain things"], as when some students have trouble arranging their daily "ours brun" sentence (see Chapter IV).
Integration of language and content was a major issue for Marie when the researcher presented her guiding research questions, including: "Do immersion teachers interrupt content teaching to teach language and, if so, when and why?" She insisted that language and content are always integrated, that one never interrupts the other, and that, "It's very important." Again, during the semi-structured interview, Marie commented: "De neuf heures à trois heures trente, je n'enseigne pas le français. J'enseigne des matières et le français s'apprend à travers ces matières." ["From nine until three thirty, I do not teach French. I teach subject matter and French is learned through this content."] Observations confirmed her descriptions: Marie spoke no English and did no out-of-context presentation of French.

Marie also integrates various subject matters, as evidenced by her observational data in this category: "Les mathématiques sont intégrées toute la journée. C'est comme la lecture. C'est comme le langage." ["Math is integrated all day. It is like reading. It is like language."] During observations, all three were integrated in an activity where the children read names that indicated what colors to use for specific shapes on a clown drawing. Several subjects were also integrated in the activity based on the duck song (see Appendix B): "C'est de l'écriture, de l'orthographe, de la mémorisation ... mathématiques--on compte." ["It is writing, spelling, memorization ... math--we count."]

Specific content area techniques. Marie's largest category in this group, reading is a major task for her and is based on whole language theories. She is aware of the theory supporting the use of the
"ours brun" book—its predictability: "'Que vois-tu, que vois-tu?'
Chaque jour c'est la même phrase, mais l'animal et la couleur changent chaque jour." ["What do you see, what do you see? Every day it's the same sentence but the animal and the color change."] She uses the sight reading approach but supplements it with phonics and initial-letter clues.

Closely linked to reading, children's composition-writing activities serve to provide reading materials and are based on subjects that interest them or that they have experienced. Their first child-made book, entitled "Moi" ["Me"], involved expressing their feelings, which they first demonstrated and then illustrated, according to Marie. She wrote the story on the board and the students copied it, thereby practicing their letter-formation skills also. Marie encourages letter-formation by providing a clear model for the children: "Ils doivent être bien attentifs et regarder comment j'écris ce mot sur le tableau." ["They must be very attentive and watch how I write this word on the board."] She also has them draw letters and numbers in the air to prevent their writing them backwards.

Math is, as Marie says, integrated all day long. Hands-on, meaningful activities involve the students (e.g., measuring themselves or ingredients for a cake) and provide multi-sensory experiences: "Les enfants peuvent toucher, peuvent sentir . . ." ["The children can touch, can smell . . ."] Counting often, Marie wants the children to be able to manipulate numbers and recognize quantities, she states. She tries to use natural situations whenever possible—counting items that the children bring in or the children themselves: "On compte . . . combien
il y a de filles, combien il y a de garçons . . . combien ont de vestes rouges." ["We count . . . how many girls, how many boys . . . how many have red jackets."]

Second language input. Believing that "On apprend à parler en entendant" ["We learn to speak by hearing"], Marie inputs French with carefully enunciated, grammatical language, which is often playful, as in the stories of "Gogo" the escargot [snail] and "Jojo" and "Mimi"—names that also help children learn letter sounds.

She encourages student repetition (of songs, games, and reading passages) by calling for boys, girls, individuals, and the whole group to repeat, as well as asking for variations in speed and volume (slower, faster, and more softly). She consciously asks for repetition of her corrections: "Je demande naturellement à l'enfant de répéter ce qu'il vient de dire." ["I naturally ask the child to repeat what he has just said."]

During observations Marie asked for student French output—"Dis-le un peu en français." ["Say it in French."] Further encouraging their French, she often offers incorrect answers to elicit their correct ones, "Je leur donne l'occasion de parler, de dire le mot en proposant quelque chose d'opposé." ["I give them the chance to talk, to say the word while offering the opposite."] When asked what other techniques she uses to encourage speech, Marie added that she also awaits responses rather than offering them herself and phrases questions to require more involved answers by asking "Où vont-ils?" ["Where are they going?"] rather than "Les canards vont à la mare lundi?" ["Are the ducks going to the pond Monday?"]
Marie insists that she should never speak English to her students: "Jamais, jamais . . . Il n'y a pas d'excuses." ["Never, never . . . There are no excuses."] She believes that they can understand her by her gestures, her voice intonation, her facial expressions, and the context. Observations confirm her expressed beliefs—no English was heard, aside from the first-day lunch count.

Classroom management techniques. Marie arranged her class in a "U" shape purposely so that she could see all the children at once, she stated. Small reading groups take place in a darker area, while the large-group-interaction area is near the windows. As she affirms, "Il faut penser à tout ça. De petits détails." ["One must think of all of this. Little details."]

With three times as many observational notations as any other category and large numbers of interview data, discipline is obviously Marie's primary motivator, with the goal of producing responsible students. During the time allotted for the theme of Presidential elections, Marie's class had an election to determine their most responsible student. Results were posted on a hallway bulletin board that listed many of the qualities of a "bon responsable" ["good citizen"]. A photograph of this significant bulletin board is included (see Plate I).
Demanding that they be responsible also improves students' self-images, according to Marie: "Plus ils ont des responsabilités (s'ils savent les assumer), plus ils sont valorisés." ["The more responsibilities they have (if they are able to handle them), the better they feel about themselves."] Classroom tasks are posted and students perform them dutifully, often proudly.

Believing consistency to be an absolute necessity, Marie does not violate this job list, which includes arranging books, taking messages to the office, being line leader for the restroom (one for boys, one for girls), passing out papers, gathering papers, leading a row, taking care of the ball during recess and returning it, throwing papers in the wastecan, putting chairs on the desks at the end of the school day, putting small carpet squares in place, and giving the cutout bus to the teacher's aide to indicate the end of the bus line after school. She believes that it is very important for the children to feel responsible. She also believes in positive reinforcement, which was noted over forty times during observations, while only five examples of aversive motivation were observed. In fact, Marie's most severe negative remark was "Je suis fâchée." ["I am angry."]

Although Marie is quite aware of her "manipulation" (as she calls it), she realizes the value of vicarious positive reinforcement (see Dunkin & Biddle, 1974, p. 166) and remarks that when she mentions the good behavior of one student, others will also behave better because they know that it makes the teacher happy. This also follows Mackay and Marland's "principle of power sharing" (1978), which Marie used often when she indicated that certain students were "bons exemples" ["good
examples"]. Marie's preferred rewards for good behavior are allowing students to line up first, get books first, and listen to music. She praises them often and seems quite happy when she notices her positive behavior on videotape: "Encore une fois positive!" ["Positive again!"]

Marie demands that her students repeat classroom rules frequently, which is consistent with her desire to produce responsible students and her belief that children learn by participating in their learning (see Content comprehension techniques, above). Because of this frequent repetition, Marie's children know the classroom rules well, and they sometimes discipline their own classmates, both in French and in English. Negative instructions such as "On ferme la bouche et on ne parler pas 'Madame, Madame'" and "You're not supposed to help!" are offset by student praise of one another: "He did a good 'ours'!" Such respect among students is another top priority for Marie, evidenced by her politeness and insistence on it from the children: "Tout le monde se respecte, tout le monde est poli, et tout le monde écoute l'un et l'autre." ["Everyone respects everyone else, everyone is polite, and everyone listens to everyone else."]

Teachers' relationships. Because of her excellent classroom control, Marie is observed often, as evidenced by the large numbers of observational data in the category "outsiders." She is consistently kind to visitors, even those who interfere with classroom activities, such as the grandmother who interrupted class to help her granddaughter clean up spilled glue. She is especially helpful to an OSU student-observer when she gives him the responsibility of leading an advanced reading group activity, has him supervise the students' "ours
brun" sentences, and tells him how immersion works: "Tu répètes. Tu répètes. Tu emploies les gestes. C'est facile pour moi, mais c'est difficile pour toi parce que tu es ici depuis deux jours seulement." ["You repeat. You repeat. You use gestures. It is easy for me, but it is difficult for you because you have only been here two days."] Her natural tendency to encourage learning extends to future teachers as well.

Teamwork is vital to the Glenwood program, Marie thinks, because of the need for a consistent immersion philosophy among the teachers: "C'est un travail de longue haleine . . . le but de l'immersion . . . c'est d'avoir des enfants bilingues en fin de cycle élémentaire." ["It is long-term work . . . the goal of immersion . . . is to have bilingual children at the end of elementary school."] She emphasizes the importance of sharing with the other teachers "pour gagner du temps et les idées . . . sont plus riches que les idées qui viennent d'une personne" ["to gain some time and the ideas . . . are more valuable than the ideas that come from one person"]. Consistent disciplinary techniques are also necessary to the program, Marie believes, so that the child "saura ce qu'il doit faire et ce qu'il ne peut pas faire" ["will know what he must do and what he may not do"].

Marie works most closely with Denise to produce materials and share teaching ideas. She also sometimes helps discipline Denise's problem students. Everyone at the school cooperates, though, according to Marie: "On parle. On partage . . . avec le directeur, avec le secrétaire, avec tout le monde. On a tous besoin les uns des autres." ["We talk. We share . . . with the principal, with the secretary, with
everybody. We all need each other."

Improving the child's self-image. Supported by the large numbers of observational data in this category, one can infer that nearly every disciplinary and instructional technique Marie uses leads to the "valorisation" ["valuing"] of the child: positive and consistent discipline, manageable responsibilities, clear rules, non-threatening error correction, and conscientious inputting of both language and content. She seems sympathetic to the children's lifestyles, accepting non-traditional families ("Deux papas . . . OK . . . deux mamans . . . OK" ["Two fathers . . . OK . . . Two mothers . . . OK"]) and showing concern for students' feelings, "Ne sois pas triste, Danny." [Do not be sad, Danny."

She often inputs French while valuing the children by having them express emotions on cue: "Montrez que vous êtes fâché, triste, malade . . ." ["Show that you are angry, sad, sick . . ."]. It is important to accept their feelings, she states. She touches the children affectionately, praises them often, and rewards them verbally ("Bravos" and applause are common) and with token prizes ("Olympics" medals for reading the entire "Moi" book, for example). She prefers to value the child verbally, she states, rather than by giving him "un bonbon comme on fait avec un singe ou un chien" ["candy like we do with monkeys or dogs"], but she does sometimes offer stickers. This preference for intrinsic rewards over extrinsic ones (see Dunkin & Biddle, 1974, p. 165) seems consistent with Marie's general philosophy. Marie asks questions so that the children can feel good about their answers. By offering incorrect answers such as "C'est une fille?"
"It is a girl?" she finds that "Ils sont fiers de me dire 'Mais non, ce n'est pas une fille. C'est un crayon!'" ["They are proud to tell me 'But no, it is not a girl. It is a pencil!'"]

Cultural input. According to Marie, the staff at Glenwood is "un groupe riche, avec des cultures differentes. C'est quelque chose qui a apporté beaucoup à l'école." ["a rich group with different cultures. It has brought a lot to the school."] She often integrates culture into her lessons, discussing an OSU student's German heritage, a child's Egyptian home, and her own Belgian background. Songs, games, and "comptines" (counting poems) from Belgium promote cultural awareness and French proficiency.

Classroom surprises. Last year, a surprise arose from the figurative use of a verb when the child knew only its literal meaning. A student showed Marie a drawing of a car and she asked, "Elle marche?" ["Does it walk/work?"] He responded vehemently that it did not walk; it rolled. This year, double meanings for the same word again caused a student some confusion. After reciting the comptine containing "sept, huit, neuf, dans mon panier neuf" ["seven, eight, nine, in my new basket"], a student said, "Mais un panier neuf, qu'est-ce que c'est?" ["But a nine basket, what is that?"] When the student held up nine fingers to demonstrate, Marie explained that "neuf" could mean "nine" or "new."

Nadine

Results. Table 4 represents the tabulated number of responses per category for Nadine.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Total Observations</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>SR</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher presage variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and teacher role</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher role</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experience</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personality traits</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content comprehension techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension input</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>routine</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K to K</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-cued</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension checks</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>units</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integrate</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materials</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Specific content area techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading techniques</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing techniques</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>math techniques</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second language input</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 teaching</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 input</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classroom management techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organization of class</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discipline</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers' relationships</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outsiders</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>team</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Improving the child's self-image</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>value child</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural input</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classroom surprises</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion. Nadine was quite unnerved by the video camera during her structured interview. The stimulated recall interview proved to be more relaxed and profitable, however, and was considered a professional growth experience for Nadine. Nadine's member-checking interview added more data to the study, and, at her insistence, deleted some text. In reference to her dislike of discipline, she stated that she believes parents should be in charge of discipline, not teachers. Speaking about her use of English for the new students, she clarified that she uses English to put them at ease among the others and noted that because some students had one year of experience at Glenwood, the new ones were at a considerable disadvantage. To help them, she uses English and has them repeat French after her as a learning device. In response to the researcher's remark that Nadine accepted students' responsibilities, she stated that observational data were abnormal; she was performing student duties in order to eliminate distractions for the researcher.

Teacher presage variables and teacher role. As Nadine characterizes herself—"an intuitive teacher," who "always relate(s) it to emotion"; a "clown"; and a "pathfinder"—her role-related actions in the classroom are complex. Admittedly disliking being a disciplinarian, Nadine indulges her students, a role that meshes well with her generally unstructured, artistic personality. During a supplemental taping session, Nadine conducted an entire integrated lesson based on leaves the students brought in from recess.
During Nadine's interviews, personality traits were mentioned more often than any other category topic except child-cued behavior. Both are extremely important in her teaching. She accepts her creativity as a gift, saying, "I haven't learned that; I just think about that," and states that an immersion teacher must be "vif de l'imagination" ["have a lively imagination"]. Judging from the observational data, it appears that Nadine knows herself well. She seems uninterested in more mundane organizational activities, but delights in serendipity. When questioned about a student's desk being too large for him, she appeared not to have noticed; yet, she proudly explained the phonics bulletin board, which "just came like that." Observed often with a novel in her hands, Nadine is literary and sensual, and both characteristics were apparent as she reveled in a scented candle that reminded her of soap she used as a child. This brought forth her allusion to Proust's "madeleines"—small cakes that summoned up a flood of memories when Proust tasted them (see Du côté de chez Swann [Swan's Way]).

Content comprehension techniques. Nadine reports that she makes use of "visuals activities, repetition, a lot of concrete material to make sure they understand." Her artistic ability is well used to explain songs, demonstrate symmetry in art, and input mathematical concepts; and she admits that she will use English to explain something if a child "sounds completely lost."

Nadine further states that "I ask another child to repeat or to show with gesture." Observed often (15 occurrences), child-to-child instruction is encouraged, especially error correction, and students are
often asked to lead reading activities by pointing to words on the board as other students read them. This activity helps maintain student interest "because they know that if they listen, they will be able to come and show." Sometimes well-behaved students are chosen as a reward, but a child may also be asked to lead to "get his attention . . . It's because he feels that he's out of the game for some reason . . . so you value him by asking him to do something important for the whole classroom."

The most noted category in this group, Nadine's routine is not listed for the children, but it follows a regular pattern:

From 9:00 to 9:30 we have language in French with kids doing their journal . . . from 9:30 to 10:00 we do . . . language in French . . . writing activities, language activities, spelling activities. We're doing a lot of dictation too . . . After that we have the reading groups . . . In the afternoon it's math for thirty-five to forty minutes and after math we have . . . music for fifteen minutes or a poem and after that can be social studies. We're doing either geography or science or health. Sometimes it's also P.E. It just depends from one day to another.

Although she does not mention it, Nadine clearly marks boundaries ("Nous allons arrêter ici. Fermez le cahier" ["We are going to stop here. Close your notebook"], and previews activities ("On va le faire après la récréation." ["We will do it after recess."]). She does not list subactivities, however, possibly because of her reluctance to saddle the children with too much responsibility. During her semi-structured interview, she expressed the concern that her second-grade students find it difficult to be responsible for themselves for 10 minutes in the morning. Observations validated this concern; the children often interrupted her lunch count and attendance activities
with questions about their work.

Nadine believes that instruction must be based on the children's interests, as evidenced by the large number of mentions of child-cued behavior during interviews. Children's contributions promote learning: "C'est spontané et ça motive les enfants parce que, disons que ça vient d'eux. C'est leur apport." ["It is spontaneous and it motivates the children because, let's say that it comes from them. It's their contribution."] A sampling of leaves, for example, can stimulate discussions of scientific and mathematical groupings, she reports.

Nadine believes that she maintains student interest by providing activities at their ability levels and arranging learning centers to challenge those who finish their work quickly—"That way they can advance at their own level . . . if it's faster, well, it's good." No learning centers were observed, however, perhaps because it was early in the academic year.

Nadine also finds that even students who are average or slow learners are better off in immersion because the teaching methods give them a better chance here to improve than he would have in a regular school just by the gestures, the concrete materials that we give . . . But some kids are auditive; some others are visual and if you can combine those two . . . to make them understand, it's even better.

Integrated thematic units form the structure of Nadine's curriculum while following the children's interests. Nadine reports that, using the autumn theme, the class read a story about a squirrel, and Nadine used the leaves the children brought in for math activities (grouping and counting), vocabulary development and science (names of
trees), and an art project (painting leaf undersides and pressing them on white paper to form designs). These projects were proudly displayed on a bulletin board. Although some teachers focused on the upcoming elections, Nadine chose to follow the autumn theme and present the results of the class's artistic efforts (see Plate II).

Specific content area techniques. With nearly equal total mentions, all three content areas seem to get balanced treatment in Nadine's room. As one reading activity, Nadine reads to the children while acting out meaning and asking frequent comprehension questions. She chooses books for their discussion value and relates that there are various ways to encourage this discussion: "You can go to the end and ask questions about it or you can stop in the middle or you can just give a title and they're going to start the story." Although no higher-order imagination-stimulating questions were observed, Nadine reported that when she recently stopped in the middle of a story and asked, "Qu'est-ce qui va se passer?" ["What is going to happen?"], the children's answers were "super-productive."

In addition to reading literary children's books to the class, Nadine was observed using basal readers for group reading with eight to ten children. The children read aloud or follow word-by-word as Nadine emphasized familiar sounds. She reports that she also tries to have each child read to her every day to "make sure that they get the sounds right, they get the words right, they have the right pronunciation." This attention to language accuracy is visible in all of Nadine's interactions with her students.
PLATE II. NADINE'S BULLETIN BOARD.
Writing techniques also stress accuracy as Nadine often has students copy correct language from what she wrote on the board when the class dictated. Individual writing activities include daily journals, original compositions using a "word bank" of familiar words, and compositions that re-tell a story the class has read. Nadine believes that it is "important for them to have 5 or 10 minutes of language before they write . . . by sharing ideas they can come up with a lot of material."

Nadine reports that a common Belgian practice, which she still employs, is to center mathematical activities on a specific even number, such as 24. She may spend several weeks using this number to show relationships between multiplication and addition (\(8 \times 3 = 8 + 8 + 8\) and \(6 \times 4 = 6 + 6 + 6 + 6\)) or division and subtraction, and activities may incorporate geometry, telling time, and measurement. Nadine also reports that children are sometimes used to demonstrate subtraction problems by having those being subtracted leave the room and counting those who remain. Besides this student participation, Nadine uses concrete materials, and "Everything I can, I count." Her artistic nature is evident when she enlivens telling time with a song and an imagined "grenouille" ["frog"] who jumps from five after, to ten after, to fifteen after; illustrates the concepts for story problems with drawings; and sings the "times two" facts.

Second language input. Nadine is the only primary teacher at Glenwood who was observed using language activities that were unrelated to any other content being studied. They were specifically second-language-arts activities. Grammar activities included "Nous
Nadine's love of the language and of language teaching is apparent: she speaks enviously of the researcher's college French-teaching position and longingly of her second language teaching in Louisiana. This love of language includes a desire for accuracy, also: When the teacher's aide made an "indoor" and "outdoor" recess sign using "dehors" and "dedans," Nadine protested—"It bothers me"—and insisted that accurate new signs with "A l'extérieur" and "A l'intérieur" be produced.

The largest category group for Nadine, Second language input seems to be her primary motivator. Besides out-of-context language teaching, she also presents language dictated by the content being studied. Playing hangman with words from a song showed that it was important to her to study words in context, or "englobe," as Nadine calls it. During composition writing, Nadine stressed the concepts of number and past tense and explained them briefly: "Il y a plusieurs" ["There are several"], and "Ce n'est pas je, c'est j'ai. C'est passé. Ce n'est pas maintenant," ["It isn't je, it's j'ai. It's past. It isn't now."]. Attention to accuracy caused Nadine to correct past tense auxiliary verbs frequently but without explanation: "J'ai allé" was corrected to "Je suis allé," for example. In fact, she left few errors unmentioned. A notable exception was the student who asked if it was
"anglais bibliothèque" ["library English"] and received no comment.

Nadine's own French was rich with discussions of rhyme ("Bateau et ___?" ["Boat and ___?"]); analogies ("comme une fusée" ["like a rocket"]); and figurative language ("bouches fermées, cousues avec les fils" ["closed mouths, sewn with thread"]). She input by description (the storm is wind, clouds, and noise all together); synonymy (pedestrians are walkers); explanation (an aunt is Mother's sister); and demonstration (blowing away dust). Nadine also adjusted her language to the child's level, while offering an explanatory image (e.g., "Le soleil est absent" ["The sun is absent"] to describe a cloudy day). This teacher ability to adapt to the child's language level has been noted in prior research (see Kleifgen, 1985).

In terms of Nadine's theory of language learning, several inconsistencies between visual and verbal statements and observational data were noted. Her "Maintenant je parle français" ["Now I speak French"] sign was not heeded, as she resorted to English to try to discipline the students. Also, during her semi-structured interview, Nadine asserted that "By repeating the correct pattern in French and usually the child, just very spontaneously, is going to repeat what I said without my saying 'repeat.' You never say that." During observations, though, she corrected a student's pronoun error and added "Répète un peu." ["Just repeat."] During her final interview, Nadine added that she occasionally asks for repetition from the new students so that the child can pronounce the second language and see that he or she is being understood.
Classroom management techniques. With as many observational comments recorded as for "L2 input," "discipline" also seems to be a major priority for Nadine. She remarked that she is trying to "reinforce the good attitude of a child. . . . That's actually the best way so far that I know." Probably because it was the beginning of the year and several children were new, only a few examples of positive reinforcement were noted during observations, however.

The stimulated recall interviews seemed to be consciousness-raising situations for Nadine in regard to discipline. As Clark states, "Stimulated recall sessions . . . have instigated a new awareness among a few teachers" (1988a, p. 9): "J'ai remarqué le nombre de fois qu'on dit 'sh.' C'est fou" ["I noticed the number of times that we said 'sh.' It's crazy"]; "I think that I had to interrupt a lot when usually I don't have to"; and "C'est fou ce qu'on peut faire avec les chaises . . . Je ne me suis pas rendu compte." ["It's crazy what they can do with chairs . . . I hadn't realized."] By allowing her to view her own behavior and reflect upon it, the stimulated recall sessions may encourage Nadine to become more consistent in her discipline.

Teachers' relationships. Parents are welcome in Nadine's room, as evidenced by the father and younger sibling of a class member who were observed visiting the rabbit. Nadine seems to make close relationships with some parents—baby-sitting overnight for one couple and shopping at a "members only" store with one mother.

Nadine stated that the teachers "have a lot of interaction between each other," and Patrice and she shared Jeannette's duties and coordinated their efforts to do so effectively. Only four observations
of this interaction were noted, however, and Nadine was absent from the Europeans' lunchtime group gatherings in the lounge during observations.

**Improving the child's self-image.** Mentioned often in both observation and interview data, valuing the child is important to Nadine. During observations, her efforts were rewarded by the children's eagerness to read compositions in front of the class. When one of the new children read his in English, her praise caused him visible pride: "That's very good, you know." Another was praised for writing "quelque chose qu'on n'a pas mentionné" ["something no one has mentioned"]. Nadine deeply believes that "A child needs confidence and to know that people care for them" and tries to show each child that she cares by touching ("put your hands on their shoulder and say everything's fine") and even confiding information to a new student in English, if necessary, because "then he feels better too." When children contribute an item to the class, they are "fiers qu'on l'utilise" ["proud that we use it"], so she tries to use such contributions often.

**Cultural input.** Nadine is careful to input varying weather expressions from Canada and Belgium, both of which she writes on the board. She also tries to integrate American culture in what she does, she states. In addition, she reports using Belgian teaching techniques and philosophies, such as the specific number approach and centering activities on the child's contributions to class. Nadine was also observed using Belgian songs and poems to enliven her second language input.
**Classroom surprises.** During an observed language lesson, a child offered an example of the phonetic sound /wa/—"J'ai besoin de mon manteau." ["I need my coat."] Nadine mistook his example for true communication and asked if he was cold.

During her final interview, Nadine reported that the children surprised her by reiterating the proverbial expressions she uses, even though she did not explicitly teach them. On different occasions, the students used "Quand le chat n'est pas là, les souris dansent" ["When the cat's away, the mice will play"] and "Tu sautes du coq à l'âne" ["You jump from one subject to another"] appropriately.

**Patrice**

**Results.** Data tabulated for Patrice are provided in Table 5.

**Discussion.** Interviews with Patrice were forthright and productive. A very uncomplicated person, Patrice seemed to enjoy sharing her experiences and beliefs with the researcher. Her theories about teaching seemed based on a desire to value children and improve their self-images, and she often marveled at their abilities. Plate III shows a bulletin board that is especially representative of Patrice's beliefs: Each child is valued as the best at some particular skill.
PLATE III. PATRICE'S BULLETIN BOARD.
### TABLE 5. DATA MATRIX FOR PATRICE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Total Observations</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>SR</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher presage variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>and teacher role</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher role</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experience</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personality traits</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content comprehension techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content comprehension input</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>routine</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K to K</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-cued</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension checks units</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integrate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materials</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Specific content area techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading techniques</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing techniques</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>math techniques</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second language input</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 teaching</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 input</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classroom management techniques</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organization of class discipline</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discipline</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers' relationships</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outsiders</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>team</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Improving the child's self-image</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>value child</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural input</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom surprises</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Teacher presage variables and teacher role. Patrice's experiences teaching physical education and the deaf in Belgium influence her classroom behavior: Her body language is even more exaggerated than the other Glenwood teachers, which may also indicate her enthusiasm for the subject matter and the students: "J'adore la gymnastique" ["I love physical education"], "I like to experiment," "J'adore faire les histoires" ["I love telling stories"], "I love geography," and "I love my class," she relates.

Admitting to the new teachers that last year "We were scared," Patrice believes that she might have had more confidence if she could have visited other immersion schools to "see the difficulties . . . and to see the material that can be used and . . . the reaction of the children. We saw it when we were doing it." Affirming that last year was like a graduate education, Patrice seems to have learned from it and acquired the confidence that she exudes in her classroom this year.

Teacher role became more complex for Patrice during the observation period. Because Jeannette, a second-grade teacher, was on maternity leave, Patrice and Nadine, the other second-grade teacher, agreed to share French-language duties in Jeannette's classroom while the substitute taught English language arts in all three rooms. Already committed to breakfast duty, Patrice not only had to prepare for her own third-grade class but also for Jeannette's second-graders. The lack of French-speaking substitute teachers that caused these complications inconvenienced Patrice considerably: "C'est vraiment difficile!" ["It's really difficult!"]}, she complained.
Content comprehension techniques. This category group received more mentions during observations (58 total) and interviews (30 total) than any other group for Patrice. Explanations for these data may be the increased socialization of third graders, who need less discipline, or an increasing emphasis on subject matter at this level. Patrice used several techniques to help make content comprehensible to her students: Routine, child-to-child instruction, and comprehension checks that also served as input were observed most often (see Table 5).

Although Patrice did not list the activities of the day on the board, the students seemed well aware of the routine, as evidenced by one who asked at the appropriate time, "Faire les mathématiques maintenant?" ["To do math now?"] After lunch count and attendance in her own third-grade classroom, Patrice began her routine of the day with Jeannette's second graders. She opened with a discussion of how they felt and why and followed with a journal that included the weather, the menu, what they liked or did not like on the menu, and how they felt. Language arts and reading groups filled the time until 11:30, when she returned to her own classroom. Usually, she reported, she sang "a song if I have time or a story in French right before lunch . . . after, if I don't have the time before."

Patrice states that she likes to tell the class when activities are changing; otherwise, because content areas are integrated, the children are not aware of having worked in different disciplines. She is careful to articulate subactivities as well. For an art project, she was observed describing the order students were to follow in drawing their landscapes, and then she drew graphics to
illustrate the various components, specifying that the sun design be drawn first; ground, second; pine tree, third; flower, fourth; and an animal, last.

Body language, visuals, explanations, demonstrations, and student explanations help Patrice make content comprehensible. Facial expressions and gestures ("When I talk I always use my hands"); flash cards and illustrations; explaining that $7 + 7 + 7 = 21$ and $7 \times 3 = 21$ express the same relationship; acting out "mashed potatoes"; and students explaining, "Show her," are examples. Patrice encourages this kind of student help: "They have the new students and I try to team them with an older student and they can work together. It helps a lot." She discourages direct translation of what she says, however, preferring that they "explain to the new student"—something they would probably do naturally because of children's natural attendance to meaning, which has been documented by research (see Ervin-Tripp, 1974). Inter-child activities were not always one-to-one: When Patrice needed an American accent during an English spelling test, she asked one of the students to read to the class.

Responding to their need for challenge and capitalizing again on child-to-child instruction, Patrice has the advanced math group prepare problems for themselves. In general, this group does "la même chose que les autres font, mais plus avancée." ["the same thing the others do, but more advanced"]. Other observed instances of Patrice's adjusting instruction to the children's needs and abilities are the "Voyage" game, varying activities more often to keep the children's interest, and language arts activities based on the children's
experiences: "Qu'est-ce que vous avez vu à la ferme de OSU avec les animaux?" ["What did you see at the OSU farm with the animals?"]—a question they answered both orally and in writing.

Stating that materials preparation is "a lot of work . . . I really have to cut a lot of pictures. I have to draw a lot of pictures. I have to re-copy sentences," Patrice often uses student-generated materials to provide reading and writing activities at an appropriate level. Because the math text is designed for native French speakers and its language is far too advanced, Patrice must simplify the directions before using problems from the text, she states.

Although Patrice does not specifically mention comprehension checks during interviews, during observations, they were often seen to be visual or physical: "Drawing" a story and acting out meaning were common: "Faites-moi la tête . . . surpris, triste, content, malade, fâché" ["Make a face for me . . . surprised, sad, happy, sick, angry"] and "Debout si c'est chaud." ["Stand up if it is hot."] Verbal checks included literal recall ("La campagne est toute . . ." ["The countryside is all . . ."]), inferential comprehension questions ("Qui va gagner, le lapin ou la tortue?" ["Who will win, the hare or the tortoise?"]), and higher-order questions that demanded evaluation ("Pourquoi est-il triste?" ["Why is he sad?"]) as well as creativity ("Qu'est-ce qu'il peut dire aux singes?" ["What can he say to the monkeys?"]) (see Barrett, 1972; Bloom, 1956). She reports that "I like to make them wonder what's going to happen so they can be surprised when I turn the page"—an obvious interest in promoting the children's imaginations.
Specific content area techniques. Speaking about reading activities, Patrice states, "I would use a lot of stories. I would make them read very short sentences with repetition . . . a lot of association with a picture . . . you have to base reading on comprehension to be sure." Knowing that the immersion teachers had in-service workshops with whole language advocates somewhat colors the analysis of Patrice's remarks. Whether she would have espoused the same theories without the in-service training is open to question. Despite her verbalization of whole language tenets, though, Patrice also uses basal readers and worksheets when coordinating activities with Nadine.

Writing is Patrice's pet project and accounted for the largest total number of mentions in this category group (15). She has adopted the local public school system's approved English-language writing process and modified it for immersion teaching: pre-writing, drafting, revising, editing, and publishing—in French. "The process is the same," according to Patrice, and she often has students "draw—first this happened, second this happened—so they have the sequence." Students sometimes compose original stories, but often write re-tellings of stories they have read in class. Journal writing occurs daily in both second- and third-grade classes, and the Graded Course of Study reminds Patrice to insist on capital letters and periods at the beginning and end of each sentence.

Writing activities begin with discussions of the topic and a word bank of usable vocabulary on the board, Patrice reports. Students then begin writing, asking Patrice "Comment dit-on? Comment écrir-on?" ["How do you say? How do you write?"] When the papers are finished,
she corrects them by writing a "better way to write it" under their work, an idea that Denise shared with her. After she "gives them vocabulary and a picture that helps them to understand" her corrections, they re-write. Students often work in groups of two, according to Patrice, because they "have more ideas and they have more vocabulary with two persons."

Because she is teaching language along with math, Patrice reports that math activities involve "a lot more on the board than if I had native speaker children" and "a lot more problems . . . It's a reading exercise as well as a math exercise." Basic math multiplication activities, a third-grade math priority, are scheduled to show the relationship between addition and multiplication on Day 1, to practice the facts on Day 2, and to play a reinforcing game ("Voyage") on Day 3, she states.

Second language input. Patrice apparently believes in the natural approach to language teaching (see Krashen, 1981, 1982) and avoiding translation and grammar while inputting as much French as possible: "I'm just going to use it in sentences and they just know," she asserts when discussing how she presents the past tense. Gestures and temporal adverbs help make the meaning clear: "I say, 'Il est. Maintenant il est' . . . the kids know when I go, 'Il était.'" (with an over-the-shoulder hand movement to indicate behind her—the past).

Patrice corrects errors by modeling, without explanation of the underlying linguistic concepts. As she affirms, "I will repeat it and repeat it, but I will not ask him to repeat it right . . . I'll never say that it's wrong and it's a mistake" and "That's grammar. I'm not going
to teach grammar." Instead, such explanations as "Un équilibriste ou une équilibriste, ça depend si c'est un homme ou une femme" ["A (masculine article) tight-rope walker or a (feminine article) tight-rope walker, that depends if it's a man or a woman"] are offered. Correcting phonetic errors often involves relating the incorrect sound to another that the children know, Patrice adds: "Say table, table, /a/ comme dans papillon . . . you always relate it to another word with the same sound."

A balanced bilingual who was observed code-switching often outside the classroom, Patrice was concerned about mixing the two languages in class early in the year. No evidence of intermingling appeared during later observations, however, perhaps because she was teaching only in French due to her acceptance of Jeannette's duties.

Patrice often praised children who used French: "Bien! Tu l'as dit en français" ["Good! You said it in French"], but they sometimes over-enthusiastically use it during English lessons, she notes. Her students have apparently adopted Patrice's appreciation for student attempts at second language production, as evidenced by this overheard student comment: "You've got to give him a chance because he said it in French."

**Classroom management techniques.** Patrice's size, low voice, and expressive eyes are assets for classroom control, as evidenced by the fact that Classroom management techniques is not the biggest category group for Patrice; Content comprehension techniques is. Because she has such good classroom control, Patrice is able to concentrate more on teaching content. Merely expressing displeasure verbally with accompanying facial expressions ("Je ne suis pas contente"
"I'm not happy") usually suffices to alter student misbehavior. When calling students into line, Patrice confides that she sometimes keeps misbehaving children until last to show them that their behavior is unacceptable. Other observed techniques circumvent problems: Expecting a show of hands in response to the question "Qui m'écoute?" ["Who is listening to me?"] and clarifications such as "'Dessiner,' ça veut dire 'parler'?" ["'Draw,' does that mean 'talk'?"] kept children aware of expected behavior.

During observations, Patrice's discipline was often positive with such rewards as "fantastique" coupons, stars on a chart for good behavior, and a picture of a hyperactive child behaving beautifully. Aversive motivation included an "Avertissement" ["Warning"] visual that specifies punishments for rule infractions, writing an offender's name on the board to lose recess later, and reminders to students that "Tu n'es pas un bébé." ["You aren't a baby."] Patrice admits that "Je leur dis toujours de se calmer." ["I tell them all the time to calm down."]

Patrice teaches values, also, including an emphasis on politeness. She added "s'il vous plaît" ["please"] to imaginary dialogues the children presented and often cautioned them: "Restez gentils, s'il vous plaît. Il ne faut pas être méchant." ["Be nice, please. You mustn't be mean."] They were also expected to perform the 13 assigned classroom duties without complaint. Self-control is another value that Patrice tries to instill in her students, and she promotes it because she recognizes that immersion learning demands exceptional self-discipline from the children: "If you don't have a good discipline code you won't be able to teach them in an immersion program because
they must look at you all the time and they have to be very patient."

**Teachers' relationships.** Patrice communicates with parents weekly by sending manila folders home with the children's papers inside and a comment/signature sheet stapled to the outside. Parental attitudes are very important to her: "If the parents are motivated in the program, then the kids will be motivated." Having met all of her students' parents, she believes that they all "just love this program." Patrice was a little ill-at-ease, however, when a child's French uncle visited and seemed curious about the language errors he heard. Although errors certainly were noticeable, Patrice's belief in the second language acquisition process and immersion methodology sustained her.

Discussing relationships among the teachers, Patrice says that "We work as a group . . . We talk to know exactly what has been taught the year before, how it was taught." According to Patrice, teamwork is necessary for this coordination of content knowledge as well as for sharing discipline, culture, and language expertise: "We ask a lot of questions about classroom management . . . we have to do it the American way . . . In social studies I would go to the fifth grade teacher . . . On her side, she would come to me for the French part." Pierre's lending her his "Tortoise and the Hare" book, Marie and Denise advising her about how to handle Jeannette's class, her cooperation with Nadine in Jeannette's absence, and Estelle's reporting that Patrice taught her the Fahrenheit to Celsius conversion were all evidence of this teamwork.

**Improving the child's self-image.** Patrice appreciates her class this year: "I love my class," she repeated numerous times during the stimulated-recall interview. She shows her affection with positive
reinforcement and allowing new students to use English in order to preserve their dignity. Because their likes, dislikes, and general mood are also important to her, she had the students include this information in their journals. She knows that "They like when you go back to them, their feelings, their own experiences . . . They're still at the age that they like to go back to the 'me.'" Weekly rewards for doing well or winning an academic contest show that she values the children and their efforts. In response, they treasure her small gifts of candy or erasers, she states.

Cultural input. Patrice states, "We talk about my country all the time," and believes that she is broadening the students' horizons: "We try to teach them the culture too . . . We open them a lot wider than just the U.S." During observations, it was clear that presenting all francophone cultures is important to Patrice. She included those in the United States: "Dans mon pays, on dit aussi 'patates' . . . En France on ne dirait pas 'patates.' En Louisiane on dit 'patates' aussi." ["In my country, we say 'patates' . . . In France they wouldn't say 'patates.' In Louisiane they say 'patates' also."]

Immersed in her own culture, she apparently inputs "dictons" ["sayings"] that one child recalled in class—"Tout est bien qui finit bien" ["All's well that ends well"]—and she summarized one day of observation: "Ce n'est pas toujours roses et violettes." ["Life is not always easy."] Patrice reports that she prefers Belgian methods of physical education, explaining that American P.E. is generally "petits jeux" ["little games"] but that she prefers to ask the students to concentrate and control their bodies in order to learn self-respect.
Classroom surprises. Patrice was most surprised, not by a misunderstanding, but by the children's determination to speak French. She relates that during English reading group, she was questioning the children in English. When they stopped and stared at her, she asked if they did not know the answer. The reply was, "I'm trying to find the answer in French . . . I want to say it in French."

Estelle

Results. Data for Estelle are summarized in Table 6.

Discussion. Estelle served as a valuable respondent for several reasons: She is a native speaker of English; she recently completed her M. A. degree and is therefore familiar with current foreign language theories; and she and the researcher share motherhood of teenage sons as well as comparable ages, thereby promoting rapport. Her metacognitive approach to interviews was especially valuable.

Teacher presage variables and teacher role. Estelle takes her role as an immersion teacher seriously and believes that "First and foremost, there has to be the quality of being an elementary school teacher and a good one . . . and to change to improve, whatever it takes." Her insistence on this quality may be a result of her preparation and experience, which differ significantly from those of the other teachers. Estelle was first trained as a secondary school French teacher, then earned her M. A. degree, and is now in a re-training program for elementary certification; and her experience includes several years of high school teaching plus twelve years of teaching all levels of French at a Montessori school.
TABLE 6. DATA MATRIX FOR ESTELLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Total Observations</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>SR</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher presage variables</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and teacher role</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher role</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experience</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personality traits</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content comprehension techniques</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension input</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>routine</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K to K</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-cued</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension checks</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>units</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integrate</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materials</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific content area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>techniques</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading techniques</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing techniques</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>math techniques</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second language input</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 teaching</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 input</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom management</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>techniques</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organization of class discipline</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers' relationships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outsiders</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>team</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving the child's self-image</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>value child</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural input</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom surprises</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Admitting that "It was a lot of work last year," "You have to have a lot of patience," and "It takes a lot of preparation," Estelle, nevertheless, continues to enjoy her students. Her sense of humor was apparent in interactions with them: She teased the students, asking one if her "petit cercle rouge" ["little red circle"] was a flower, sitting in the seat of and imitating another, and saying, "C'est ce que Laurel a déjà dit. Naaaaaa" ["That's what Laurel already said. Naaa"], when one repeated an answer that had already been given.

The only teacher to have perfect attendance last year, Estelle also serves as the local education association's representative from Glenwood. An intense person, Estelle's personality traits were noted 13 times during observations. Normally quite serious about her work, she especially tries to be clear and apologizes when her instructions are misunderstood. Although her enthusiasm is controlled for disciplinary reasons (see the "principle of suppressing emotions," Mackay & Marland, 1978), she is businesslike, clear, attentive to student learning, and uses variety in her teaching (see Rosenshine & Furst, 1971).

Estelle's linguistic background is unique among the participants: She learned English and Italian concurrently and spoke both as a child. She believes that her ethnicity helps her understand cultural appropriateness in language: "I have drawn on my ethnic background so much." Nevertheless, as an American citizen and a product of this culture, she feels especially knowledgeable about the backgrounds of Glenwood students and believes that, with appropriate linguistic and pedagogic skills, an American teacher is equally well-equipped to teach in an American French immersion classroom than a
European.

**Content comprehension techniques.** The largest category group in terms of both observational and interview data, **Content comprehension techniques** seems to be Estelle's top priority. Following the specifications for the fifth-grade immersion curriculum, she believes that she approximates conducting 60% of the day in English and 40% in French. A strong, clearly articulated routine (which was noted 24 times in observation) organizes all content in both languages for Estelle's fifth-graders: Assignments and activities are listed in French on the front board ("They need to know, they need to have a sense that their day is organized"), and Estelle discusses them daily as part of the opening routine. Future activities and their scheduled times are often announced: "Je vais commencer la leçon de mathématiques en cinq minutes—à neuf heures trente-cinq" ["I will begin the math lesson in five minutes—at nine thirty-five"], and boundaries between activities are clearly marked: "Il faut ranger les pupitres. Nous allons faire les mathématiques." ["Straighten your desks. We are going to do math."]

Discussions of assignments, lunch count, the weather, and the daily calendar, which includes converting from Fahrenheit and charting the temperature in Celsius, are all conducted in French.

Although she did not mention it, Estelle was observed articulating subactivities clearly: "Il faut sortir la feuille de papier. Il faut numérotter de un à cinq. Il faut sauter une ligne. Il faut mettre 'les mathématiques,' la date." ["Get out a piece of paper. Number from one to five. Skip one line. Put 'math,' the date."]
Content areas were consistently integrated in Estelle's class, accounting for 16 mentions during observations. As Estelle noted: "It is such a great situation because it happens every single day . . . it all seems to pull together." A map lesson about continents included a discussion of scale and mathematical calculations of distances, and a lesson about time organized around the Olympics theme involved social studies, science, math, and French: "Quelle heure est-il maintenant? Oui, ici, mais à Séoul, Corée? (La difference est quatorze heures.)" ["What time is it now? Yes, here, but in Seoul, Korea? (The difference is fourteen hours.")]

During math lessons, Estelle involved the children in their own learning. Following Mohan's advice that "Second language learners . . . can be peer teachers" (1986, p. 115), Estelle asked a student to conduct the lesson and invited student verification of responses: "C'est juste ou pas juste?" ["Is it correct or not?"] While providing one student with a chance to be the center of attention, she involved others with tagboard numbers and a mathematical symbol to hold, both manipulatives serving the needs of her "concrete-operational stage child," according to Estelle.

In addition to manipulatives, Estelle used visuals not only to facilitate comprehension but also to check understandings: "I had them draw it instead of trying to write the word." Students were observed as they drew and labeled body parts for a quiz, and she reported that they expressed themselves visually in a composition when they were unable to use French: "I had one child who drew me a story . . . and he was able to tell me the story in French."
Other materials expand and reinforce content learning through French. The math textbook, which emphasizes process over product, is excellent, according to Estelle; and the school just acquired some French-language science texts. Estelle also receives a Canadian publication with teaching ideas for integrated lessons and games such as "Gagne, Perd, ou Dessine" ["Win, Lose, or Draw"] and "Concentration" to supplement the texts.

**Specific content area techniques.** Estelle tries to use "experience-based" activities that capitalize on the students' life experiences or their prior school activities, she states. French reading lessons are often based on a group writing activity, when the students dictate a paragraph for Estelle to write on the board and then read it aloud. Phonics are also used: "If I take a reading text in French . . . I could also pull out the sounds. I could say, 'Look for the words that have this sound and raise your hand every time you hear one.'" Observed English reading activities also involved phonics but centered around basal readers and their accompanying skill packets.

Integrated with reading, writing activities are experienced based also, which facilitates vocabulary recall, according to Estelle. She reports that group compositions often begin with a "webbing," a brain-storming technique involving writing a topic on the board and listing related concepts in a spider-web format. Students then offer sentences, which Estelle writes on the board and the class copies. Individual compositions involve one-on-one conferences with Estelle in both the pre-writing and the revision stages. She generally sits at the student's desk and marks the composition with a "pencil point dot by the
word that needs to be corrected." To preserve the child's composition, corrections are written on a small piece of paper from which the student copies.

The most often mentioned specific content area, math activities are especially enjoyable in French, Estelle stated, because "There's so much language that can be learned from it." She also considered visits to Montreal successful because she was able to observe science and math classes. The children seemed to share her enthusiasm for all three subjects and particularly enjoyed the hands-on materials. Apparently a part of her language learning theory, Piaget's concrete-operational stage was cited by Estelle as justification for her choice of materials. She added that language acquisition is easier with hands-on materials: "It's so easy to teach them that and for them to acquire it that way."

Estelle emphasized that all of her students' math knowledge is contextualized: geometric shapes and numbers are taught as needed for textbook or teacher-prepared exercises. This was obvious during observations where students mis-read such numbers as 500, 96, and 76. Estelle sometimes corrected errors graphically, by writing correct answers on the board, and she sometimes reviewed related numbers to remind students how to express them in French: "C'est dix-sept, dix-huit, et dix-neuf, mais c'est treize, quatorze, quinze, et seize."

**Second language input.** Totaling observations and interview data shows that the largest single category for Estelle was "L2 input," obviously one of her primary concerns. She believes that the more students hear French the more easily they will learn it, and she acts on this philosophy with constant repetition: "It's important ... to say
it 150 times in French," so that the students will "associate what I'm doing with what I'm saying," she states. Boredom with repetition can be a problem, however, as can finding suitable subject matter in the language that is of interest to these pre-pubescent children: "It's incredibly difficult to keep the balance—to keep the interest up, to get them to learn and to understand and not get bored, to get their participation."

Although French games were sometimes used, classroom directions and subject-matter lessons provided the content for most second language input. Teacher modeling ("I keep saying, '/si/ mille, /si/ mille, /si/ fois'") was the only way Estelle corrected pronunciation, and repetition of corrections was emphasized. Students sometimes corrected one another's language ("Add 'le'") as well as content responses ("Trente-six divisé par quatre égalent huit." "Non, neuf." ["Thirty-six divided by four equals eight." "No, nine."]) Estelle constantly encouraged student second language speech ("Il faut parler français" ["You must speak French"]), which tends to be an individual, "one-to-one kind of situation. ... I know that information has been given to them and I think I know them well enough that I could push just a little more." Maintaining communicative interaction with each student is necessary to remain aware of ability levels as well as attitudes.

Estelle's own language is often a mixture of French and English: "Get ready for lunch. Vous pouvez chercher vos déjeuners. Il faut ranger les pupitres. Après ça, mettez-vous en ligne. You have to take the tetherballs and things out." ["You can get your lunches. Straighten your desks. After that, get in line."] This mélange does not seem to
concern her because she feels certain that her fifth graders can
discriminate between the two languages. Her tendency to use both
languages interchangeably may be related to her bilingual background:
She spoke both Italian and English as a child "and back and forth from
one to the other because there were things that just hit the nail on the
head in Italian and didn't quite work in English."

**Classroom management techniques.** Estelle was a master
manager in the classroom—clear and consistent. In fact, during the
stimulated recall interview, discipline went unmentioned because her
classroom is so well-controlled. Several classroom jobs were handled by
students, but the line leader was especially helpful as a disciplinarian
by yelling "Silence!" (in French), which saved the teacher's voice and
her patience for more important tasks. Students not only had
responsibilities in the classroom, but several also served as
school-wide patrol leaders, who assist with the kindergarten children
and direct pedestrian traffic.

Student self-discipline regarding their own learning is a
priority for Estelle: "They have to realize that . . . the learning is
going to be their responsibility. It is mine, it is theirs, but they
have to take it upon themselves to learn." Developing student
organizational skills is also a major goal, which she promotes with the
assignment board. Estelle is preparing her students for middle-school
life where they must operate more independently; she wants them to
succeed.

Their present successes were rewarded with "Très bien," "Bravo,"
or "Il faut applaudir." ["Very good," "Bravo," "We must applaud."]
Positive reinforcement was apparent, but aversive motivation was also used: "Vous voulez passer la récréation avec moi?" ["Do you want to spend recess with me?"] Students who talked too much were moved to a corner, but most problems were averted by clear directions before conflicts arose: "Anytime you come into the gym and I ask you to move from one place to another, please walk. It's very important." Estelle notes that she hopes that a direct conflict with a student would never arrive in her classroom. In fact, she adds, "it rarely happens . . . I think preventive kinds of things work a little better."

During observations, Estelle was generally quite consistent. On one occasion, however, she had told her students that they would all have to stay in for recess. After substituting for Mr. Loffland at noon, however, she needed a break and allowed the students to go outside. Elbaz (1981) would accept Estelle's behavior as justified, based on her belief in the "practical knowledge" of the teacher. In this case, Estelle's "knowledge of self" and "knowledge of milieu" allowed her to make an acceptable decision, albeit seemingly inconsistent.

**Teachers' relationships.** Estelle serves as teacher-in-charge in Mr. Loffland's absence, and, in this capacity, she often interacts with outsiders, with whom she is cordial and receptive. No interview data were gathered about her relationships with outsiders, but Estelle was observed with a student teacher and with a curiosity-seeker. She was cordial, yet businesslike, with both of them. Unmentioned and unobserved, interactions with parents are apparently less common in fifth grade because of the students' age and increasing educational
Among the teachers, Estelle reports that it has been extremely important to establish "open lines of communication, so that we can give and take from one another." Her relationships with the European teachers are important to her success as an immersion teacher. As she states, "I really have to make sure that I'm using authentic language. . . I can draw from my colleagues." As a non-native speaker of French, she reports that she first verifies language with the dictionary, then with the European teachers for accuracy. In exchange, Estelle shares with them her expertise about "the American culture and the American child and the discipline and the class management," she states.

**Improving the child's self-image.** Estelle's efforts at improvement differed from those in the primary grades where self-image is more fragile. She was observed as being much more businesslike and oriented toward teaching the children to respect one another: "Excuse me. She tries a lot in French in math. We don't need people fooling around." Although this category was unmentioned during interviews, Estelle's teaching methodologies and classroom management techniques promote both self-respect and student success.

**Cultural input.** Estelle, perhaps because of her non-native status, was careful to introduce as many cultural variations into her teaching as possible, including "European rhythmic running" in her supplementary physical education class. Although she learned the French numerical system, she often asked her students, "Comment est-ce que les Belges disent ça? 'Quatre-vingt-dix-sept,' c'est ce que les Français disent. Les Belges et les Suisses disent 'nonante-sept.'" ["How do the
Belgians say that? 'Quatre-vingt-dix-sept,' that's what the French say. Belgians and Swiss say 'nonante-sept.' According to Estelle, "Both of them are taught. . . I guess I've always thought that all of those are legitimate." Weather expressions also vary from one culture to another, and Estelle taught Belgian, French, and Canadian terms. The children seem to pick their favorites; Estelle reports that when they wrote group paragraphs, the children offered, "'Il vente,' 'Il fait du vent,' and 'Il y du vent' . . . all three of them." ['It is windy."

Comparisons with American culture were mentioned also, as in the difference between how decimals are written. In Europe, a comma is used where Americans use a period: "'Deux point quatre' ou on peut dire 'deux virgule quatre.' Aux Etats-Unis on dit 'deux point quatre.'" ['Two point four' or you can say 'two comma four.' In the United States we say 'two point four.'"

Classroom surprises. During observations in Estelle's class, a surprise arose from a misunderstanding about the language. As Estelle's students were lining up for music class, one of them mentioned that a goldfish in the aquarium had died. Estelle's response: "Oui, je sais bien. Le poisson est mort. Il faut l'enterrer dans la toilette." ['Yes, I know it. The fish is dead. We must bury it in the toilet.'"

When the students heard the word "toilette," they thought they were lining up to go there. As they started down the hallway toward the restroom, Estelle shouted, "La musique! La musique! Où est-ce qu'on va? Oui, j'ai dit 'toilette' mais pas pour toi!" ['Music! Music! Where are you going? Yes, I said 'toilette' but not for you!'"], and they laughingly changed directions and went to the music room.
Cross-Case Analysis

Results

Table 7 shows the synthesis of data for all teachers. 0 represents observation data; I represents interview data. Teachers are listed in order of ascending grade level: Pierre, Denise, Marie, Nadine, Patrice, and Estelle.

Discussion

Comparing responses and notations across participants leads to more general conclusions about immersion teacher behavior and thought and the relationships between them. In general, the Glenwood teachers expressed beliefs that reflected their classroom behavior.

Teacher Presage Variables and Teacher Role

Contrary to recent foreign language research, which found non-native speaker to non-native speaker interactions to be extremely beneficial to the learners (e.g., Pica & Doughty, 1985; Porter, 1983), Glenwood immersion teaching, for several reasons, is usually limited to teacher-fronted activities: the teacher's need for classroom control, lack of student second language ability, and the need for second language input from the "only native speaker in the classroom" (Swain, 1982).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Teacher presage variables and teacher role**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T-role</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>preparation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experience</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personality traits</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Content comprehension techniques**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>content</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>comprehension input</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>routine</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K to K</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-cued</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension checks</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>units</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integrate</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materials</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Specific content area techniques**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>reading techniques</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>29</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>writing techniques</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>math techniques</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Second language input**

| L2 teaching | 1 | 12 | 3 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|
| L2 input | 17 | 9 | 47 | 11 | 35 | 17 | 77 | 9 | 42 | 6 | 27 | 15 |

**Classroom management techniques**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>organization of class</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>discipline</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Teachers' relationships**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>outsiders</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>team</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Improving the child's self-image**

| value child | 11 | 5 | 9 | 1 | 17 | 4 | 14 | 7 | 5 | 10 | 2 |

**Cultural input**

| 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 4 |

**Classroom surprises**

| 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
During the final group meeting at Glenwood, several teachers expressed the concern that more errors seem to be committed in small group situations. For this reason, they choose to limit these activities. A large percentage of class time is spent in whole-class activities—75-80% according to Pierre; 65% according to Nadine. Acknowledging that data collection took place early in the year, one still notes that only a few group situations were observed, and those were teacher-fronted. Learning centers were planned in several of the classrooms, but Denise's was the only one where a center was observed in use.

Parenting tasks occupy much of an elementary teacher's time; immersion teachers are no exceptions. According to observational data, Denise, Marie, and Nadine were more involved in these tasks than the other teachers. It is significant, also, that three of the teachers (i.e., Marie, Patrice, and Pierre) referred to their students as "babies." Physical tasks (sharpening pencils, cleaning desks, cleaning up messes); disciplinary tasks (setting limits and supervising behavior); and values education (instilling such concepts as politeness, morality, and responsibility) are added to the double intellectual challenge of teaching both content and second language in immersion classrooms. Although research conducted by foreign language specialists has measured the results of this intellectual challenge (e.g., Genesee, 1983; Genessee et al., 1985; Swain, 1978), it has virtually ignored the multitude of other responsibilities that burden the elementary immersion teacher. Compounding these responsibilities is a lack of French-speaking substitute teachers, which helps make immersion teaching
"more than a teacher's commitment," according to Pierre. Patrice, Pierre, Denise, and Marie related that they often come to school sick because of the lack of substitutes.

Teacher preparation differs among the six Glenwood teachers involved in this study: Four of the six were prepared as kindergarten teachers, while Patrice was certified as an elementary teacher, and Estelle's first certificate was in secondary French. Regardless of their training, all six teachers began at the same level of immersion knowledge, though Estelle had used some content lessons in her French teaching at a Montessori school. Most of the teachers (four of the six) believe that prior observation of experienced immersion teachers would have helped them considerably. Denise and Pierre, however, do not agree. As Pierre states: "the best thing is to really be in it ... you can see as much as you want. As long as you're not in the classroom, you don't really know." Nevertheless, he concedes that a prolonged student teaching experience might help.

Glenwood teaching experience varies in timespan: around 20 years for Estelle and Denise, eight for Marie, six for Pierre, five for Nadine, and four for Patrice. This experience also differs in contexts, including kindergarten-through-eighth-grade Montessori school, elementary and secondary foreign language, Belgian kindergarten, and physical education and deaf substitute teaching. All variations in experience add richness and contrast to the teachers' classroom behavior and strength to the collective knowledge base of the staff.

This rich diversity is also reflected in the composite of personalities at Glenwood School. Common traits of all six teachers are
patience, diligence, commitment, French fluency, sense of humor, sensitivity, respect for the students, politeness, stamina, and adaptability. Traits that seem more pronounced or were mentioned more often by certain teachers are organization (Estelle, Marie, and Pierre), clarity (Estelle and Marie), creativity (Nadine), acting ability (Marie and Nadine), artistic ability (Denise, Nadine, and Patrice), love of subject matter (Estelle and Patrice), intensity (Estelle, Marie, and Pierre), consistency (Estelle and Marie), and a positive attitude toward discipline (Estelle, Marie, Nadine, and Pierre).

Content Comprehension Techniques

Because they are constrained by the local public school system's Graded Course of Study and the students' lack of second language knowledge, these six Glenwood Teachers all use facial expressions, body movements, concrete materials, and visuals both to impart knowledge and to verify its comprehension. French-language verbal methods of increasing content comprehension used by all the teachers include paraphrasing, relating new information to familiar material, reinforcing by constant repetition, using body-movement songs and games, and asking for child-to-child explanation. Student English explanations may be requested by the teacher, and teachers sometimes use English themselves.

To structure their teaching, Glenwood teachers use integrated units. By focusing on thematic vocabulary and reinforcing it with activities in various content areas, students learn to use the language in multiple contexts, a successful method for concept formation, according to Ausubel, Novak, and Hanesian (1978). Pierre integrated
math, language, and science in a coloring activity involving the categorization of four types of leaves. Denise integrated songs, reading, and science by choosing habitats for various animals from the "ours brun" book. Marie integrated second language input, a scientific discussion of weather, counting, physical movement, and culture in activities related to the song about ducks. Although no integrated lessons were observed in her classroom, Nadine reported that she related science (studying trees and their leaves), math (counting), and second language input (reading stories about a squirrel and the seasons) while using an autumn theme. Patrice integrated math (counting by four), science (monkey behavior), language input, and reading in the story "Casquettes à vendre." Estelle, who was observed integrating lessons most often (see Table 7), combined social studies, math, science, and language input during an Olympics-theme-based lesson about relative times at Glenwood and in Korea.

Because every Glenwood teacher used them or reported using them, the teachers apparently consider integrated units to be the best organizational structure for immersion. Although organizing by units demands extra effort on the teachers' part, the reinforcement of thematic vocabulary seems profitable for the students. According to Pierre, "You reinforce the language through so many activities and it's a particular language for one week ... it's more like a big story that you keep going on for the whole week." As with so many decisions at Glenwood, what is better for the children and the program is chosen above what would be easier for the teachers.
According to the data, the most often observed means for inputting content are routines, including the daily plan, boundary markers between activities, and specifying sub-routines. During interviews, all the teachers mentioned the importance of a daily routine, except Patrice and Nadine, whose routines were interrupted by their acceptance of Jeannette's teaching duties. Estelle, Marie, and Denise display their daily plans for the children's reference. They note that students need to know what to expect, to be organized, and to do things similarly each day. Patrice, Nadine, and Pierre all have routines that are clear to them but not written for the children. Pierre's students are perhaps too young to benefit from a written daily program, but he believes that "It helps them . . . to always do things the same way." Because Nadine and Patrice were teaching for Jeannette during their observation cycles, their written routines may have been pre-empted; however, no evidence of such a daily plan appeared in earlier observations when they were not involved with Jeannette's classroom duties. Patrice's students, however, seem to have an awareness of when activities occur as demonstrated by the child who appropriately asked if it was math time.

All teachers have some type of opening exercises, often including greetings, lunchcount, attendance, the weather, the calendar, and sharing time. Activities vary according to grade level: Weather activities mention sun, rain, clouds, or snow in kindergarten but include Fahrenheit to Celsius conversions as part of the fifth-grade routine. Another constant for all the teachers is the day's news being read over the intercom, either by Mr. Loffland or by a student. Twice-a-week library, once-a-week physical education, and once-a-week
music also occur regularly for all classes. Teachers may schedule their own content area activities, though all kindergarten through third-grade teachers seem to place the most demanding tasks in the morning, between 9:30 and 11:30. Afternoons are reserved for calmer, less taxing activities, except in Estelle's room, where students are being prepared for middle school's all-day stress.

Types of boundary markers vary, but some teachers overtly announce subject-matter changes. If Patrice does not specify the content area for an activity, she notes, the children may be unaware of having covered a specific subject because several content areas are often integrated. Nadine also is careful to announce changes such as "On va chanter" ["We are going to sing"] and "Ce sont les mathématiques" ["This is math"]. Besides overt announcements, boundary markers also include songs (Pierre), games (Pierre and Marie), and instructions to finish what they are doing (Marie and Estelle). All the teachers preview upcoming activities and their time of occurrence, thereby helping students gauge the time required for completing current tasks.

Besides announcing and marking major activities, some teachers carefully list subactivities, either orally or in writing, both to input language and to help students through tasks in sequential steps. Although Nadine was not observed specifying subactivities, hands-on language arts activities were explained in incremental steps by Pierre, Denise, and Marie; and Estelle used them in math, Patrice in art. According to Wong-Fillmore, teachers use "'lesson scripts' that they have adopted for each subject . . . For the language learners . . . Once they learn the sequence of subactivities for each subject, they can
follow the lesson without having to figure out afresh what is happening each day" (1985, p. 29). Although the subactivities of some Glenwood activities were repetitious, others were for unique tasks where a lesson script was not available. Nevertheless, specifying sub-activities seemed to help the students perform, especially when clarifying visuals were used.

Most often observed in Marie, Nadine, and Patrice's classrooms, child-to-child teaching occurred in all classrooms (see Table 7, "K to K"). Patrice teamed old students with new ones to explain school activities; Estelle asked one student to help another; Marie encouraged one to let another look at her paper; and even at the kindergarten level, Pierre sent a more knowledgeable child to help another decide what the weather was like. During large group activities, new or slower students are led along by those who know more, according to Patrice and Marie, thus avoiding both frustration and embarrassment for the less able. A child may also address the entire class in English, which clarifies meaning for everyone. Pierre reported that he encourages this as does Patrice, who added that "It helps a lot."

Children not only help one another understand content lessons (Patrice: "Va voir s'il a bien compris" ["Go see if he has understood"]) and the second language ("A biscuit is a cookie"), but they also help the teacher achieve the socialization of all the students. They are quick to report rule infractions to the teacher and to offer their own disciplinary commands: A student was observed saying "Lève le doigt!" ["Raise your hand!"] and Patrice reported that they often repeat "Tais-toi." ["Be quiet."] They also encourage and praise
one another as in Marie's class: "He did a good 'ours'" and in Nadine's: "That's not just good; it's perfect!" Following Mohan (1986 p. 115), comprehension of content is further advanced by involving students as peer teachers: Denise, Estelle, and Nadine often asked their students to judge whether a response was correct or not, and several teachers placed individual students in front of the class in their stead (Marie, Estelle, and Nadine).

According to Bruner, "Any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development" (1960, p. 33). For this to occur, teachers must practice child-cued behavior—involving students in their own learning and adjusting tasks to them. This was observed in all classrooms, but Marie, Nadine, and Estelle spoke most often about these activities during interviews (see Table 7), offering such comments as "If they can act and be involved in the situation, they get a better understanding of it" (Nadine), and "I do give them a flexible amount of time to get this work done in, which I hope accounts for some learner/learning style differences" (Estelle). Observations documented that Glenwood teachers constantly adjust to the children's interests, past experiences, developmental levels, and abilities. All six teachers especially monitored student interest—adding, deleting, and modifying activities when necessary. Pierre succinctly expressed the beliefs of all the teachers, "You have to listen to the things they want to do in the classroom."

Adjustment for student ability levels involved providing activities of varying difficulties (e.g., Patrice's math students) or
with differing time constraints (e.g., Estelle's flexible routine). Teachers try to serve a variety of learning styles, including auditory and visual, relational and analytical. According to Bacon (1988), many non-white students are relational learners, whose learning style is self-centered, global, people-focused, distractible, and subjective; and they have a memory for the essence and a tendency toward approximation rather than precision. Because 45% of Glenwood students are non-white, serving relational learners is a top priority.

In addition to non-verbal comprehension checks (physical or visual), teachers used several types of techniques to elicit verbal responses: They offered incorrect answers to elicit correct ones; asked dichotomous questions (yes-or-no or a choice of two possible answers); asked for one-word sentence completions; asked lower-order questions about details; asked questions requiring inference; asked higher-order questions calling for evaluation or creativity; required oral or written re-tellings of a story; and gave paper-and-pencil tests. Either English or French may be used for student responses because the language is not a priority; demonstrating comprehension is (see Swain, 1982, p. 86).

Comprehension checks sometimes revealed that teachers had to intervene because the children seemed not to understand. Estelle, Marie, and Denise offered clues (e.g., three big countries on the North American continent and beginning letters for words); Marie offered more structure or supplementary activities (e.g., "canard jaune" walk-through and "sur, sous, dans" song in response to a child's confused comment); and Nadine re-read a story when her students failed to comprehend. Physical response served as the most immediate of comprehension checks:
According to Nadine, "I can see right away if they understand or if they don't understand the concepts" and necessary intervention can begin.

Teachers must not only provide for remediation, but they must also promote students' academic growth. Constant adjustment of tasks to higher difficulty levels is necessary: Patrice helped her students with their journals only twice, Marie replaced drawings with words as soon as possible, and Pierre let his students try harder tasks than kindergartners perhaps should. Estelle finds her challenges to be "an individual kind of thing ... a one-to-one kind of situation" that sometimes demands "pushing students a little more" and sometimes requires "backing off for a while."

Mentioned at least three times during each teacher's interviews, materials are a terrific burden to these immersion teachers. Tales of last year related spending at least 20 hours per week (Marie) and staying at school until 10:30 or 11:00 at night until December (Nadine). According to Patrice, "That's the big thing. That's a lot of work."

Commercial materials for relatively new immersion students on at least six different levels of content ability do not exist. Teachers either adapt advanced French materials, translate English materials, or produce their own. Only Canadian texts and immersion publications seem useful at Glenwood, and those must also be somewhat modified. The importance of collecting or producing visuals and concrete materials is intensified in the immersion setting because without them "There is no way that the child can understand anything," according to Nadine. Without a regular art teacher until second semester, several teachers benefitted from a fifteen-minute weekly art program in English on educational television,
supplemented by the teachers' French discussions of projects afterwards. French-language television programs, however, are at too advanced a level of language for second-year immersion students.

Specific content area techniques

Reading techniques. Although reading and writing techniques include the generic content comprehension techniques mentioned above, different methods specific to language arts at different levels are also used. Kindergarten, first-, and third-grade teachers appear committed to whole-language methods that integrate reading and writing and avoid basal readers. The whole language philosophy espouses a natural approach to native language learning and, therefore, seems especially appropriate in a program that uses such an approach to second language learning (see Goodman, Smith, Meredith, & Goodman, 1987). According to Holdaway, "Whole language strategies are an attempt to set up the conditions of 'acquisition' in classrooms" (1989, p. 10). Although all the teachers based activities on authentic literature and group compositions, the second- and fifth-grade teachers sometimes worked from basal readers.

All of the kindergarten-through-third-grade teachers read to their students regularly. Nadine chooses these books especially for their discussion value, she reported during interviews; and she and Patrice encouraged the children to imagine subsequent events in the stories. All of the teachers seem to agree with Marie, who stated, "Raconter des histoires c'est très, très, tres important pour les enfants." ["Telling stories is very, very, very important for the
Different methods were used to teach the children to read. Pierre's observed activities were pre-reading with predictable sentences and pictograms. He does not teach the alphabet until January, he reports. With by far the largest numbers of observational occurrences in this category, Marie and Denise use sight-reading techniques, emphasizing word recognition with occasional references to initial letters of words. Both were beginning French phonics during observations, though, and planned to use both methods during the remainder of the academic year. Nadine stressed phonics, as evidenced by her bulletin board and extended discussions of vowel and consonant sounds. Because her third-grade students' reading skills were already well developed, Patrice emphasized reading classic stories to the children and basing their compositions on this literature. Estelle was observed during a French-language reading activity based on a group composition; she also integrated French-language reading with math and science lessons. After the observation period, Estelle reports, she began using the phonics approach.

Apparently following the whole-language approach, all the teachers built stories from group compositions and based reading activities on what the children had written. Both group and individual reading were observed: At least two reading groups were apparent in each classroom except kindergarten, and Denise and Nadine reported that they try to hear every child read individually on a daily basis. Unfortunately, Patrice's class had reading during their English time with the substitute and were not observed in reading groups.
Observations revealed that basing reading lessons on the children's experience; involving the students in discussions of readings; using hands-on manipulable materials, repetition of structure, and physical demonstrations of comprehension; associating words with pictures; and offering first-letter clues help immersion students acquire reading ability.

Writing techniques. Exercises for writing can be divided into two types: learning to form letters, which is a kindergarten, first-grade, or second-grade activity; or writing compositions, which occurs at all levels. Learning to form letters begins in kindergarten with pre-writing activities. In first grade, Marie was observed having students draw letters and numbers in the air for practice in proper directional formation, and she reported demanding that students watch her carefully when she writes on the board. Writing is not ignored in second grade, either. Nadine encouraged her students, who were copying a group story from the board: "Essayez de soigner votre écriture. C'est un exercice d'écriture aussi." ["Try to perfect your writing. It is a writing exercise also."]

Compositions follow the pattern advocated by the local school system: pre-writing (oral discussion of the topic and a word bank); drafting; revising (usually involving an individual conference with the teacher); editing (correcting French language errors and mechanics); and publishing. Although the teachers discussed beginning a student-written newsletter, they did not publish one during data collection. The teachers seem committed to teaching the underlying concepts of composition writing independent of the language (see Mohan, 1986). As
Patrice, who recorded the largest number of combined observation and interview data for writing techniques, affirmed, "I tell them to write it in sequences so that we know what's going on, that it's clear and everything. In English or French, it would be the same."

For writing activities, visuals can stimulate compositions and serve to aid comprehension for both students and teachers: Children can communicate using drawings, and teachers illustrate words to promote understanding. Stimuli for compositions may also be events in the children's lives; recent school activities, such as field trips; or stories that have been read in class. Re-telling of these stories in writing serves not only as an exercise in composition but also as a reading comprehension check—a modified recall protocol (see Bernhardt, 1983a, 1983b, 1984). Nadine states, "I ask them to re-write ... the story like the story was."

Teachers do most of the actual writing during group compositions: The students offer suggestions, the teacher writes the story on the board, and the students copy what was written. This process serves to input the second language while controlling for second language accuracy. Other controls are the pre-written dittoes the children use to form their daily sentences in Marie's and Denise's classes. Again the emphasis is on the underlying concepts whose assimilation is enhanced by controlling possible surface errors in writing. Students learn proper second language word order, punctuation, and capitalization by re-arranging the cutout words. The activity is closely linked to reading: According to Denise, "Cela leur permettait de lire en même temps qu'ils remplaçaient les mots eux-mêmes."
allowed them to read at the same time that they re-ordered the words themselves."

Math techniques. Acquiring concepts, according to Ausubel et al., requires that children of primary-school age relate "their discovered criterial attributes to cognitive structure after they are first related to the many particular exemplars from which they are derived" (1978, p. 87). Glenwood teachers were observed using various exemplars to promote the acquisition of mathematical concepts: fingers (to count on and draw shapes with); visuals (greater than/less than signs, apples, the number 8 graphic, and cherries); bodies (counting); concrete materials (lunch money, crayons, and the place-value board); and child-made materials (green cards with geometric shapes and original problems). Although she did not explicitly express this theory, Marie, especially, seemed to act upon it during classroom observations: She provided multiple examples of geometric concepts by drawing various types of triangles and discussing numerous examples of circles.

Teachers also used imaginative language, discovery methods, and European techniques to teach mathematical concepts. Nadine imagined a frog jumping from number to number on the clock face; and Patrice offered a device to help her students remember the "greater than" sign: They are to imagine "C'est le petit qui mange le grand." ["It's the little one who eats the big one."] Discovery methods included students offering number combinations and verifying them by counting. As a result of Nadine's Belgian training, she based math activities on a single even number to demonstrate number relationships. Other European influences included counting using "septante," metric measurements, and
the dependence on French for presenting math concepts, which is especially important with word problems because they are, as Patrice notes, second-language reading exercises as well as math activities.

In addition to word problems, other math activities generate much second language, especially when multi-sensory materials are used, Estelle states. She often uses "concrete-empirical props" (e.g., geo-boards, place-value counting boards, and abacuses), which "are necessary for concept assimilation" at this stage of development, according to Ausubel et al. (1978, p. 87). Estelle finds that these props stimulate her students to produce language and, consequently, to acquire it.

Second Language Input Techniques

Because language and content are generally intimately intertwined, most techniques used to enhance content comprehension are also used to input French. Songs, games, poems, gestures, and visuals promote both understanding of content and acquisition of the second language.

Aside from Pierre's negative comment about teaching French grammar at the college level, Nadine was the only teacher who spoke of and demonstrated actual out-of-context second language teaching. She conducted phonics lessons, during which students gave sentences to demonstrate specific vowel sounds, and elicited unrelated sentences to demonstrate a grammatical construction—both exceptional activities at Glenwood School.
By far, the most important technique teachers used to input French in context is repetition. They acknowledge this ubiquitous use of repeated language: Marie succinctly explains her teaching method to an OSU visiting student: "Tu répètes. Tu répètes"; Denise concurs: "C'est une répétition tous les jours"; and Estelle adds: "The more they hear it, the more accessible it is for them." Repetitions facilitate comprehension of content and language and generally are not simple repeatings of words but are associated with visuals, body movements, or concrete materials. Nearly all the teachers use the word reinforcement for certain types of repetition, those where the same words are used in multiple contexts. Because the concepts and vocabulary to express them are so intimately linked, repetition is necessary for the children's concept formation or assimilation, but it is also needed for their language development.

The most common technique for inputting French is so automatic for the teachers that it almost goes unremarked—translation of the students' English into French. Nearly all student English language utterances are repeated in translation by the teacher. Some teachers request that the student then repeat the second language utterance, but those with beginners do not (i.e., Denise and Pierre). The reason for their not encouraging student repetitions is that the students have had too little exposure to the second language, according to Pierre. This teacher behavior is governed by a belief in the "silent period," which has been documented by research (see Ervin-Tripp, 1974; Hakuta, 1974).

Besides translating student English utterances, Glenwood immersion teachers link new knowledge in other ways to what the students
already know: teaching songs with familiar tunes, using and teaching second language words that approximate English ("professeur" rather than "institutrice" and "avancez"); reinforcing English lessons with similar French lessons (Estelle's map study); using familiar English games in French ("Jacques a dit" ["Simon says"] and "Le bonhomme pendu" [hangman]); relating new vocabulary to known vocabulary ("casquette" as a kind of "chapeau," "patte" (animal leg or foot) as similar to "jambe" (human leg), and stating that "beaucoup" is sometimes expressed as "fort"); and using new French words in familiar French songs ("Frère Jacques" becomes "Où est Holly?"). Patrice states that the teachers are "expanding the vocabulary," while Pierre believes that students "have to integrate the language they learn in other situations."

Apart from these unknown-linked-to-familiar connections, the teachers' language input itself helps students develop linguistically. Far from the simplified teacher talk encountered in many second language classrooms, which may limit student progress (see Watkins, 1989), Glenwood teachers were observed speaking naturally, using advanced grammatical structures (present subjunctive and future anterior verb forms); advanced vocabulary ("chatouiller"); playful language ("Gogo the escargot"); figurative language, including analogy (singing slowly like a turtle and a crayon arrangement that looks like rockets) and images (mouths sewn shut with threads and making soup with scrambled words); and rhyme.

Grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation of French are taught in context, "as we need it," according to Pierre. If students show a lack of knowledge of, for example, prepositions of place, a song can teach
them quickly (e.g., Marie's "sur, sous, dans" song). Other grammatical concepts are briefly explained: word order ("Rouge vient après" ["Red comes after"]); gender ("Un équilibriste ou une équilibriste, ça dépend si c'est un homme ou une femme" ["A (masculine article) tightrope walker or a (feminine article) tightrope walker, that depends on whether it is a man or a woman"]); past tense ("Quelle est la différence? 'Maman fait ou Maman a fait?'") ["What is the difference? 'Mama does or Mama did?'"]); number ("Aux lapins—il y a plusieurs" ["To the rabbits—there are several"] and "Des, c'est beaucoup" ["Some, that is a lot"]); and pronoun use ("Que voyez-vous? Que vois-tu? On peut dire les deux" ["What do you (formal or plural) see? What do you (singular or familiar) see? We can say both"]).

Vocabulary is offered in order to further content activities. If, for example, a new geometric shape is included in a math lesson, the teacher briefly mentions its name, defines it, and continues the activity, because he or she knows that subsequent repetitions will cause the student to acquire the word and the concept. Pronunciation is also taught in language the children can understand, with little or no theoretical explanation, as when explaining silent letters: "Dehors—on n'entend pas le h et le s" ["Dehors—we do not hear the h and the s"] and "C'est—le t dort" ["C'est—the t is sleeping"].

Errors, which have been of central concern in previous immersion research (e.g., Hammerly, 1987; Lyster, 1987; Spilka, 1976), are of little consequence to these six immersion teachers. Errors are corrected simply by the teachers' modeling of the correction, and Glenwood teachers seem to know that students may or may not assimilate
the correction, depending upon their stage of second language acquisition. This is not a problem for these educators, possibly because of the school's newness and the teachers' lack of immersion experience. If, after ten years of patiently correcting "J'ai allé" to "Je suis allé," one seldom heard the correct form from the students, teachers would probably be more anxious about errors. At this time, however, the Glenwood teachers are not. Errors are corrected as grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation are taught—in context and without theoretical explanation.

One problem in teacher speech appeared in observations of teachers in grades two through five. Code-switching, a phenomenon that occurs frequently in bilinguals, occurred often in the teachers' classroom language. According to Wong-Fillmore, a "clear separation of languages—no alteration or mixing" is beneficial to student progress (1985, p. 50). Nadine, Patrice, and Estelle, however, seemed to switch languages from sentence to sentence, and the reasons for switching were often not apparent. Although the sign in her room indicated "Maintenant je parle français," Nadine used English out of apparent frustration with her students' behavior. Patrice appeared to do the opposite as she switched to French during an English lesson to discipline a student. Estelle switched to English when the children appeared not to understand. Believing that her fifth-graders know the difference between English and French, Estelle reported that she believes her students are unconfused by her code-switching, but Nadine and Patrice fear that their mixing of the two languages confuses their students. In all cases, one could assume that such code-switching would put an
additional cognitive load on students.

Encouraging student use of the language, either by repeating teacher language or by creating their own, was frequently referred to or observed. According to Swain, output is essential to "extend(s) the repertoire of the learner" (1985, p. 252). To encourage student French output, teachers were observed using the following specific techniques: asking for repetition; reminding students to speak French; asking questions requiring longer answers; offering incorrect answers to elicit correct ones; offering two choices of responses; waiting for responses rather than supplying them quickly; involving students as peer tutors and peer teachers; promoting written recall by assigning original dictionary activities; requiring memorization of a poem; and asking for descriptions of visuals. (For general techniques to elicit speech, see Content Comprehension Techniques.) Although they do not explicitly state it, Glenwood teachers seem to espouse Swain's theory of comprehensible output.

Classroom Management Techniques

Although references to the physical organization of the classroom appeared inconsequential in comparison to discussions and observations of disciplinary techniques, several teachers shared their ideas about classroom logistics. Although Nadine showed less than minimal concern for this mundane topic, Pierre organized his materials carefully and concerned himself with classroom details. Marie placed the children's desks in a "U" shape, a formation which was noted in other immersion classrooms (see Genesee et al., 1985), and she chose
areas of the room that best suited their uses.

Of all the categories of behavior and thought explored in this study, "discipline" is by far the one most noted during classroom observations (see Table 7). Whether such results would have occurred if the study had taken place later in the school year is an unanswered question (see Morine-Dershimer, 1978-79a, 1978-79b, for variations that occurred in teacher thinking depending on the time of year). Nevertheless, during the first three months of 1988-89, the single category of discipline was noted more often than any other during classroom observations. These notations progressively decreased from a projected 154 (77 half-day) for the kindergarten class to 32 for the fifth grade. It appears that maturity and socialization to the school routine increase progressively from kindergarten to grade 5 at Glenwood, thereby reducing the need for teacher disciplinary actions or comments.

A breakdown of references to the sub-categories of positive and negative reinforcement revealed some interesting data: Pierre and Denise used approximately the same number of positive as negative disciplinary expressions while Marie was overwhelmingly positive and Nadine was distinctively negative. Patrice's references were nearly equal but Estelle's few were more negative.

Examples of vicarious positive reinforcement were common in Pierre's classroom: "Regardez Robert. Il a fini. C'est bien, Robert." ["Look at Robert. He has finished. That's good, Robert."] During interviews, Pierre commented: "You can easily say something like 'That is nice. I like the things you do.'" He seems aware of the benefits of positive reinforcement and, though limited by the language, he tries to
use it often: "I try to do as much as I can," he states. Negative comments included threats of withdrawing privileges: "Monsieur attend Mary. Mary, tu ne vas pas à la musique?" ["Monsieur is waiting for Mary. Mary, you're not going to music?"]], but aversive motivation was not mentioned during Pierre's interviews.

Denise made positive comments also, generally as a form of vicarious reinforcement: "Je vois Kathy bien assis" ["I see Kathy sitting nicely"], for example. Comments about positive reinforcement during interviews were limited to mentions of the children's pride in their classroom jobs, while the discussion of negative reinforcement was centered around non-verbal indications of the teacher's displeasure—the warning poster, turning off lights, and names on the board. During observations, these non-verbals were noted often; however, some negative verbal comments, usually in reference to withdrawing privileges, were heard: "Tu ne vas pas à la gymnastique" ["You are not going to gym"], for example. More severe comments included threats of sending children back to kindergarten to re-learn skills and reminders that she had said something numerous times without results.

Marie's overwhelmingly positive data included praise and references to behaving as first-graders should: "Bravo, Pat, elle a les bras croisés" ["Bravo, Pat, she has her arms folded"] and "On se tient droit comme les enfants de première année." ["We stand up straight like first grade children."] Good behavior was often rewarded by privileges such as getting to line up first and listening to music. Marie is aware of her frequent use of vicarious reinforcement; during interviews, she remarked:
Si je lui dis tout le temps, "Ne fais pas ça. Tais-toi. Ne parle pas" . . . ça ne donnera pas envie à l'enfant de s'exprimer, et de faire des choses correctement. Par contre, si je dis à un enfant, "Oh, mais que tu es bien assis," l'autre enfant se dira, "Oh, il est bien assis; elle est contente. Moi aussi, je vais bien m'asseoir."

[If I always tell him, "Don't do that. Be quiet. Don't speak" . . . that will not make the student want to express himself and to do things correctly. On the other hand, if I say to a child, "Oh, but you are sitting nicely," the other child will say to himself, "Oh, he is sitting nicely; she is happy. Me too, I am going to sit nicely."]

Negative reinforcement was rare and evidenced itself as consciousness-raising for the entire class: "Les enfants qui parlent vont à leurs places maintenant" ["Children who are talking go to their seats now"], for example. Admitting that she sometimes says to a student, "'Ce n'est pas correcte' . . . Peut-être que je ne parle pas, mais ils voient mes yeux" ["'That is not correct' . . . Perhaps I do not speak, but they see my eyes"], Marie's negativity was extremely subtle in the classroom, evidenced only by remarks such as, "Toujours, tu vas avoir du travail à faire à la maison" ["You will always have work to do at home"] and, only once, "Sue, ce n'est pas joli." ["Sue, that is not pretty.""]

Nadine's negative comments were frequently noted during observations and were often combined with the use of English: "Who dared speaking? I don't want to hear one more word until we get there" and "If I have to say one name, you'll pass the long recess with me."

During interviews, Nadine acknowledged this use of English "for discipline . . . There is no way that I can make myself understood."

She does, however, try to use positive reinforcement, she states: "I'm trying to have a positive attitude and to think positive all the time."
I try to reinforce the good attitude of a child." Instances of this were recorded during observations, usually in the form of displays of physical affection, rather than in verbal remarks. Nadine believes that touching is necessary to productivity, "If, as a teacher, you just come close, just put your hands on their shoulder and say everything's fine, it reinforces their own self-esteem, and then they can start to work."

Patrice's positive disciplinary tactics included tangible or visual rewards, but no vicarious reinforcement was noted, though Indians were promoted as imaginary role models. During interviews, Patrice reported that she had taken a photograph of one student while he was behaving nicely, and that she reminded him of his good behavior ("You look great!") to help him continue it. Her bulletin board also promoted students' self-images and their consequent good behavior by naming each student as the best at something. Instances of negative comments during interviews included Patrice's remark that she held misbehaving students until last for the line-up and that she constantly reminded her class to calm down. Observed verbal negativity was most often in the form of threats of withdrawing privileges or subtle reprimands, such as, "C'est pas tellement intelligent" ["That is not very intelligent"] and "Il y a quelqu'un qui fait quelque chose qu'il ne doit pas faire." ["There is someone who is doing something he should not do."] In actuality, most comments were neither negative or positive, but more often preventive in nature—encouraging politeness, self-control, or consciousness-raising: "Si vous écoutez bien . . . il n'y aura pas de problème." ["If you listen well . . . there will be no problems."]]
Also an upper-elementary teacher, Estelle followed this preventive pattern. Comments and actions circumvented problems: "We'll resume the French lesson when you are quiet" and reviewing math facts while a student wrote on the board. Positive reinforcement was noted, however, and included applause for good behavior and frequent "Bravos."

Observed negative reinforcement included staying in for recess, but Estelle spoke only of student responsibility and preventive discipline during interviews.

Other disciplinary sub-categories were noted in both observations and interviews. Instances of giving directions decreased progressively from kindergarten to fifth grade, with Pierre offering verbal directives nearly twice as often as Denise, probably a result of the intense effort needed to communicate with total immersion kindergartners in order to socialize them to school. Denise was more likely to use non-verbal methods.

Student responsibility for their own learning or for classroom duties was a priority for all teachers, and these responsibilities were mentioned often. Responsible student behavior was observed as not occurring three times more often than it did occur for Nadine, however, because of her voluntary performance of tasks that students could have handled.

An interesting comparison can be made from observing Nadine's and Pierre's differing treatments of the children's library books. When Pierre's class stopped to use the restroom on their return from the library, the children were instructed to put their books on the radiator outside the restroom area. Nadine, on the other hand, collected the
children's books and held them while they used the facilities, redistributed them afterwards, and, then, because they had a special all-school assembly, she re-collected the books and held them throughout the program. While Pierre obviously believes that teaching responsibility is a priority, Nadine seems not to share his belief.

Teacher actions and student movement for punishment (both noted most often for Denise) were used in nearly all classrooms, while all teachers used student movement games and songs to prevent misbehavior, with Pierre understandably using them most often. More non-verbals are necessarily required in the classes with less language ability. It is interesting to note that Denise used teacher actions, visuals, and moving students for punishment while Pierre seemed to prefer preventive student actions.

References to not pleasing the teacher occurred most often for Denise, also, but were mentioned by several other teachers as well. Although only Denise and Marie explicitly mentioned respect for others as a necessity for classroom order, the other teachers acted upon this belief by defending students when others were disrespectful. Self-control, one of the ultimate goals of Glenwood's disciplinary program, was mentioned by all the teachers but most often by Patrice and Denise. Politeness, another goal, was a top priority for Marie and Denise but also mentioned by and noted in observations of the others.

The most interesting data arose from an analysis of how classroom regulations were communicated. Although students mentioned rules once in nearly all classrooms, in Marie's class they reiterated them on at least 15 different occasions. At her prompting, the students
recited rules for hallway behavior and silent reading, when to raise their hands, why they had to be quiet during Marie's lunch count and attendance time, how to behave in the library and when Marie is reading a story, and why they must be careful during recess. This student consciousness-raising seemed to have a definite positive effect on discipline, more so than when the teachers reinforced rules of behavior, which Pierre, unsurprisingly, did most often.

From interview data, we get a first-person account of the teachers' beliefs about discipline. Estelle speaks about students' responsibility for learning and for classroom tasks; Patrice emphasizes student self-control and the importance of paying attention; Nadine speaks at length about responsibility and positive reinforcement, but her observational data do not reflect these concerns; Marie discusses responsibility, respect for others, politeness, and being consistent and positive; Denise mentions the extent of Glenwood's discipline, student jobs, and non-verbal communications of her displeasure; and Pierre speaks at length about positive reinforcement but admits that it is "limited to physical expression" and simple French phrases at his level—theories that the observational data support.

During the stimulated recall interviews, Marie seemed pleased to notice her own positive behavior. Nadine, however, appeared to have her consciousness raised differently as she noticed how many times someone said "sh," to which she remarked, "C'est fou." ["That's crazy."] She also remarked that it was crazy what the students did with chairs and that she had not realized it. She concluded that she "had to interrupt a lot" when she usually did not. According to Clark (1988a), such
consciousness-raising is a valuable result of studies such as this one, with the possible outcome of improved classroom behavior.

**Teachers' Relationships**

Visitors to Glenwood School are commonplace and welcome. Every room has a chair with a "Visiteur" label, and the chair is often occupied. Parents, other teachers, staff from the local school system, francophone visitors from other countries, women's groups, high school French classes, university students, and curiosity seekers are frequently seen at Glenwood.

Foreign language methods class students helped twice weekly for several weeks in several classrooms at Glenwood. They were well appreciated: Pierre and Marie were observed encouraging theirs to participate freely and to interact with the students, while Denise reported that she wanted to arrange for her student to continue as an aide. The teachers seemed to agree with Pierre: "It's a big help, because you cannot always go around and see all the kids."

Parental support is considered an integral part of the program. Nearly all teachers communicate with parents by sending folders home weekly for signatures, and teachers with concerns often telephone parents. Over 50 parents volunteered at Glenwood in 1987-88; this year, one helped regularly with third grade science; another volunteer taught kindergarten physical education when possible; one spent Friday mornings in Denise's room; and the PTA president volunteered at least 10 hours a week at the school. Recognizing that they need to support his classroom efforts and that their fears about the children's progress need to be
allayed, Pierre frequently sends notices to his kindergarten parents.

Supportive parents visit often, but some observe classes with a critical eye: The grandmother of one of Marie's students questioned the students' ability to learn to read in a foreign language, and the uncle of one of Patrice's children seemed curious about the students' French errors. From the teachers' point of view, there seems to be some degree of mutual distrust: Pierre guards French library books at school, fearing that parents would do "more harm than good" if the children took them home to read.

Glenwood teachers are a close-knit group, as evidenced by their refusal to call Jeannette's long-term substitute teacher anything but "l'autre dame" ["the other woman"]. Mr. Loffland promotes this closed fraternity by requiring all visitors, even those giving workshops, to wear a blue visitor's button. The fraternity includes staff as well: The principal often supervises students in the teachers' absence, and the teachers in turn consistently support him; the secretary participates by making announcements in the principal's absence; the aide helps with materials and playground supervision; and Roger, the head custodian, disciplines children frequently.

All teachers commented upon their team spirit during interviews. Nadine, however, mentioned it only once. Compared to the other teachers' observation data, interaction was least visible in Nadine's classroom, as documented by the low numbers of notations in the category "team" (see Table 7). According to the data, Pierre and Denise seem most committed to this concept, perhaps because they need more support as teachers of beginners. Denise is appreciative, comparing Glenwood
very favorably to other schools where she has taught, while Pierre is critical of what he considers to be a still-limited team concept. In fact, all of the teachers, except Pierre, made positive remarks about team spirit. Their camaraderie goes beyond the classroom: Celebrating personal milestones, giving mutual support, joking, and socializing after school all encourage team spirit. Isolated in their cultural island, the teachers offer one another friendship and encouragement. This team spirit is so pervasive that they chose the following proverb for the welcoming sign at Open House: "A plusieurs mains, l'ouvrage avance." ["Many hands make light work."]

Improving the Child's Self-image

Placing children in an environment where they cannot communicate on their usual linguistic level can be a brutal blow to their self-images. Nadine expresses the feelings of the entire staff when she states, "Je me dis que ça doit etre difficile pour eux." ["I tell myself that this must be hard for them."] Well aware of the difficulty of the situation, Glenwood teachers try hard to give emotional support to the children. Teachers lessen the children's frustration by allowing them to speak their native language and by sometimes speaking to them in English. By praising their work, whether it is in English or French, the teachers show that they appreciate the children's accomplishments at their individual ability level.

Nadine and Marie, who show the largest number of mentions of valuing the child, both show their affection for individual children by touching them and offering genuine praise. By accepting all of their
emotions, teachers show students that they are valued regardless of how they feel. Besides accepting their emotions and their more comfortable language, teachers are careful to correct errors gently, thereby sparing the children's fragile egos. Accepting their lifestyles ("deux papa--OK"), their heritage ("She's from Egypt"), their personal milestones (Ronald's birthday), and their fears (hugging crying children) all serve to value them.

A genuine concern for student health shows in the all-school Fire Prevention Week assembly, Denise's warnings to her students to prevent accidental injuries, Nadine's comforting of a child whose baby teeth are loose, and Patrice's refusal to allow a student's parents to put him on medication for hyperactivity. As Patrice stated, "That will affect his potential"--a comment that reflects all the teachers' concern for their students' growth.

Sharing feelings, concerns, and discussions of personal matters all show the human-to-human relationships of Glenwood teachers and their students. The goal is to make the students feel good about themselves by valuing them--their language, their feelings, their classroom contributions, their good behavior, their lifestyles, and themselves--as young human beings.

Cultural Input

Although the European Glenwood teachers have been influenced by many American teaching methods (e.g., the writing process, whole-language philosophies, discovery learning), they tend to keep some European techniques. Pierre is reluctant to begin any reading or
writing activities because in Belgium, kindergarten activities involve only pre-reading and pre-writing. Patrice prefers the Belgian attitude toward physical education, promoting physical development and avoiding American games. Nadine seems dedicated to using notebooks for spelling and composition (possibly a result of the widespread use of notebooks in Europe) and specific numbers to teach math relationships. Denise, however, decides against the most common reading approach in France because of its inapplicability to beginning immersion students.

According to Saville-Troike, second language acquisition must be seen as "part of a larger whole—the acquisition of a second culture" (1985, p. 58). This acquisition is one of the goals of the school, according to Pierre's first-day speech to the kindergarten parents. Transferring games, songs, sayings, poems, and information about the culture broadens the students' world knowledge, according to Patrice. Some culturally-dependent linguistic expressions are ignored, however, either because the concept is too abstract (Nadine's "huit jours" = one week) or because the students have no cultural background to which to relate it (Pierre's "assis comme un tailleur" = sitting cross-legged).

The Glenwood teachers try to present Belgian, French, Canadian, and American francophone expressions of the same concepts. Because weather expressions, number names, and general vocabulary vary, all are taught, and the students seem to choose which one they prefer.

Some concessions are made because the teachers believe that the American culture must also be integrated into their teaching. Some teachers' calendars begin the week with Sunday rather than the European Monday; all teachers use the American numeral 7 without the European
center line and celebrate Halloween and Thanksgiving. Estelle is a rich resource for the Europeans, who are still learning about the United States. In return, Estelle acquires European cultural concepts from the other teachers, who often express themselves with colorful second language expressions.

Deeper insights into differences between the United States and European cultures can be inferred from the data. Marie's statement that American students are different and that it is normal for them to want to be told that they do good work implies that children's self-images are not as healthy in the United States and perhaps need to be bolstered with positive reinforcement. Books describing what makes the children sad include student drawings of "La mort de papa" ["Papa's death"] and "La mort de grand-mère" ["Grandma's death"]—subjects that might have been avoided by American teachers. One very positive effect of the teachers' European backgrounds is their attitude toward Black students: With no signs of prejudice, they are perhaps even more caring toward them than toward white students.

Classroom Surprises

Nearly every Glenwood teacher had a surprise to report and some were observed first-hand. Most surprises resulted from misunderstandings of the teacher's language. Pierre reported that in his class last year, students misunderstood his directions based on their racial awareness (Blacks in back of the line rather than tallest in back). This year their limited association with a vocabulary word caused a misunderstanding: When a birthday boy was told to give the
researcher ("la dame" ["the lady"]) a cookie, he misunderstood and took it to the school secretary. Marie reported that her surprises resulted from words with double meanings ("marcher" meaning "to walk" or "to function" and "neuf" meaning "new" and "9"). The students' second language knowledge was limited to one meaning, which did not fit the context, and, therefore, confused them. Estelle's observed surprise was a result of the customary use for a word. When she remarked that a dead fish would have to be buried in the "toilette," the students heard the cue word and marched down the hall to the restroom.

Denise reported that she was surprised by her students' metalinguistic awareness. They easily recognized the difference between English and French and questioned her about grammatical issues. Because her students are beginners, she found these questions to be remarkably sophisticated and possibly a result of immersion students' documented linguistic "detective" skills (Lambert & Tucker, 1972).

Nadine's observed surprise resulted from her teaching of the language out of context and the usual attention to meaning that characterizes Glenwood immersion teaching. When a child offered an example of a phonetic grouping within a sentence ("J'ai besoin de mon manteau" ["I need my coat"], Nadine believed he was communicating meaning and asked if he was cold. She also was surprised by the students' use of proverbial expressions that she had not explicitly taught to them.

Patrice reported that her students' desire to speak French surprised her. While conducting an English lesson, the students hesitated to give answers because they were thinking of how to answer in
French, not English. As another example of their reported enthusiasm, Patrice was again thrilled at their attitudes.

Misunderstandings can occur in any elementary classroom, but those that happen in an immersion school relate to the students' lack of second language knowledge (misunderstandings of words or directions), their metalinguistic abilities (questioning grammatical points), their positive attitudes (wanting to speak French), their acquisition of un-taught phrases, or their offering of misunderstood second language examples.
CHAPTER VI
THEMES, CONCLUSIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

According to Stern, "The question we should now ask is no longer: 'How much better is immersion French than the French of students conventionally taught?"' (1978, p. 847). His opinion, and that of most immersion researchers, is that "the immersed student knows more French than students in other types of programs" (p. 846). Instead, Stern adds, we should ask what levels of French can be expected at different times in the immersion program, for how long the French is maintained, what levels of French are adequate for comprehending different school subjects, and "Is the level of French . . . the best that can be attained in this type of program, or could it be further improved?" (p. 847). Level of second language attainment has been the utmost concern of previous immersion researchers.

Data from this study suggest that, at least from the teachers' point of view, the level of second language attainment is a secondary concern compared to achievement in other areas. At the beginning of the school year, Marie's comment that subject matter was of minor importance implied that discipline was the top priority, at least early in the year. Glenwood immersion teachers seem to be relatively unconcerned with second-language achievement. The cross-category themes that emerged from observation and interview data reflect the recorded priorities of the Glenwood teachers.
1. **Glenwood teachers are a unique team.** Isolated in their cultural island and limited by the dearth of francophone support personnel, Glenwood teachers accept their central roles in largely teacher-fronted classrooms. They blend several cultures, types of preparation, teaching experiences, and personalities, all of which influence their classroom performance. Supported by parents and the Glenwood staff, these six immersion teachers share the immersion philosophy, linguistic expertise, classroom management techniques, attitudes toward discipline, teaching methodologies, materials, and emotional support.

2. **Glenwood teachers present content through the second language.** Common techniques are used for facilitating the comprehension and acquisition of both the local school system's required content and the second language, with concept development valued above second language progress. Thematic units, daily routines, boundary markers between activities, and specified sub-activities structure the day's lessons. Linking the unknown to the known and using repetition, concrete referents, non-verbals, integrated subject-matter lessons, and student involvement all serve to input both language and content. Frequent comprehension checks can be visual, physical, spoken or written in either language, and at all levels of questioning in short or long responses.

3. **Glenwood immersion teaching challenges the creative and adaptive abilities of its teachers as they address the varying and changing needs of their students.** Glenwood teachers must adapt French materials; translate English materials; attend to the details of
elementary school life; demonstrate content; provide concrete materials; 
focus on the learners' needs, interests, and abilities; allow for 
frequent observations and student teachers; adapt to the American 
culture and school context; and change methods or activities as the 
children require. This demands extraordinary sensitivity and perception 
from the teacher as well as a willingness to modify plans, intervene 
with remediation when necessary, and offer challenges to promote student 
progress.

4. **Glenwood teachers involve the students in learning and** 
**teaching content, language, and discipline.** Glenwood students profit 
from involvement in their own learning with hands-on, discovery-based 
math and science; experience-based, whole language reading and writing; 
and both verbal and non-verbal second language activities. They also 
participate in teaching other students by explaining to one another, 
directing learning activities, providing corrections, and socializing 
other students to the Glenwood schooling process. Classes where 
students reiterated classroom regulations seemed most successful in this 
effort.

5. **Glenwood teachers spend a large percentage of their time in** 
**classroom management activities.** While acknowledging that data 
collection occurred during the fall, one must still recognize the 
overwhelming preponderance of disciplinary data. Teachers generally try 
to follow the principal's belief in positive reinforcement and 
consistency; some are more successful than others, but all seem to 
accept this philosophy by providing positive role models. Aversive 
motivation is often in visual or physical form, and preventive measures
are valued over corrective ones.

6. **Glenwood teachers present the second language in an acquisition environment.** While integrating several francophone cultures, Glenwood teachers input the second language with translation, rich language, non-verbal clues, repetition, authentic children's literature, songs, and games. Grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation are usually offered only in context, and errors are corrected by teacher modeling. Students are encouraged to use the second language but are not forced to do so. Teachers try to keep English and French utterances separate, though their balanced-bilingual habits sometimes interfere. Classroom surprises generally result from second language misunderstandings, metalinguistic awareness, or positive student attitudes; and they help Glenwood teachers retain their sense of humor.

7. **Glenwood's immersion program is much more than a program for teaching language and content; it is a commitment to the development of the whole child.** Glenwood teachers perform parenting tasks; discipline to teach responsibility, self-control, and respect; offer content that prepares the child for life; present the second language in ways that enrich and expand the child's world; and strive to improve each child's self-image. All the teachers contribute their unique emphases to the program: Pierre believes that he must "form" the beginning students; Denise copes with new, troubled youngsters; Marie is committed to the child's healthy psyche; Nadine shows concern for the affective; Patrice promotes physical self-control; and Estelle prepares her students for middle school challenges. All the Glenwood teachers know that they are shaping the futures of their students.
Conclusions and Limitations

Primarily descriptive in nature, this study explores the presage and process variables exhibited by six elementary French immersion teachers (see Dunkin & Biddle, 1974, p. 38) and their related thoughts. The analysis of categorized observational and interview data reveals the teachers' espoused theories. How many of these theories are a result of the principal's beliefs, their in-service training, their readings, their observations of Canadian schools, or their presage variables are probably unanswerable questions. When these verbalized theories were compared with the theories that they use, however, few inconsistencies were revealed: Glenwood teachers, generally speaking, are aware of what they are doing and can articulate why they do it.

Only Nadine, whose deliberate second language teaching activities are the exception at Glenwood, seemed not to be able to reconcile her theory with practice. During observations, her lack of classroom control was so disconcerting to the researcher that a negative judgment on her language presentation may have been hastily made. Upon reflection, the results of her teaching last year, which appear in Patrice's third grade students, seem to include excellent second language ability.

One must recall, nevertheless, that this is not a study of product; it is a study of process and thought. As such, its limitations are clear. Generalizing the themes or categories of behavior and thought that emerged from this study would be dangerous indeed. As a qualitative exploration of six Glenwood teachers, it must serve only as
Suggestions for Further Study

Other research directions suggest themselves as a result of this study. Other teacher thinking studies—learning more about the relative behavior and thoughts of native versus non-native speakers of the second language and a further probe into one of these six teachers' implicit theories would be worthy areas for further exploration. Other possible qualitative studies could focus more on immersion students; a type of student-thinking approach could be informative. For example: What do students think about the immersion experience? What do they think about child-to-child interactions in immersion? How do they feel about having non-American teachers? How would they feel about speaking only the second language? Do they approve of the discipline at their school? Any such study would, of course, be limited by the lack of cognitive and psychological sophistication of elementary-school immersion students.

As a contribution to the Teacher Thinking Literature, this study supports the conclusion that teachers do have conceptions of their subject matter (see Duffy, 1977, Chapter II). Similar to a later related study (see Bawden, Buike & Duffy, 1979, Chapter II), this study also discovered that some teachers possess more complex conceptions of their subject and that these conceptions may vary in stability.

As a descriptive-analytical study, this research may serve as a basis for future process-product research, thereby completing Dunkin and Biddle's Model. Immersion teacher behaviors and thoughts may eventually be compared in terms of resultant student achievement, and the relative
merits of these behaviors and thoughts can then be better assessed. Whole-language approaches, consistent and positive discipline, extensive use of routines, error corrections, teacher-fronted/control-based classrooms, and the effects of teachers' cultural heritages on American students should all be further explored.

Standardized test results show above-average achievement for Glenwood students when compared to other students in this school district. Data resulting from this study indicate that these positive scores may be either a product of the frequent repetition of concepts or of the generally high innate ability levels of the students or both. The costs of the immersion process seem to include inhibiting students' ability to verbalize, at least temporarily. Discussions of both content and classroom management are seriously limited in this setting: According to Mohan (personal communication) it is impossible to cover as much content when teaching through another language, and Pierre affirms that communicating classroom policies is limited to non-verbals and simple French phrases. Student speech is further hampered by the prevalence of teacher-fronted activities, which serve as a control of language accuracy and, relatedly, an inhibitor of child-to-child verbal communication.

Whether the benefits of becoming bilingual outweigh these costs is a question to be answered by each individual. If all immersion teachers were as committed and talented as the Glenwood School teachers, however, there could be little room for discussion.
LIST OF REFERENCES


September 12, 1988

In order for you to understand what I am looking for in my dissertation study, I would like to tell you the questions that I am trying to answer. The overriding question to be answered in this descriptive study is:

What does it mean to be an elementary French immersion teacher?

This includes trying to find out:

1. some of the teaching ideas of immersion teachers, including:
2. immersion teachers' theories about
   a. teaching subject matter
   b. presenting French as a language
   c. teachers' roles
   d. students' roles
   e. the teaching/learning process
   f. the school context
3. if teachers interrupt content teaching to teach language
4. if immersion teachers ever use English—if so, when and why
5. if there are differences between American and European teaching ideas
6. if teachers act according to the theories they say they believe
7. if the newness of the school influences teaching behaviors
8. if native speakers and non-native speakers work together
9. if teachers in grades K-2 have different ideas from those in grades 3-5
10. if there are unique "surprises" in immersion teaching
11. what classroom management techniques immersion teachers use
12. what "routines" immersion teachers use
13. how immersion teachers correct errors
14. whether French teaching materials are appropriate for their students, and
15. where immersion teachers get their teaching ideas.

This study is called a "teacher-thinking" study. I am trying to find out what immersion teachers believe about teaching that causes them to teach as they do. There have been many teacher-thinking studies that have helped educational researchers better understand what teachers do and why. This, eventually, will help teacher educators to be able to prepare better teachers.

This study involves 3 different data-gathering techniques: (1) observations, (2) structured interviews, and (3) "stimulated-recall interviews." The observations involve no effort on the teachers' part. The structured interviews will take place after school, probably on Wednesdays from 3:30-4:30—one hour for each teacher. For the "stimulated-recall interviews" the teacher will be videotaped once, probably on a Wednesday from 9:00-11:00 A.M. The teacher and I will then view the video together and talk about the teacher's methodologies.
and why they were used. The "stimulated-recall interviews" will also take place after school from 3:30-4:30 on either Monday or Wednesday. Each teacher will have only one "stimulated-recall interview."

I have learned so much about immersion teaching already from my preliminary observations. I feel really lucky to have been able to watch all of you teach. You are all dedicated, caring teachers. I look forward to learning even more from you and to sharing your expertise with others. Thank you for your cooperation.

Ann Salomone
In order for you to understand what I am looking for in my dissertation study, I would like to tell you the questions that I am trying to answer. The overriding question to be answered in this descriptive study is:

What does it mean to be an elementary French immersion teacher?

This includes trying to find out:

1. some of the teaching ideas of immersion teachers, including:
2. immersion teachers' theories about
   a. teaching subject matter
   b. presenting French as a language
   c. teachers' roles
   d. students' roles
   e. the teaching/learning process
   f. the school context
3. if teachers integrate content and language teaching
4. if immersion teachers ever use English—if so, when and why
5. if there are differences between American and European teaching ideas
6. if teachers act according to the theories they say they believe
7. if the newness of the school influences teaching behaviors
8. if native speakers and non-native speakers work together
9. if teachers in grades K-2 have different ideas from those in grades 3-5
10. if there are unique "surprises" in immersion teaching
11. what classroom management techniques immersion teachers use
12. what "routines" immersion teachers use
13. how immersion teachers correct errors
14. whether French teaching materials are appropriate for their students, and
15. where immersion teachers get their teaching ideas.

This study is called a "teacher-thinking" study. I am trying to find out what immersion teachers believe about teaching that causes them to teach as they do. There have been many teacher-thinking studies that have helped educational researchers better understand what teachers do and why. This, eventually, will help teacher educators to be able to prepare better teachers.

This study involves 3 different data-gathering techniques: (1) observations, (2) structured interviews, and (3) "stimulated-recall interviews." The observations involve no effort on the teachers' part. The structured interviews will take place after school, probably on Wednesdays from 3:30-4:30—one hour for each teacher. For the "stimulated-recall interviews" the teacher will be videotaped once, probably on a Wednesday from 9:00-11:00 A.M. The teacher and I will then view the video together and talk about the teacher's methodologies.
and why they were used. The "stimulated-recall interviews" will also take place after school from 3:30-4:30 on either Monday or Wednesday. Each teacher will have only one "stimulated-recall interview."

I have learned so much about immersion teaching already from my preliminary observations. I feel really lucky to have been able to watch all of you teach. You are all dedicated, caring teachers. I look forward to learning even more from you and to sharing your expertise with others. Thank you for your cooperation.

Ann Salomone
September 14, 1988

Here is a tentative schedule for my observations and the structured interviews. Please tell me if these dates are inconvenient for you.

September 19—Mme Estelle  
observation, 9-3:30

September 21—Mme Estelle  
observation, 9-3:30 (videotaping 9-11)  
interview, 3:30-4:30

September 26—Mlle Patrice  
observation, 9-3:30

September 28—Mlle Patrice  
observation, 9-3:30 (videotaping 9-11)  
interview, 3:30-4:30

October 3—Mlle Nadine  
observation, 9-3:30

October 5—Mlle Nadine  
observation, 9-3:30 (videotaping 9-11)  
interview, 3:30-4:30

October 10—Mme Marie  
observation, 9-3:30

October 12—Mme Marie  
observation, 9-3:30 (videotaping 9-11)  
interview, 3:30-4:30

October 17—Mme Denise  
observation, 9-3:30

October 19—Mme Denise  
observation, 9-3:30 (videotaping 9-11)  
interview, 3:30-4:30

October 24—M. Pierre  
observation, 9-3:30

October 26—M. Pierre  
observation, 9-3:30 (videotaping 9-11)  
interview, 3:30-4:30

Mme Jeannette—to be scheduled later.

Thank you.

Ann Salomone
Structured Interview Questions   September 19, 1988

1. What preparation have you had for immersion teaching?
2. Do you think that this preparation was appropriate?
3. What other preparation might have helped you?
4. Where did you teach before coming to Kenwood? For how long?
5. Was last year at Kenwood your first year of immersion teaching?
6. How is this year different from last year?
7. Please describe a typical day in your classroom. (or yesterday).
8. As a 5th (4th, 3rd, 2nd) grade teacher, how much of your day is spent in French?
9. What methods do you use to ensure comprehension when you are speaking French?
10. What do you do if a student seems not to understand?
11. Describe some techniques that you use for reading activities.
12. Why do you use these techniques? Where did you learn them?
13. Describe some techniques that you use for math.
14. Why do you use them? Where did you learn them?
15. Describe some techniques that you use for writing.
16. Why do you use them? Where did you learn them?
17. If a student makes an error in French, how do you correct it?
18. Give some examples of how you integrate content and language teaching.
19. How does the immersion philosophy change the teaching/learning process?
20. Do you ever use English outside of English lessons? When and why?
21. What are some of the ways you organize your classroom?
22. What methods do you use to control student behavior? Did you use the same methods in your prior teaching?
23. About how many hours per week do you spend in materials preparation?
24. What kinds of materials do you have to prepare?
25. When do you work with NS (NNS) teachers?
26. What do you think are the advantages of being a NS (NNS) teacher in an immersion setting?
27. What are the disadvantages?
28. How is your immersion school teaching different from your prior teaching?
29. How is this school different from other schools where you have taught?
30. Can you give an example of something that happened in your class that was a "surprise" that wouldn't have happened in a regular classroom?
November 21, 1988

Dear Kenwood teachers:

I have completed the first two parts of my study—intensive observations (2 days with each teacher) and structured interviews. The only major data-gathering activities left are the "stimulated recall" interviews. As you may remember, these interviews involve our watching an edited videotape (about 30 minutes for each teacher) and discussing what you do in the tape and why. We will tape these discussions. They will last only one hour.

I would like very much to complete these interviews before Christmas vacation, in fact, before December 7, if possible. I will be out of the country from December 7 until December 15 and would really like to have the interviews done before I leave.

I am suggesting the following schedule for the interviews. Would you please sign up for one 1-hour session? If other times are more convenient, or if you have a major problem, let me know.

Wednesday, November 30 3:45-4:45
Wednesday, November 30 5:00-6:00
Thursday, December 1 3:45-4:45
Thursday, December 1 5:00-6:00
Friday, December 2 3:45-4:45
Friday, December 2 5:00-6:00
Monday, December 5 3:45-4:45
Monday, December 5 5:00-6:00

Thank you again for your cooperation.

Ann Salomone
November 23, 1988

Dear Kenwood teachers:

I have completed the first two parts of my study—intensive observations (2 days with each teacher) and structured interviews. The only major data-gathering activities left are the "stimulated recall" interviews. As you may remember, these interviews involve our watching an edited videotape (about 30 minutes for each teacher) and discussing what you do in the tape and why. We will tape these discussions. They will last only one hour.

Here is the schedule for the "stimulated recall" interviews.

Wednesday, November 30 3:45-4:45 Pierre
Wednesday, November 30 5:00-6:00 Marie
Thursday, December 1 3:45-4:45 Estelle
Friday, December 2 3:45-4:45 Patrice
Monday, December 5 3:45-4:45 Denise
Monday, December 5 5:00-6:00 Nadine

Thank you again for your cooperation.

Ann Salomone
Questions for Pierre's "stimulated recall" interview.

1. Do you always sing "Bonjour, mes amis, bonjour"?

2. Do the kids seem to understand the discussion of who's been sick, etc.?

3. Where did you get the song "Qui a peur du petit fantôme"? Did you make it up?

4. Is Halloween an example of one of your "thèmes"? What other "thèmes" will you use this year?

5. When the kids point to numbers, is this a typical "comprehension check"?

6. Would you consider this an integrated activity? (Math and vocabulary, etc.)

7. Where did the song "Tête, épaules, genoux, pieds" come from?

8. The teachers at Kenwood seem to love Indians. Would you have said "assis comme un Indien" in Belgium?

9. Do you always discuss the day, date, and weather?

10. Do you consider this segment (about the costumes) language input time? You seem to be giving the French equivalent of each costume.

11. Do you always call names to line up for the "toilettes"?

12. When did you think of the sketches for activities? Do you draw them? Do you think an immersion teacher must be a good artist?

13. Is "Truc ou traite" said in Canada or did you think of this translation of "trick or treat"?

14. What are you stamping on the papers? Do you often give positive reinforcement? How important do you think it is?

15. The "Frappe, frappe, frappe" activity—do you use it to show the end of one activity and the beginning of another or mostly as an attention-getting device?

16. In the big book with the kids drawings of themselves in it—do you think the kids are learning to read at this point—"Elle s'appelle, il s'appelle" etc.?

17. Were you surprised when the kids "read" "Greg" instead of "Daniel"?

18. When do you teach letters?
19. How long does it take to make a book like the "citrouille" book?

20. Do you often use such real-life items as the real pumpkin and the knife in your teaching?

21. Do you often use songs as "boundary markers?"

22. Looking at the book yourself was a wonderful attention-getter. Have you used that technique since?

23. Would you call this book a math book or a reading book?

24. Do you often have the kids do this much seatwork? Two books on one day?
Questions for Denise's "stimulated recall" interview.

1. How long did the kids practice the "C'est un monde tout petit" song?

2. Where did you learn the "canards" song?

3. Do you always change from one end of the rug to another to indicate a change from "circle time" to the daily schedule? Is that why you move?

4. When did you begin to write the journal on an easel? What advantages does the easel have?

5. Do you often use non-examples or opposites to get kids to give answers? For example, when you asked about the "poisson rouge" and "canard vert" books to get them to say "ours brun"?

6. When did you decide to write the day's activities on the easel?

7. It was storming the day of your long filming. Are the kids affected by the weather? How do you compensate for that?

8. Did you make the large animal cutouts?

9. How did the kids know the word "professeur"?

10. Did all the kids get to participate in the "ours brun" activity?

11. Where did you get the idea for the blue boxes? Did the kids make their own cards?

12. How do the kids know the difference between "chat" and "chien" and "cheval"? Is it by memorizing?

13. You correct so gently. Do you think the kids respond to this type of correction? Can you notice their improvement as a result of your corrections?

14. Where did you get the idea for the tambourine? What purposes does it serve?

15. Is the "reading" the kids are doing what we would call "sight words" or have you done some phonics?

16. Who thought of cutting the words for "ours brun" and pasting them in books? When did you begin this activity? What goals do you hope to achieve?

17. You did some group work during this taping. Is that difficult with this class?
18. Matt corrected himself during his individual reading. Does that happen often? What do you do if it doesn't?

19. Patrice used "Casquettes à vendre" also. Do you think she would treat the story differently because she has older learners?

20. Where did you learn (or when) to use the "toile d'araign(e)" with numbers?
Questions for Marie's "stimulated recall" interview.

1. When did you begin writing the day's assignments on the board?

2. You repeat rules so often. Do you find it boring?

3. Why do you do two calendars?

4. I missed your drawing of yourself on the board during my observation. That's a great way to remind the kids to wait for your approval! Are there other indicators that you use?

5. (tape 2) Do you always begin with the day and date?

6. (tape 2) When do/did you teach the French alphabet?

7. Did you make up the "Sur, sous, dans" song?

8. What different ways do you use to call kids into line?

9. Where did you get the idea for the "ours brun" book?

10. Do you use songs, poems, etc. as "boundary markers"?

11. On the "Vive le vent" song, they don't say "Joyeux Noel" but "Boules de neige." What do you think of the fact that you can't refer to Christmas holidays?

12. You repeat "sur, sour, dans" after singing it only once in the morning. Had you introduced this before or do the kids pick things like this up immediately?

13. Where did the "canards" song come from? Why do you have the kids get up to act it out? Were they restless or was it to make the song more meaningful?

14. You often use opposites to get kids to give correct answers. What purpose does it serve? Do you think it emphasizes the meaning of the word?

15. (with the reading group) I see you do a lot of "touche quelque chose." Do you find this to be a quick comprehension check? Are they really "reading" at this point in time?
Questions for Nadine's "stimulated recall" interview.

1. You didn't read the actual story about "Petit Jean," did you? Do you usually read the actual words in the book or just tell the story?

2. What kinds of questions do you ask about a story? Do you think about them ahead of time?

3. Do you ever ask higher-order questions at this level? Like "Why did something happen?" or "What do you think about this?"

4. Where did you find the song about the pompiers? What do the kids learn from the song?

5. You're very artistic. Where did you learn to draw? Is that a useful skill for an immersion teacher?

6. Do the kids enjoy leading the class (taking your place in front) when the class sings?

7. You use cherries and feet and eyes for teaching X2. What do you use for other numbers?

8. Do you ever use things kids can hold in their hands to teach math, concrete items?

9. Did you plan the discussion of leaves? Was that an example of teaching from the kids' interests?

10. That was a very good, integrated activity with colors, math, shapes, etc. Are there other activities where you integrate different subject matter areas?

11. How do you check the kids' knowledge of X2?

12. How did you use the handout you were showing?

13. What did you do after this episode with X2?

14. Why do you do body movement activities? For control of kids' behavior or to teach body parts?

15. Where did you learn "Tetes, epaules, genoux, pieds"—is it a translation?

16. Where did you get the song about the rabbit in the woods and the hunter?

17. Why do you use the song about the "souris" and the time?

18. The "mistake" the kids made—"Qu'est-ce qu'elle fait?" shows that
the kids are attending to meaning, not memorizing. Have you seen other examples of that?

19. What do the kids learn from "hangman"?

20. Why did you have the kids make a sentence instead of continuing the game of hangman?
Questions for Patrice's "stimulated recall" interview.

1. I notice you ask some higher-order questions about the story, things like, "What would you do?" and "Why did he do that?" At what age do you think kids can handle questions like these?

2. Do you always announce changes of subject? For example, do you always say, "Now we'll do math"?

3. You have the kids say "septante" for 70. But, you also reminded them that they could say "soixante-dix." Do they understand where each is used? And, do you always teach both forms?

4. What other activities will you have the fast math group do?

5. What other ways do you call kids into line? Where did you learn to do this?

6. Do you feel more confident when you are teaching P.E. because of your experience?

7. Do you think your P.E. exercises are different from most American activities?

8. What goals are you aiming for with you P.E. lessons?

9. When do you think of these P.E. exercises? Ahead of time or during the class itself?

10. You use lots of positive reinforcement. Are you doing this consciously?

11. You often say "Qui écoute?" What does this accomplish? Where or when did you learn this technique?

12. What purposes do the explanations of activities have? For example, sitting while others walk, not yelling, etc.

13. You played a game like the American "Fox, Fox, Goose." Is this a truly Belgian game? What are the words to the song?

14. Why do you have the kids breathe deeply 3 times before leaving the gym?

15. What were you thinking after this P.E. lesson?
Questions for Elvina's "stimulated recall" interview.

1. How did you learn the French terms for so many school-related things? As an American, that must have been really difficult. Did you have a chance to do much observation of native French-speaking teachers?

2. Wasn't Italian your first language? Do you think knowing Italian helps you teach French immersion? If so, how?

3. What do you have on the calendars?

4. How do you feel about kids giving the news of the day? Is that new this year? Your kids seem mildly amused at the second-grader who is reading. Why? Are they mocking his errors or do they think it's amazing that he can read this well?

5. Do you think your older kids recognize their ability to learn reading and writing in the second language faster than the younger kids? Do you ever discuss this?

6. Do your fifth graders seem more inhibited in speaking that younger kids?

7. You use "soixante-dix" but the Belgians say "septante." Do you think this kind of cultural difference might be a problem for the kids in the future? Or, do you think all the Glenwood teachers should agree on what cultural concepts to teach?

8. Where did you learn the Fahrenheit to Celsius conversion? Did it work better in November than in September? How often do you do this? Could a kid lead this activity? In the September tape Mike seems to be telling Map how to do this. In November, more kids seem tuned in to it. Do you think the whole class has mastered the concept by now?

9. Do you ever have kids pass out and collect papers? Are there other regular duties that kids do in your classroom?

10. Where did you learn the hands-on techniques of having the kids hold numbers and the large signs representing "greater than" and "less than"? Why do you have two signs? Having kids hold these symbols really involves them in the activity. Is that the goal—attention getting—or is there something intrinsically facilitative about their physical contact with the numbers on paper?

11. Are you careful who you pick to be the "teacher" or can any of the students handle it?

12. They really seem to enjoy your joking with them. Can you do more of this now than before?
13. Are the kids trying to speak French because of your urgings? When did you begin that? How strict are you with it?

14. Is Norma shy about being in front of the class?

15. Is that tool the kids are using called an "abacus"? Is it yours or the school's? How does it help math concept-formation? Is this an example of how your background in Montessori influences your teaching?

16. How do you decide who gets to use the abacus?

17. The geometrical shapes—you had to teach the vocabulary first before using the shapes. Do you still consider this vocabulary teaching to be the integration of subject and language?

18. What is the purpose of base 4 studies?

19. The kids seem very excited about math. Do you think you enjoy math more than most elementary teachers?

20. What activities did you do or will you do with the information on the board about the Greek, Roman, and Egyptian numerical systems?
May 19, 1989

Dear Kenwood Teachers,

I have been struggling with the writing of my dissertation now for four months! It is finally nearly finished. I have written, as you may remember, a fairly long description of each of your classrooms. I have more recently added a shorter "analysis" section about each of you, complete with a tabulation of how many times you said or did certain things.

Because I want what I say to be accurate and fair, I would like you to read these sections about yourself only and talk to me about them. If there is anything that is incorrect or offensive to you, it can easily be changed or removed. Or, if there is something that you think needs to be added, I can do that, also.

I would like to schedule these meetings in the next couple of weeks. They should take only 20-30 minutes each, after school. Please let me know which times are best for you. I will try to talk with you about this today.

Monday, May 22
3:30-3:50
4:00-4:20

Friday, May 26
3:30-3:50
4:00-4:20

Wednesday, May 31
3:30-3:50 Nadine
4:00-4:20 Marie

Because Nadine and Marie will be gone May 22-26, I have already scheduled them for Wednesday, May 31.

I have tried to be very careful with what I wrote about each of you, and I think my respect and admiration for you shows. But, it is always difficult to read about oneself. I again look to you for advice.

Thanks again.
APPENDIX B—SAMPLES OF TEACHERS' MATERIALS
LA
CITROUILLE
LTEAILCUIRLO
Mouton noir que
vois-tu? Je vois un
poisson rouge qui
me regarde.

Poisson rouge que
vois-tu? Je vois une
institutrice qui me
regarde.
Trouve les sommes.

\[
\begin{align*}
3 + 2 &= \square \\
2 + 2 &= \square \\
2 + 3 &= \square \\
1 + 3 &= \square \\
1 + 2 &= \square \\
1 + 1 &= \square \\
3 + 1 &= \square \\
1 + 4 &= \square \\
4 + 1 &= \square \\
\end{align*}
\]
Quelle heure est-il?

Midi

Qui l'a dit?

la petite souris

Où est-elle?

Chez mademoiselle

Que fait-elle?

Une grosse vaisselle

Et oui, elle travaille aujourd'hui!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOR YOUR INFORMATION:</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date of Incident:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Playground Misbehavior</td>
<td>Line</td>
<td>Conference/Warning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Talking When Not Supposed To</td>
<td>Lunchroom</td>
<td>Detention - 3 Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bus Problem</td>
<td></td>
<td>Called Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Classroom Problem</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conference With Parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Playground</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- A.M.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Noon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:15 Recess</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action Taken:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Principal
Chapter 2  North America: Land of Diversity

Using Key Words  (35 points)

Part 1  
Next to each key word, write the letter of its definition.

1. region ------5. natural
2. precipitation vegetation
3. climate ------6. landform
4. weather ------7. boundary

a. temperature and precipitation over a year
b. plants that grow in an area without the help of people
c. area that has a common feature
d. daily temperature and precipitation
e. rain or snow that falls to the earth
f. a border, a dividing line between two things
g. one of the many surface features that covers the earth

Part 2
Use the following key words in a paragraph to describe a river. (10 points)

test
source reservoir
tributary
mouth

Reviewing Main Ideas (15 points)
Write True in the blank if a statement is true. Write False if it is false.

1. Landforms, climate, and natural vegetation are all features that can describe a region.
2. The Intermountain Region of North America lies between the Appalachian and the Rocky Mountains.
3. Areas closer to the Equator receive more direct sunlight than areas close to the poles.
4. Cities located the same distance from the Equator will always have the same climate.
5. Where plants grow depends only on the landforms of a region.

Thinking Things Over (10 points)
Write a paragraph on the back of this page explaining how landforms and nearness to water can affect climate.

Practicing Skills (30 points)

Below is a map of North America. Write the letter of each landform region shown on the map next to its name below.

Mexican and Central American Mountains and Plains
interior plains

Atlantic Coastal Plain
Rocky Mountains
Appalachian Highlands
Pacific Mountain Region
Intermountain Region

Tests for America Past and Present @ Scott, Foresman and Company
Nom __________________ Date __________________

Quelle est la date de ta naissance ?

1. La date de ma naissance est __________________

2. La date de la naissance de ____________ est ____________.


Kelli - le douze juin, mil neuf cent soixante-dix-sept.

Abby - le huit avril, mil neuf cent soixante-dix-huit.

Demet - le seize avril, mil neuf cent soixante-dix-huit.

Zak - le 5 septembre, mil neuf cent soixante-dix-huit.

Danny - le premier octobre, mil neuf cent soixante-dix-sept.

Kristian - le vingt-neuf novembre, mil neuf cent soixante-dix-sept.

Jimmy - le treize avril, mil neuf cent soixante-dix-huit.
Écris le mois et la date. Dessine le symbole du temps et remplis la température chaque jour.

Symboles:
- ☀ Il fait du soleil
- ☁ Il fait nuageux
- ⛄ Il neige
- ⛈ Il pleut
- 🌬 Il vente

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samedi</th>
<th>Dimanche</th>
<th>Lundi</th>
<th>Mardi</th>
<th>Mercredi</th>
<th>Jeudi</th>
<th>Vendredi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Complète les graphiques à la fin de chaque mois.

Mois:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La Temp</th>
<th>La Température</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-25 -20 -15 -10 -5 -2 0 2 5 10
APPENDIX C—SAMPLES OF DATA ANALYSIS PRINTOUTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>DATA SOURCE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
<th>QUOTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>culture</td>
<td>fn5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>P remarks about M. using only 1 box of tissues all last year that it seems strange to them to provide tissues—in Europe every student has a handkerchief in his or her pocket. I remember how thrifty the French are about using paper products—no paper napkins, little toilet tissue, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discipline</td>
<td>fn6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>The main ways to control the kids are &quot;Viens chez Monsieur,&quot; &quot;Assis,&quot; &quot;Viens sur le tapis.&quot; Sitting like &quot;les petits Indiens&quot; is a major goal. As P says aside to me, &quot;Je vais passer toute la matinee a faire s'asseoir.&quot; He passes out stickers for those who are &quot;bien assis comme un Indien.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fn7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>&quot;Qui est bien assis?&quot; Those who are are given stickers, if they are &quot;bien assis comme un Indien.&quot; J gets up. P says, &quot;J. non,&quot; menacingly and J says, &quot;I know, assis!&quot; Not bad for the first day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fn7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>In trying to control an unruly child, Philippe says &quot;Monsieur est fache&quot; and points to his angry mouth. He finally takes him into the hall, where I think he talks to him in English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fn7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>P asks me what I think about spending the first day of school in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Data source</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Quote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-cued</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>When they first arrived, they didn't understand the language and they didn't understand what school is about.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>You can tell by the way they respond, what they need exactly, if they need more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(they read name on right before name on left) Lots of times they do that. [go from right to left?] Yeah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>You need to do a lot, to keep them busy. They need to move, to apply themselves to something else. You need to change a lot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension checks</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>[OSU student help?] Yeah. It's a big help because you cannot always go around and see all the kids. You have to make sure they all understood your directions. Not just that they understood the directions but that they have the concept. Do they hold their pencil correctly and everything. I cannot watch everything at the same time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[after a child explains instructions for worksheet to the class in English]. They understand what's going on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Can you tell by looking at them whether they understand?] ... In this case, I know the child is going to look and show me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehension input</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>[PH initiated] That's something I like to do on the last page of my books. [put all the pictogram sentences together--pumpkin, 2 witches, etc] For the book on Thanksgiving I did the same thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>There's still a lot of use of visuals for them to understand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Observation Data Sorted by Category

**Teacher's role--Indobs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Data source</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>fn11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>D. will make a schedule for who is reading the announcements in the morning so that today's problem doesn't repeat itself (the student wasn't prepared). This way, teachers can prepare their kids for the reading assignment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>fn12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>RC enters with folder marked &quot;DETENTION,&quot; gives it to E, whispers something to her. She is to be in charge when he is out of the building at noon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>fn15</td>
<td>1, 20</td>
<td>A girl gives N a gift--a picture she has drawn, saying &quot;C'est la television.&quot; N--&quot;Merci.&quot; A kid gives N a gift of a cup, straw. N has almost lost her patience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>fn13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>F. is on breakfast duty, is late for class--comes in at 8:05.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>To me, F says, &quot;Ecris dans ton livre--le probleme des remplaçants qui parlent francais, C'est vraiment horrible!&quot; This is expanded upon in the lounge. F says she comes to school sick a lot because there are no subs who speak French.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>interview</td>
<td>page</td>
<td>quote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>It's possible if they are very fluent in French (American teachers). You must know all the vocabulary that you need to talk with the kids. When you learn French like I learned English, there is some vocabulary that you don't know. ... When we talk about science in college, we don't learn all the vocabulary related to science, or social studies. But we know because it's our native language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>First and foremost, there has to be the quality of being an elementary school teacher and a good one... When we're using French to teach a content area, we have to rely on so many different things... that we have or have learned or will acquire because we are or want to be good elementary school teachers... That's probably the most important thing—to really want to learn to be a good elementary school teacher and to change to improve, whatever it takes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>L'immersion c'est un enseignement—c'est un rapproche tres fort de &quot;l'enseignement&quot; d'une maman qui enseigne a son enfant, qui &quot;enseigne&quot; a parler et a s'exercer a un bebe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C'est tres interessant, les erreurs, meme les erreurs de l'enseignant... Il faut saisir l'occasion et cire a l'enfant, &quot;C'est bien, personne n'est parfait.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>You just have to pass through different paths and finally you make yourself understood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Here I am teaching them a subject. It happens to be in French.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I hope they have a good time with me.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>