
Scaffolding Productive Language Skills through Sociodramatic Play

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This article reviews how a receptive, bilingual four-year-old increased her Spanish productive-language skills over five weeks as she engaged in Spanish-language play sessions with bilingual peers. The data show her growing participation in group verbal interactions along with her growing production of her weaker language. In addition, a microanalysis of play sessions illustrates the techniques employed by the four-year-old's playmates to scaffold the linguistic production of the child's weaker language in sociodramatic play. The author concludes that the study has implications for parents who wish to provide their children with opportunities to develop or maintain more than one language.

BECAUSE A MULTICULTURAL WORLD needs citizens with language proficiency, language specialists encourage the maintenance and development of native-language skills in bilingual children. Bilingual children, or heritage speakers, have an advantage in their ability to learn the languages of their parents to native proficiency (De Houwer 2004). Even though children exposed to languages in a natural setting become more proficient than adults who take a class in a foreign language (Krashen, Long, and Scarcella 1979), we frequently fail to cultivate these language skills in young children.

In the United States, it used to take generations for the children of immigrant families to lose their native tongue. More recently, it occurs in just over two generations, which may lead to a breakdown in family communication (Fillmore 1991, 2000; Kouriten 1999). Research shows that children of immigrant parents in the United States become English dominant and do not develop or maintain the ability to speak their home languages (De Houwer 2004). While some of these children may develop *receptive* language skills and are able to understand their heritage languages, only an exceptional few ever attain the ability to function completely both in the communities of their parent's native language and in that of their current language environment (López 2005). It is easier to develop, refine, and maintain the ability to speak a language—which specialists call productive-language skills—for heritage learners than it is to teach adult learners

who must start from scratch in a second language. Sociodramatic play can help develop and maintain these language skills of heritage speakers.

To understand how sociodramatic play might be used as a forum for receptive bilingual children to develop these language skills, this study focuses on ways a child I will call Sara increased her Spanish-speaking skills over a five-week period in which she engaged in Spanish-language play sessions with bilingual peers. Sara, a receptive bilingual child, age four, grew up mostly in the United States and was exposed to both Spanish and English from birth. Although one parent spoke to her exclusively in Spanish and she lived in Mexico for extended periods of time, she was English dominant at the time of the study. To create a context in which Sara could learn Spanish, I selected bilingual playmates from a rural South Georgia community. These playmates, who ranged in age from five to nine, agreed to speak only Spanish during play sessions to help Sara learn Spanish. I recorded eleven play sessions varying in duration in which children spontaneously created and carried out sociodramatic play. This article presents data showing that Sara's increasing participation in group conversations enabled her to become more productive in her weaker language. The article illustrates techniques employed by playmates to engage the receptive bilingual production of her weaker language so that she could participate in play.

Development, Play, and Bilingualism

Development

This study assumes, as Leo S. Vygotsky did, that child development begins on the social plane and becomes internalized, based on the theory that humans use language and social interaction as a guide to accomplish tasks (Block 2003; Lantolf 2000; Van Lier 2000). Through guidance from an expert or more-skilled peer, novices may be able to “accomplish tasks that they would not be capable of performing independently” (Kasper 2001, 34). Although learners may initially need mediational tools or other people to assist them, over time they should gain the ability to complete the task independently (Block 2003). Learners move from being regulated or guided by an “other” to becoming self-regulated and functioning autonomously.

As established by Vygotsky, the zone of proximal development, or ZPD, is the distance between a learner's current, independent, developmental level and what he or she can do with mediation (Block 2003). Vygotsky says that “what is

in the zone of proximal development today will be the actual developmental level tomorrow—that is, what a child can do with assistance today she will be able to do by herself tomorrow” (1978, 87). By working with more capable peers, or even peers of approximate developmental levels, learners move toward greater independence in their ability to accomplish a task (Ohta 2000; Wertsch 1985).

The process by which a person who is more skilled works with a less-skilled participant is called *scaffolding* (Block 2003; Lantolf 2000; McCafferty 2002). The more-skilled participant “promotes the novice’s appropriation of new knowledge by co-constructing it with him or her through shared activity” (Block 2003, 101). The scaffolding metaphor also provides useful ways to explore peer interaction (Ohta 1997; Wells 1999). As peers work within their zones of proximal development, they develop the capacity to perform similar activities in the future, invent new tools and modify those already in their repertoires, transform the activity itself, and transform the collaborative group (MacCafferty 2002).

Play

As children engage in interactive play, they develop both emotionally and linguistically while learning to become members of a particular society. Play situations create contexts for cultural and linguistic learning, exploration, and socialization (Goodwin 1990; Ochs and Schieffelin 1986; Saville-Troike 1988; Paugh 2005). In collaborative play sessions, children assume adult roles, become the characters they invent, and verbally act out dramatizations based on these characters (Cook 2000; Corsaro 2003; Garvey 1984; McCafferty 2002; Sullivan 2000). These play situations, referred to as make-believe (Cook 2000) or sociodramatic play (Corsaro 2003), inherently involve language and provide opportunities for children to learn to communicate within groups of peers and in society in general.

Language play is a part of the language-acquisition process (Cekaite and Aronsson 2005). Engaging in play necessitates the production of language (Corsaro 2003); therefore, a less-proficient child in a play group will be encouraged to produce language that is beyond her current level of development in order to participate.

Bilingualism

Bilinguals are often classified by how competent they become in their respective languages. The terms *receptive*, *passive*, *productive*, and *active* describe bilingual competencies. Receptive or passive bilinguals can “understand (and possibly read) the minority language” while *productive* or *active bilinguals* can “talk and

possibly write in both languages” (Döpke 1992, 3). Those with receptive skills are still considered bilingual provided that they continue to be exposed to the minority language and exhibit age-appropriate passive skills (Döpke 1992). Due to the dynamic nature of bilingualism, receptive skills provide a base for developing productive language skills (Romaine 2000).

Language production in children directly relates to their need for communication in a given language. Understanding a language does not necessarily mean that a child will have any need to speak the language. However, “passive language skills can easily be activated when the linguistic environment changes and a real need for speaking the minority language is experienced by the child” (Döpke 1992, 3).

The additional terms experts often use to describe bilingualism have to do with comparing a language user’s perceived proficiency in the two languages. *Balanced bilingualism* refers to comparable skill levels of the two languages, whereas *dominance* occurs when a person is more proficient, or has greater communication skills, in one of the languages (Kohnert 2004).

Social context greatly affects language development (Romaine 1999). As learners find themselves in different social contexts, they will be exposed to different types of language input or soundscapes (DeHouwer 2009). Differences in amounts of exposure to both languages will result over time in dominance in one of the languages (De Houwer 2009; Hammer, Miccio, and Rodriguez 2004). Language dominance is not static, and it can change as a child’s language environment changes (De Houwer 2009, Döpke 1992; Grosjean 1982; Hammer, Miccio, and Rodriguez 2004). When such change does occur, a child’s age and degree of proficiency affects the way he or she continues to use each language (Hammer, Miccio, and Rodriguez 2004). Social interactions with peers may also cause children to choose one language or another (Fillmore 1991). To maintain a weaker language, the child must have a need to use it in everyday life (Burling 1959; Grosjean 1982). If the need does not exist, the nondominant language may be lost (Kessler 1984; Schlyter 1993).

Language mixing

When individuals live with more than one language, they combine them as they communicate. Linguists use a variety of terms such as *code switching*, *code mixing*, and *code borrowing* to describe this phenomenon (Romaine 1999). Code switching involves using more than one language or a variety of languages within the same utterance or discourse. Bhatia and Ritchie (1999) differentiate code mixing

(CM) and code switching (CS): code mixing refers to intrasentential mixing, and code switching refers to intersentential mixing. Intrasentential mixing refers to the mixing of languages within a sentence, whereas intersentential mixing denotes a switching of languages that occurs from one sentence to another.

While some linguists view code switching as evidence of language development in progress, others consider it a manifestation of an individual's complete language repertoire. A child might use code switching for several reasons, including a deficiency in one language, the fusion of linguistic systems, or the drive to use any means necessary to convey meaning (Bialystok 2001). Language proficiency, language preference, and affirmation of social identity have also been documented as reasons for code-switching (Lanza 2004).

Muysken (2000) questions the assumption that a single language should be exclusively used for expression of a thought and refutes the claim that code switching is evidence of limited language proficiency by citing studies such as Poplack (1980) and Nortier (1990) that reveal frequent switching within sentences in ordinary conversation among bilinguals proficient in both languages.

Methods

The children in this study were placed in situations conducive to creating play spontaneously. These play sessions took place in a Spanish-speaking environment and created immersion experiences for the children whose Spanish-language development the study examined. This set-up provided the necessary context for children to co-construct play through language and for me, as the researcher, to observe and analyze their interactions. I used Vygotsky's concept of microgenesis, which postulates the creation of "new abilities as they emerge while learners are engaged in an activity" (Kasper and Rose 2002, 35). I tracked the emergence of these new abilities in order to analyze linguistic development.

Language background

As previously stated, Sara, age four at the time of this study, was a receptive bilingual child whose dominant language was English. Her father, a native speaker of Spanish from Colombia, had lived in the United States for more than twenty years. Her mother—the researcher for the study and author of this article—was a native speaker of English, held a master's degree in Spanish literature, and possessed advanced to superior proficiency in Spanish. Using the Stanford FLOSEM

(Foreign Language Oral Skills Evaluation Matrix) language-proficiency scale, an independent rater placed Sara's Spanish-language proficiency in the Speech Emergence category at the beginning of the study. (Although FLOSEM aims to measure proficiency of students learning foreign languages in a classroom setting, we used this proficiency scale because no such measure exists for bilingual, preschool-aged children.)

Sara had heard both English and Spanish since birth. Before Sara was born, her father and I decided we would speak Spanish exclusively at home. After her birth, however, I found that unnatural and did not speak Spanish exclusively to my daughter. Nevertheless, Sara heard a large amount of Spanish spoken in the home, and her father consistently used Spanish with her.

Several days a week, Sara received day care from her monolingual English-speaking grandparents. But when she was twenty- to twenty-four-months-old, Sara spent approximately eight hours a day, three days a week with a Spanish-speaking caregiver, the oldest daughter of Colombian immigrants who grew up in Miami.

Sara had also been accustomed to periods of increased Spanish use during travel to and visits from family members who spoke Spanish exclusively. In the first of these, a Colombian aunt and seven-year-old cousin stayed for two weeks when Sara was seventeen-months-old. In addition, Sara heard only Spanish when she visited her extended family in Colombia for two weeks when she was twenty-five-months-old and for three weeks when she was thirty-months-old.

When Sara was twenty-six-months-old, her language environment at home changed during a three-month visit of her Colombian grandmother. Virtually all spoken household interaction occurred in Spanish during her grandmother's stay. At that point, Sara had difficulty communicating with her Colombian grandmother because she had become English dominant, and many of the discourse patterns used by her grandmother were foreign to her. Despite this difficulty and her frustration at not being able to get her point across, Sara actually attempted more Spanish during this period.

At thirty-one-months-old, Sara began to assert herself and to protest any use of Spanish by her mother. Her increasing English dominance arose in part from her grandmother's return to Colombia and her English-speaking grandparents' resumption of their caregiver duties.

When Sara was three-years-old, the family spent five weeks in Mexico. During the trip, Sara began to use some Spanish—to herself in pretend play and to communicate with others solely when she deemed them unable to speak English. However, she had no regular interactions with Spanish-speaking children. In fact,

she played principally each day with the American college students her mother supervised during a study-abroad trip. Sara knew they were native speakers of English, resisted their attempts to practice Spanish with her, always answered in English, and even changed Spanish words to what she deemed their English equivalents. For example, Puerto Vallarta became Port Vallart when the students asked her where they were going.

Upon returning from Mexico, Sara spent time with her English-speaking grandparents and great-grandmother and spoke very little Spanish at all. She and her mother resided in her grandparents' home for approximately four months while her father was out of the country.

For the three months prior to her fourth birthday, Sara fell into the receptive bilingual category (Döpke 1992). She understood spoken Spanish and could respond to it, but she chose to do so in English. She did not protest watching videos or listening to music in Spanish. She sang several songs in Spanish and articulated a number of fixed expressions and vocabulary words. When asked to speak to her Colombian relatives on the phone, she would ask her father how to say phrases in Spanish and then repeat them to her family members. The day after she turned four-years-old, the family traveled to Mexico for five weeks. Again, although Sara heard Spanish as her parents spoke the language, the majority of her interactions were with English-speaking students.

Setting

Bilingual playmates selected from her parent's acquaintances in a rural South Georgia community (I will call them Rosalinda, age seven; Angelina, age nine; Margarita, age five; and Anita, age nine) were of Mexican origin and lived in homes and neighborhoods where Spanish was spoken exclusively. Although Spanish dominant and conversationally proficient in English, these bilingual playmates participated in an ESOL program at their local schools (the language proficiency of the playmate participants was not assessed in either language). Sara had met two of the children, Rosalinda and Angelina, only once before the study. Sara had not met Margarita and Anita prior to their first play session. I recorded eleven play sessions with the group over a five-week period.

I asked the playmates to play with Sara and speak to her only in Spanish to help her learn the language. As the researcher, I participated in early sessions. My participation is coded as REB in the transcripts (see key 1 for other codes).

I recorded and transcribed the sessions, which ranged from thirteen minutes to two hours and thirty minutes in length. The length of recorded play

Name of Participant	Age	Abbreviations Used in Transcript
Sara	4	SAR
Rosalina	7	ROS
Angelina	9	ANG
Margarita	5	MAR
Anita	9	ANI

Key 1. Codes to play sessions and transcripts

sessions averaged one hour and twenty-eight minutes. Table 1 presents the dates and durations of each play session and identifies the playmates who participated. Typically, the children arrived and began to create play situations spontaneously. The presence of a hand-held microphone intrigued the girls and became a toy they used to create dramatizations and to narrate stories. They tended to imagine fashion shows and newscasts. The duration of play sessions varied because play episodes ended as children became tired.

Data collection techniques

In this study, play sessions were not structured but unfolded as the children invented and created scenarios. During each session, I recorded the children's discourse on both audio and video tape. Each child wore a 900 Mhz collar microphone and a wireless audio transmitter. A wireless receiver picked up sound from the transmitters for recording onto cassette tape. As a backup, I placed a central public-address wireless microphone in the play area, and it transmitted to a wireless receiver with an output line to a cassette recorder. A video camera also captured the context of the verbal interactions. When interactions occurred outdoors, the video camera became the major data-collection device.

I kept a journal to elaborate on context of the study and provide a detailed record of the date and time of events, the places they occurred, the names of participants, my observations as researcher, and my initial analysis and related contextual information. In addition, my journal served as a place to record detailed information about events that occurred when the camera was off and to make notes on informal discussions among participants about the language learning process.

Date	Participants	Times	Duration
November 11, 2005	Sara Rosalinda Angelina	8:21 to 8:34	13 min
November 17, 2005	Sara Anita Margarita	8:00 to 8:58.	58 min
November 18, 2005	Sara Anita Margarita	6:30 to 8:00	2 hrs 30 min
November 20, 2005	Sara Anita Margarita	2:57 to 4:58	2 hrs 30 min
November 21, 2005	Sara Anita Margarita	6:31 to 8:18	1 hr 43 min
November 26, 2005	Sara Rosalinda Angelina	2:18 to 3:06	48 min
November 27, 2005	Sara Rosalinda Angelina	2:17 to 3:22	1 hr 05 min
November 28, 2005	Sara Anita Margarita	6:20 to 8:05	1 hr 45 min
December 2, 2005	Sara Rosalinda Angelina	4:24 to 5:54	1 hr 30 min
December 4, 2005	Sara Rosalinda Angelina	2:55 to 3:25	1 hr 30 min
December 5, 2005	Sara Anita Margarita	6:30 to 7:44	1 hr 14 min

Table 1. Record of taped play sessions

To establish a general measure of Sara's Spanish proficiency, I conducted assessments at the beginning and conclusion of the study. I considered using both the Bilingual Verbal Ability Tests (BVAT) and the FLOSEM but decided against the

BVAT because it is aimed at children over five-years-old. It seemed inappropriate, too, because it is a tool used to establish language dominance, not to make a proficiency assessment, and Sara was already clearly English dominant.

The FLOSEM scores a learner's productive language abilities in five categories including comprehension, fluency, vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. The FLOSEM proficiency scale is divided into six levels: 0–5, Preproduction; 6–10, Early Production; 11–15, Speech Emergence; 16–20, Low Intermediate Fluency; 21–25, High Intermediate Fluency; and 26–30, Advanced (native-like speaker). According to Padilla and Sung (1999), the FLOSEM “provides detailed descriptions of each of the different categories in the various levels of oral proficiency,” thereby allowing a person familiar with a learner's communication skills, or with the learners themselves, to identify the specific category that most appropriately describes the learner's current skill level in each of the five areas. Designed for evaluating student proficiency in foreign-language classes, the FLOSEM assesses language skills in any learner acquiring a new language. It is a test designed for students learning a second language—not specifically for receptive bilinguals developing their abilities to produce spoken language. The comprehension and communication categories on the FLOSEM are somewhat irrelevant to the development of productive language in children who are receptive bilinguals, resulting in a scoring protocol that is not exactly appropriate. Because being a receptive bilingual implies some degree of comprehension as well as a phonological system in the weaker language that is native or nearly native, a receptive bilingual will likely place into the Early Production category even if they are not producing anything.

Although the FLOSEM might not have been the ideal instrument for this case, it did provide baseline data to establish Sara's productive-language skills in Spanish before beginning the play sessions. The comprehension and pronunciation categories on the FLOSEM established Sara as a receptive bilingual, and they assisted evaluators in defining how much she already understood. The fluency, vocabulary, and pronunciation categories provided a way to establish her growth in these areas. The consideration of the researcher's ratings, along with ratings given by an independent evaluator and examples taken from transcripts of recorded verbal interactions between Sara and her father in August of 2005, provided a base for determining any gains in productive proficiency made over the course of the study.

Transcription and analysis

After I completed data collection, I conducted an initial review of all video and audiotapes and identified instances when Sara spoke Spanish under the guid-

ance of a peer at play. I then identified recurrent patterns of interaction and their themes in the transcription process. During this part of the analysis, it became clear from the data that Sara got different categories of assistance from children more proficient in Spanish. So, in addition to coding and indexing themes recorded in the written observations by hand, I employed additional tools for the analysis of talk. They included the CHILDES, Child Language Data Exchange System (MacWhinney 2000), which was instrumental in the coding and analysis of data. Created to provide a standard method for transcribing face-to-face interactions, this system consists of the CHAT, Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts, and CLAN, Child Language Analysis systems. The CHAT system provides specific conventions for transcribing words, utterances, and conversational features. Recordings that contain verbal interactions in pretend-play situations were transcribed using the CHAT system. Data was mapped and indexed with the CLAN data analysis system.

Findings

Increasing language production

The following table presents the percentages of Sara's total utterances, turns she took talking, and words over the course of the eleven play sessions. These percentages are calculated based on the data obtained from using the MLT (Mean Length of Turn) function in the CLAN data-analysis system over the eleven play sessions. Because each play session varied in length, I used the total number of utterances, turns, and words to calculate the percentages of each made by Sara during the sessions.

Table 2 illustrates Sara's increase in participation as the percentage of utterances, words, and turns increased over time. Sara increased the number of utterances she made in each play session from 13 percent in the first play session to 16 percent in the second play session. During the next three play sessions, Sara's percentage of utterances produced ranged from 25 percent to 28 percent before hitting 38 percent in the sixth play session. During sessions 7, 8, 9, and 10, the percentage of total utterances made by Sara ranged from 21 percent to 36 percent before peaking at 41 percent of all utterances in the final play session.

I used the MLT function data to compute the percentage of total turns Sara took. As shown in table 2, Sara's percentage of turns increased from 15 percent in the first play session to 23 percent in the second play session. She continued to take percentages of turns in the twenties through the fifth session, spiking to

Play sessions	Percent total utterances	Percent total turns	Percent total words
1	13	15	12
2	16	23	11
3	25	28	26
4	29	27	32
5	28	29	26
6	38	36	34
7	21	26	13
8	35	32	27
9	36	33	27
10	21	23	16
11	41	38	37

Table 2. Percentages of Sara’s total utterances, turns, and words

36 percent of all turns in the sixth session. For the remaining sessions, she took turns ranging from 23 percent to 38 percent.

Table 2 also shows the percentage of total words Sara produced. It again notes increases that spiked in the sixth play session and then varied between 13 percent and 27 percent of total words from the seventh to the tenth play session. The highest percentage of total words Sara spoke, 37 percent, occurred during the final play session.

Figure 1 presents the percentage of turns Sara took in each of the individual play sessions over time, and it shows that Sara increased the percentage of the number of turns she took as the play sessions continued.

It is evident that Sara increased her participation when her total number of words, turns, and utterances increased over the course of the play sessions. In the following analysis, it becomes evident that she also produced more language each time she contributed and when her number of words per turn and words per utterance also increased.

Table 3 presents Sara’s language usage over the eleven play sessions and shows the ratio of total number of words over total number of turns. During the two initial play sessions, Sara averaged 3.8 words per conversational turn. In sessions three through six, Sara’s word per turn ratio ranged from 5.5 to 6.5.

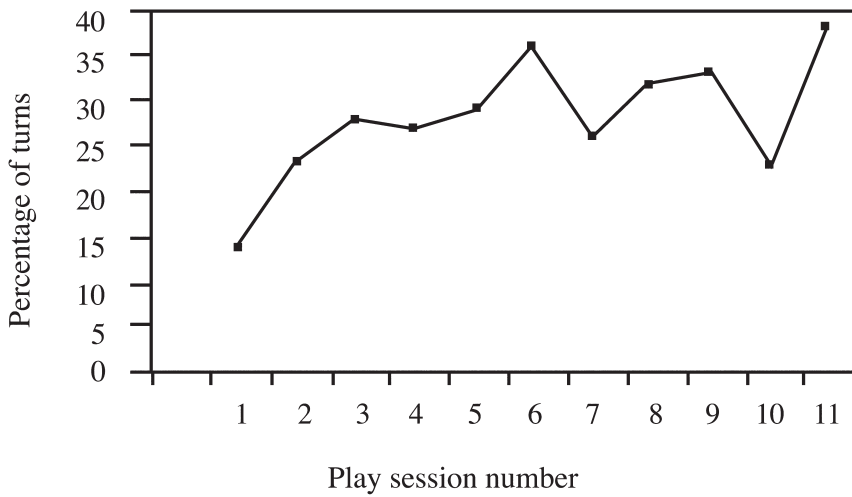


Figure 1. Percent of turns taken by Sara over the course of the play sessions

Session Number	Words over turns	Utterances over turns	Words over utterances
1	3.8	1.2	3.2
2	3.8	1.4	2.7
3	5.7	1.4	4.1
4	6.5	1.7	3.9
5	5.6	1.4	4
6	5.5	1.6	3.5
7	3.4	1.2	2.8
8	4.7	1.5	3.1
9	6	1.8	3.5
10	4.5	1.3	3.4
11	4.2	1.3	3.7

Table 3. Ratios of Sara's linguistic participation

In the next three sessions, her number of words per turn increased from 3.4 to 6.0 before dropping to 4.0 and 4.2 in the last two play sessions. Sara’s ratio of utterances over turns began at 1.2 in the first play session. In the second and third play sessions it rose to 1.4 before spiking at 1.7 in the fourth play session. In the fifth and sixth play sessions, her ratio of words over utterances increased from 1.4 to 1.6 before fluctuating between 1.2 and 1.8 in sessions seven through nine and leveling off at 1.3 in the last two sessions.

The ratio of number of words over number of utterances in Sara’s speech began at 3.2 in the first play session, dropped to 2.7 in the second session, and ranged from 3.5 to 4.1 through session six, before dropping to 2.8 in session seven. In the last four sessions, Sara’s number of words over number of utterances ranged from 3.1 to 3.7.

Use of Spanish vs. English

Initial evidence revealed Sara’s increased language production, but perhaps she had just begun to speak more English in each play session. By reviewing the transcripts to classify each of Sara’s turns as Spanish, English, or mixed, I analyzed the number of Sara’s turns involving Spanish, English, or a combination of both. The results are presented in table 4.

Session Number	Total turns	Spanish turns	English turns	Mixed turns	Percent of turns in Spanish	Percent of turns in mixed language
1	7	3	4	0	43 percent	0 percent
2	32	29	3	0	91 percent	0 percent
3	80	30	48	2	36 percent	2.5 percent
4	88	50	38	0	57 percent	0 percent
5	93	40	53	1	43 percent	1 percent
6	103	79	18	6	77 percent	5.8 percent
7	110	92	13	5	84 percent	4.5 percent
8	154	114	36	4	74 percent	2.6 percent
9	167	141	19	7	84 percent	4.1 percent
10	141	119	18	4	80 percent	2.8 percent
11	59	47	11	1	84 percent	1.7 percent

Table 4. Percent of Sara’s turns in Spanish and mixed language

In the first session, Sara used only Spanish in 43 percent of the turns she took. This increased in the second play session to 91 percent of turns. The third play session was the one in which Sara's use of Spanish was lowest, rising to 57 percent in session four. During session five, Sara used Spanish 43 percent of the time. Her use of Spanish jumped to 77 percent in session six and continued climbing to 84 percent in session seven. In the eighth session, Sara's use of Spanish was 74 percent and ranged from 80 percent to 84 percent in the last three sessions.

Techniques used by peers for inclusion

Having established that the participation of this bilingual child had increased her production of the nondominant language, I conducted an analysis of interactive data to see how the other participants facilitated this increase. Through multitiered scaffolding, Sara's playmates were able to include her in dialogues and dramatizations. The scaffolding techniques the playmates used included collaborative constructions of utterances, cuing participation, providing direct translations, asking leading questions, and explicitly correcting mistakes through modeling. Sara's playmates knew that their job was to help her develop her ability to speak Spanish.

In the first recorded play session with Rosalinda and Angelina, Rosalinda—alone in the room with the video—made a statement that shows she understood her role in the study.

Example 1

ROS: Hola, mi nombre es Rosalinda y estoy aquí para enseñar español a Sara. Mihermana y yo. Estoy aquí con el VCR y está muy fun! Gracias.
[Hello, my name is Rosalinda and I am here to teach Spanish to Sara. My sister and I. I am here with the VCR and it is very fun! Thanks.]

Another example revealed that Sara understood that her friend was available to help if she needed assistance producing a particular word.

Example 2

SAR: Oh, ésta, ésta. *[Oh, this one, this one.]*
ROS: Puedes decirme palabras que no sabes en español. *[You can tell me the words you don't know in Spanish.]*
SAR: Por supuesto. *[Of course.]*

The awareness resulted in the playmates working collectively to help Sara express a thought or take on an assigned role in Spanish.

Collaborative constructions of utterances

In initial play sessions, the playmates worked collaboratively with me—again, coded as REB—to supply Sara with missing vocabulary and grammatical constructions that she could incorporate into sentences to express what she was originally trying to say. In these early sessions, I engaged in the interaction, spontaneously attempting to solicit speech from Sara. Although the intention of this interaction was not to teach the participants to solicit speech from Sara, I realized that my interaction may have served as a model for the playmates. The following examples show that I was referring Sara to her peers for assistance in finding out how to say a word she was unfamiliar with in Spanish.

Example 3

SAR: *Get a plastic cup or a bowl.*

REB: *Dime en español. [Tell me in Spanish.]*

ANI: *¿Para qué es esto? [What is that for?]*

REB: *Dile para qué es. [Tell her what it is for.]*

SAR: *(Silence)*

REB: *¿Cómo se dice esto en español? [How do you say that in Spanish?]*

SAR: *¡No sé! [I don't know!]*

REB: *¡Sí sabes! [Yes, you know!]*

SAR: *Para llenar... [To fill...]*

ANI: *Agua. [Water]*

SAR: *No para la... para la llu [No, for the, for the rai-]*

MAR: *¿Agua? [Water?]*

ANI: *Iluvia. [Rain.]*

SAR: *Para la lluvia. [For the rain.]*

ANI: *OK. [Okay.]*

Sara initiated this play episode; however, to carry it out, the group worked together to express the idea Sara was trying to convey after being cued by me. In a similar example, one peer provided Spanish grammatical form in addition to Spanish vocabulary.

Example 4

SAR: *I wish I could fly!* (Speaks in English)

REB: ¿Cómo se dice esto? [*How do you say this?*]

MAR: Me gustaría... [*I would like to...*]

SAR: Fly! (Speaks in English)

REB: ¿Cómo se dice fly? [*How do you say fly?*]

MAR: Volar. [*Fly.*]

SAR: Me gustaría volar. [*I would like to fly.*]

In the final sentence, Sara combined structure and vocabulary to say that she would like to fly. Later Sara used the verb “volar” [*to fly*] to talk about flying in other play sessions and with other children.

In the sixth play session, the girls pretended to have magical powers. Sara pretended to work in a store and to have a magic stick for drawing. To establish her role verbally, she needed help coming up with the word “draw” and used a word from her other language to express herself (Bialystock 2001). After direction from me and another adult, Sara asked her playmates directly for the word she needed.

Example 5

SAR: *How do you say draw in Spanish?*

REB: Pregúntale a ella. [*Ask her.*]

SAR: Yo dibujar. [*I to draw.*]

SAR: *I work in a store. I draw.* (Speaks in English.)

REB: ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué? No entiendo. [*Why? Why? I don't understand.*]

JUA: Pregúntale a ellas, linda, como se dice. [*Ask them, honey, how it is said.*]

SAR: ¿Cómo se dice porque, because, porque, work in the store and draw?

[*How do you say because, because, because work in the store and draw?*]

ROS: Porque yo dibujo en la tienda. [*Because I draw in the store.*]

SAR: Porque yo dibujo en la tienda. [*Because I draw in the store.*]

Rosalinda told her how to say what she wanted to know how to say and gave her the first-person singular form—yo—of “to draw.”

In another example, playmates offered the missing vocabulary and repeated words when Sara did not get them the first time they were supplied to her.

Example 6

SAR: La princesa buena con la magic stick. [*The good princess with the magic stick.*]

REB: Pregúntales como se dice esto en español. [*Ask them how to say this in Spanish.*]

ROS: Palo mágico. [*Magic Stick.*]

SAR: Yo tengo un palejo. [*I have a palejo.*]

ROS: Palo. [*Stick.*]

SAR: Palo mágico. [*Magic stick.*]

In this example, Rosalinda gave Sara the word “palo” [*stick*] when I directed Sara to obtain it from her. When Sara produced the form incorrectly, her playmates supplied it again.

As the play sessions continued, Sara’s peers began to employ these techniques on their own, without my participation. The following example shows Angelina and Rosalinda providing Sara with the phrase “Muchos poderes” [*Many powers*].

Example 7

SAR: Yo tengo a lot of powers. [*I have a lot of powers.*]

ANG: Y tú, y ustedes dicen que Rosalinda me quiere. [*And you, and you all say that Rosalinda loves me.*]

ROS: Muchos poderes, Sara. [*Many powers, Sara.*]

ROS: Se dice. [*You say.*]

SAR: Muchos poderes... yo puedo volar. [*Many powers... I can fly.*]

At the end of this exchange, Sara was able to make a statement using the vocabulary provided by her peer and to elaborate on what powers she possessed.

Similarly, example 8 shows Rosalinda helping Sara produce the Spanish equivalent of the word “spoon” so that she can offer her playmates a spoon for their cake.

Example 8

ANG: Queremos pastel. [*We want cake.*]

ROS: Allí lo voy a traer. [*There, I am going to bring it.*]

ANG: Tú dijiste: “no mandes” (to Rosalinda) [*You said: “Don’t give orders.”*]

- ROS: ¿Un chiquito o muy grande? [*A small one or a very big one?*]
ANG: Porque necesitamos uno grande. [*Because we need a big one.*]
SAR: ¿Quieres un *spoon* para, para tu pastel? [*Do you want a spoon for, for your cake?*]
SAR: ¿Quieres un *spoon* para tu pastel? [*Do you want a spoon for your cake?*]
SAR: ¿Quieres un *spoon* para tu pastel? [*Do you want a spoon for your cake?*]
ROS: Una cuchara, sí una cuchara. [*A spoon, yes a spoon.*]
SAR: Sí, una cuchara para el pastel. [*Yes, a spoon for the cake.*]
ROS: ¡Que lo muerda! [*Bite it!*]
SAR: Si quiere una cuca, una cuchara. [*Yes she wants a sp, a spoon.*]
ROS: Alguien me lo va a dar. [*Someone is going to give it to me.*]

After learning the word for spoon, Sara produced two more utterances in which she talked about or offered the spoon to her pretend mother and sister.

Cuing participation

Examples taken from the play transcripts show that Sara's playmates initially dictated lines for her to say. During these sessions, the playmates created what could be considered scripts in a drama, then they acted them out with her as they unfolded the plot. These cues, or keying events (Blum-Kulka et al. 2004), supplied Sara with the language she needed and served to continue the storyline. Lines were dictated from playmate to playmate so that the action continued as the appropriate person produced the next necessary line. In the following example, Sara's playmate told her the line to say through the cue "tú dijiste" [*you said*].

Example 9

- ANG: Hermana. [*Sister.*]
SAR: ¿mmm? [*Hmmm?*]
ANG: Bueno, yo estoy aquí. Ve. [*Okay, I am here. Go.*]
SAR: Mmm. [*Hmm?*]
ANG: Me voy a mi cuarto cuando duermas. Tú dijiste: "No te vayas".
[*I'll go to my room when you are asleep. You said, "Don't go."*]
SAR: No te vayas. [*Don't go.*]

Once again, the playmate aided Sara's participation in this drama by providing her with the linguistic means to join in the action and cuing her to verbalize it. In the following example, Rosalinda redirected Sara's speech. Instead of saying "¿para qué?" [*for what*], Rosalinda decided that "¿Para quién?" [*for whom*] would be more in line with the drama of the scene.

Example 10

ANG: Sara, ¿puedes llevar mi maleta? [*Sara, can you carry my suitcase?*]

SAR: ¿Para qué? [*For what?*]

ANG: Tú dijiste ¿pa(ra) quién? [*You say: for whom?*]

SAR: ¿Pa(ra) quién? [*For whom?*]

ANG: ¡Para mí! Me voy a la casa. [*For me! I'm going home.*]

In each of these cases, these were lines that Sara's character needed to articulate in the story so that the plot could continue. Each of these examples was cued by the phrase *Tu dijiste* [*you said*], followed by the necessary phrase. Through these dictated lines, Sara's playmates were not only scaffolding her ability to use linguistic structures but also providing her with time to participate verbally in the interaction. Other linguistic cues included the phrase *dilo* [*say it*] (examples 11, 12), *dices* [*you say*], example 13), and *dijeron* [*they said*]. In the following example, Sara took the cue and repeated part of the sentence that was dictated to her.

Example 11

ROS: Dilo: "¿quien nos puede ayudar?" [*Say it: "Who can help us?"*]

SAR: "¿Quién?" [*Who?*]

ANG: Yo, el Chapulín Colorado. [*Me, Chapulín Colorado.*]

ANG: ¡Síguenme los buenos! [*Good guys follow me!*]

The next example also shows how Sara helped set the scene for something spooky and then expanded upon her playmate's idea that there was a coyote lurking nearby.

Example 12

SAR: *Who was that?* (Speaks in English.)

SAR: Escuché algo. [*I heard something.*]

ANG: Di “¿Qué paso?” [*Say: “What happened?”*] (To Sara)
ANG: Vamos, vamos. [*Let’s go, Let’s go.*]
ANG: Es un coyote. [*It’s a coyote.*]
SAR: Un coyote entra. [*A coyote comes in.*]
ANG: Vamos, Vamos. [*Let’s go, Let’s go.*]
SAR: ¡Un ghost! [*A ghost!*]
ANG: Fantasma, se dice. [*A ghost, you say.*]
SAR: Fantasma. [*A ghost.*]

In other examples, Sara verbally contradicted lines dictated to her and came up with her own words, thereby changing the plot. In the following example, Sara took the turn she was allocated but changed the theme of the play session.

Example 13

ANG: Dices, esa, es pa(ra) Santa. [*You say, that is, it is for Santa.*]
SAR: Ésta es para el caballo. [*This is for the horse.*]
SAR: Ésta es para el caballo. [*This is for the horse.*]
ROS: Bueno, bueno, bueno, bueno. [*Good, good, good, good.*]

In subsequent play sessions, Sara’s contribution evolved from repeating cued words (example 14) to modifying and varying sentences that she was told to repeat (example 15). The following example came from a scene in which the girls were giving a birthday party to their evil mother. The action began with Rosalinda telling Sara exactly what she should say again. Then, when Rosalinda screamed “¡Sorpresa!” [*Surprise!*], Sara followed her cue and did the same.

Example 14

ROS: No me van, no me van a mentir. [*Don’t lie, don’t lie to me.*]
ANG: No le estoy mintiendo. [*I’m not lying to you.*]
ANG: Tú dijiste: prende la luz. (to Sara) [*You said: turn on the light.*]
SAR: ¡Prende la luz! [*Turn on the light!*]
ANG: Sorpresa. [*Surprise.*]
SAR: ¡Sorpresa! [*Surprise!*]

In the following example, Sara repeated and modified her dictated line as the girls talked about a boy they were no longer supposed to see.

Example 15

ANG: ¡A mi mamá no le gusta! [*My mother would not like this.*]

SAR: O, ¡no no no! [*Oh, no, no no!*]

ANG: ¡Despídelo, ahora mismo! [*Tell him goodbye, right now!*]

ROS: Dile, vete, vete ahora. No te quiero ver! [*Tell him go, get out of here right now! I don't want to see you anymore!*]

SAR: Amigo, vete. [*Friend, go.*]

SAR: No, no te quiero ver. [*I don't, I don't want to see you.*]

ANG: ¿No le dijiste al niño? [*Didn't you tell the boy?*]

ANG: Él estaba allí, allí estaba, Sara. [*He was there, there he was, Sara.*]

ANG: Un niño allí, ¡tienes que decirle! [*A boy over there, You have to tell him!*]

SAR: Oye, oye, oye. [*Listen, listen, listen.*]

ANG: Yo no te quiero volver a ver. [*I don't want to see you again.*]

SAR: Yo no te quiero volver a ver. [*I don't want to see you again.*]

SAR: Sí. [*Yes.*]

ROS: El niño se fue. [*The boy left.*]

Sara managed to put her own touches onto the lines as she acted them out, adding “amigo” before “vete” and then adding an entire line when she said “oye, oye, oye.”

Through these interactions Sara demonstrated her developing ability to take conversational turns and, eventually, to construct her own statements. In establishing cues for when Sara was to participate, her peers had turned the dialogue within the play session into a type of ritualized play in which Sara began participating after receiving a specific cue (Garvey 1984). Such structured experience eventually led her to gain the floor and to take turns without being told to do so. This supports Garvey's assumption that turn-taking routines developed in peer play are eventually integrated into a child's linguistic interactions.

Providing direct translation

Sara's playmates assisted her language production by providing her with Spanish translations of her original English sentences or by asking her for the Spanish equivalent to her words and sentences.

In the following example, Anita requested that Sara—who was pretending to be Princess Erika, a character from a recent Barbie movie—repeat her

previous statement in Spanish and provided her with a direct translation so that she could.

Example 16

ANI: Yo una vez vi a diez Margaritas en la casa y una vaca que se llamaba Margarita. [*And once I saw ten Margaritas in the house and a cow that was named Margarita.*]

SAR: *My name is Erika and I live in a house.* (Speaks in English.)

ANI: ¿Cómo? En español: “me llamo Sara y vivo en una casa.” [*What? In Spanish say: “My name is Sara and I live in a house.”*]

SAR: Me llamo Sara y yo vivo en una casa. [*My name is Sara, and I live in a house.*]

MAR: ¡Mírame! [*Look at me!*]

ANI: Es que es muy chiquito para ti. [*That is too little for you.*]

SAR: (Screams and runs away.)

In another example, Anita questioned Sara about how she would say something in Spanish when she originally made the statement in English.

Example 17

SAR: *Wow! This is very high!* (Speaks in English.)

ANI: ¿Y en español? [*And in Spanish?*]

SAR: Es muy... [*It's very...*]

MAR: Alto. [*High.*]

SAR: Es muy alto. [*It's very high.*]

In this example, one peer guided Sara to use Spanish while another aided her in finding the vocabulary word she needed to complete her sentence. The product of this guided assistance was a complete sentence in Spanish. Sara's playmates let her know that they were available to provide assistance if there was a word she did not know in Spanish.

In the following example, Sara obviously did not know the word for snow.

Example 18

SAR: *Let's play snow.* (Speaks in English.)

SAR: *Let's play snow.* (Speaks in English.)

SAR: *Let's play snow.* (Speaks in English.)
 ANG: No entiendo, en español. [*I don't understand, use Spanish.*]
 SAR: Jugamos.... [*Let's play...*]
 ANG: Nieve. [*Snow*]
 SAR: Jugamos nieve. [*We'll play snow.*]
 SAR: Jugamos nieve. [*We'll play snow.*]
 ANG: Sí, sí, ¿vamos a jugar? [*Yes, yes, let's play?*]
 SAR: Vamos a jugar nieve. [*Let's play snow.*]

First, her playmate asked her to reproduce her last utterance in Spanish, then she guided her back to the verb phrase she was originally attempting to use.

Asking leading questions

The play companions also asked Sara leading questions such as “¿qué más?” [*what else*] and others that required her to produce more language. In the next example, Sara's playmate helped her talk about herself as they pretended they were TV hostesses.

Example 19

SAR: Yo soy Sara y... [*I am Sara and....*]
 ROS: ¿Qué más? [*What else?*]
 ROS: Sara, Sara, ¿Qué más? [*Sara, Sara, What else?*]
 SAR: Y, yo juega, juega... [*And I play, play...*]
 ROS: ¿Juegas a qué? [*What do you play?*]
 SAR: A muñecas. [*Dolls.*]
 ROS: ¿Te gustan las muñecas? [*Do you like dolls?*]
 SAR: Sí. [*Yes.*]
 ROS: ¿Mucho? [*A lot?*]
 SAR: Sí. [*Yes.*]
 ROS: ¿Mucho, mucho? [*A lot, a lot?*]
 SAR: Sí. [*Yes.*]
 ROS: ¿Mucho, mucho, mucho, mucho? [*A lot, lot, lot, lot?*]
 SAR: Y yo quiero a bailar ahora. [*And I want to dance now.*]

In another example, Anita led Sara to further explain what she meant.

Example 20

ANI: Jugamos que somos cocineras. [*Let's pretend to be cooks.*]
SAR: Tu eres la...la... la persona. [*You are the...the...the...person.*]
ANI: ¿Quién? [*Who?*]
SAR: La persona, la persona, que tiene la comida. [*The person, the person, who has the food.*]

Later in the same play session, Anita asked Sara additional questions requiring her to produce language.

Example 21

ANI: Vamos a hacer la comida. ¿Qué tipo te gusta comer? [*We're going to make food. What do you like to eat?*]
SAR: uh... pastel. [*Um, cake*]
ANI: Ah, bien, y qué vas a tomar? [*Okay, fine, and what are you going to drink?*]
SAR: No sé, ¿Sprite? [*I don't know, Sprite?*]

Explicitly correcting mistakes

By modeling correct form, Sara's peers also explicitly corrected grammatical mistakes she made in conversation. After the corrections, the girls suggested that the corrected words may be incorporated into future conversations (McCafferty 2002). An example occurred when Sara used command forms to gain her playmates' attention.

Example 22

SAR: ¡Eh! You ladies. You, everybody. (Speaks in English.)
REB: Habla en español. [*Speak in Spanish.*]
SAR: Mira, ¡mira! [*Look, Look!*]
ROS: Miren. [*Look.*]
SAR: Mire. Mire. Mira. Mira. [*Look. Look. Look. Look.*]
ROS: Miren. [*Look.*]
SAR: Miren. [*Look.*]

When Sara addressed the two with the singular command form of the verb *mirar* to tell them to look, one of the playmates corrected her with the plural command form of the verb. In attempting to correct her speech, Sara chose an incorrect form. When she received no positive feedback on this form,

she switched back to the singular form. Again, Sara's playmate corrected her, and she repeated the form she heard. In subsequent play sessions, Sara used the third-person plural command form with different verbs to gain her playmates' attention. In the following example, Sara's peers corrected the gender agreement between the adjective "linda" [*pretty*] and the noun "mariposa" [*butterfly*].

Example 23

ROS: Mi mariposa linda. [*My pretty butterfly.*]

SAR: Mi mariposa lindo. [*My pretty butterfly.*]

ROS: Es mariposa linda. [*Its pretty butterfly.*]

ROS: ¿Quién vive aquí? [*Who lives here?*]

SAR: La Mariposa. [*The butterfly.*]

Rosalinda's correction of agreement was incorporated into Sara's later turn.

In another example of explicit correction, Anita modeled the correct form of the subject pronoun "yo" [*I*].

Example 24

MAR: Ten, yo voy primero. Primero tienes ésta y después te doy la otra. (to Sara) [*Take this, I'll go first. First you have this one. and later I'll give you the other.*]

MAR: Y después la pasas a quien quiera. [*And later you pass it to whoever you want.*]

SAR: Ok. [*Okay.*]

ANI: ¿Quién quiere esta mona? La vendo por diez pesos. [*Who wants this doll? I am selling it for ten pesos.*]

SAR: Me! Me! Me! (Speaks in English)

MAR: Yo [*I do.*]

SAR: Yo. [*I do.*]

In this case, Margarita corrected her by saying "yo" [*me*], leading Sara to use the first-person pronoun correctly.

Conclusions

Over the eleven play sessions, Sara increasingly participated in the Spanish con-

versations of her peers; not only did her participation increase, but the average number of Spanish words she used per turn also grew. By the last play session, Sara talked about 40 percent of the time (41 percent of all utterances, 38 percent of all turns, 37 percent of all words), and used more words each time she spoke. Also by the last session, Sara not only spoke more and used more words when she spoke, but more of the words she used were Spanish—ranging from 80 to 85 percent (and up from the 41 percent Spanish she spoke in the first session).

I coded a percentage of the language Sara produced as mixed. This mixed speech ranged from 0 percent to 2.5 percent in play sessions one through five. In later play sessions, the percentage of Sara's language coded as mixed peaked at 5.8 percent in session six and then rose and fell from 4.5 percent to 2.8 percent in sessions seven through ten. In the last session, 1.7 percent of Sara's language was mixed. These data show that as Sara produced more Spanish, she also produced more mixed utterances than in the beginning when her productive skills were more limited. According to Lanza (2004), the components of a person's full linguistic repertoire can be employed to accomplish an individual's communicative goals in a particular situation. This ability to adjust language use to context, including code switching in a bilingual situation, is "part of the bilingual child's communicative competence." Bilingual children use language in the same fashion as monolingual children—to fill in gaps when they do not know how to express something (De Houwer 1990; Deuchar and Quay 2000; Goodz 1989). Sara's mixed utterances were generally single-word substitutions or insertions that she included when she did not know a word or was unfamiliar with a Spanish equivalent.

Creating play sessions within a simulated immersion setting in which Sara could interact with other children gave her a need to produce her weaker language. In Sara's home situation before this study, although her father consistently spoke only Spanish to her, she was well aware that both parents could understand her English responses. In her interactions with peers, Sara's linguistic production was scaffolded so that she could integrate linguistic functions into her own repertoire of productive skills (Block 2003). Although, in this case, Sara's playmates understood that the goal of these play sessions was for Sara to produce Spanish and although they saw themselves as teachers at the beginning of the study, this type of scaffolding has been shown to occur naturally within peer talk as members shift the focus and clarify meaning through keying (Blum-Kulka et al. 2004).

This shift to the production of Spanish is in accordance with Döpke's

(1992) assertion that children will learn to produce language when they need to. Sara's productive-language skills lagged behind her ability to comprehend spoken Spanish when the play sessions began, and she was considered English dominant—a natural occurrence for an individual who has different amounts of exposure to each language (Döpke 1992). This study affirms that language dominance is not a static entity, and it confirms the assertion that fluency in one language may progress or regress with a change in language environment (Döpke 1992; Grosjean 1982; Hammer, Miccio, and Rodriguez 2004). During this five-week period, Sara obviously did not throw the balance of dominance from Spanish to English, nor did her proficiency in Spanish come close to equaling her English proficiency. She increased her Spanish-language proficiency as proven by her scores on the FLOSEM and as observed through the documentation of her actual language production. Based on the ratings from evaluations that I—as the researcher—and the independent evaluator conducted, Sara's language proficiency moved up one level from the Speech Emergence level to Low Intermediate, making gains in the categories of fluency, vocabulary, and grammar. This confirms her increasing productive abilities in Spanish and her repertoire of associated linguistic functions.

The results of this study have implications for parents who wish to provide their children with the opportunity to develop or maintain more than one language. Given that imaginative play lends itself to creating fantastic events and stories through language (Corsaro 2003) and that first-language development has been linked to pretend play (Corsaro 2003; Garvey 1990; Vygotsky 1967), play sessions conducted as part of this study support the idea that sociodramatic or imaginative play with bilingual peers is also conducive to developing an additional language (Bourne 2001; Riojas-Cortes 2001). Sustained opportunities for play with Spanish-speaking peers forced a child reluctant to communicate in her weaker language to work collaboratively with her peers. The finding that this receptive-bilingual child was able to increase her conversations in her weaker language and to expand the repertoire of linguistic functions she productively used is widely applicable in bilingual families hoping to develop their children's language proficiency.

Although documenting whether Sara continues to use linguistic elements that she used during the study falls outside the focus of this investigation, Vygotskian sociocultural theory suggests that working collaboratively with peers leads learners to higher levels of development (Ohta 1995; Vygotsky 1978; Wertsch 1985). Internalization of productive abilities occurred over the course

of this study as linguistic participation first came through other regulation and moved toward self-regulation (Block 2003). Scaffolding techniques observed in this study such as collaborative constructions of utterances, providing direct translations, asking leading questions, and explicitly correcting mistakes through modeling could be taught to parents who wish to develop or maintain their children's productive skills in their native languages. Identified strategies for facilitating participation in conversations could also be taught to parents hoping to improve their children's conversations in their weaker languages.

The importance of play in sustained linguistic interaction has been confirmed (Blum-Kulka et al. 2004; Corsaro 2003). Through sustained interaction, this receptive-bilingual child increased productive proficiency over a relatively short period of time. These findings might guide the creation of informal play opportunities for bilingual children. While the majority of research related to pretend play and second-language learning involves the classroom (Bourne 2001; Riojas-Cortez 2000, 2001), this research provides evidence that when children engage in sociodramatic play in an informal setting, they invent imaginative pretend scenarios that foster language acquisition. This suggests that children, as well as parents, could be given instructions on strategies for scaffolding linguistic development.

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