

Courtney Cazden

- Born in Chicago, Illinois
- A.B. in Philosophy (1946) Radcliffe College, M.Ed. in Elementary Education (1953) University of Illinois, Ed.D. in Elementary Education (1965) Harvard University

Major Employment:

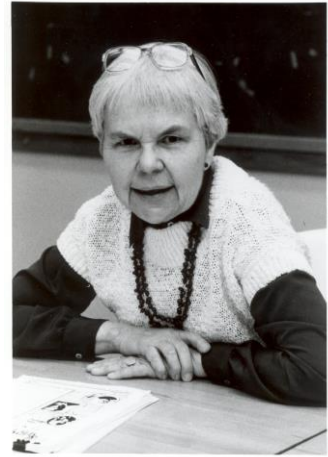
- Harvard University – 1971-present, Professor of Education
- Harvard Graduate School of Education – 1979-present, Chair, Program in Teaching, Curriculum and Learning Environments

Major Areas of Work:

- The development of children's verbal abilities in and out of school, and the functions of language in all educational settings.

SRCD Affiliation:

- Editorial board of Child Development



SRCD ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

Courtney Cazden

Interviewed by David Olson
At the University of Toronto
May 12, 2004

Olson: This is the SRCD Oral History Project. To be interviewed is Courtney Cazden. Should be interviewed by David Olson. Recordings made at OISE, University of Toronto on May the 12th, 2004. Courtney, tell us a bit about your family background.

Cazden: What's relevant here, I think, is that I came from and what I think has to be called an upper middle class WASP politically very conservative family in Chicago. And for first thirteen years of my life, I lived in the Midwest except for some months every winter spent on a cotton plantation in Mississippi. That's where my father, who was a sportsman, had enough money before the Depression, where he invited friends down for polo and bird shooting. And I mention that because, obviously, I would then have been, would have encountered colored people as they were then called. But I don't remember those encounters. But I think that's important in subsequent development of my thinking and my work. In, when I was thirteen, I left my family, all by myself, and went to live in Maine with an Aunt, my father's sister and it was from there that I had the opportunity to go to Radcliffe and my subsequent life evolved from there. I think that the limitations of that background in the experiences that I was exposed to all my schooling was white, I remember one Jewish girl in the private school in Chicago that I went to Junior High School, period. Otherwise, it was a pretty homogenous, white, upper middle class childhood.

Olson: Did you have any particularly memorable teachers in your early years?

Cazden: I had several memorable teachers in this private school. And in, for my own purposes, in trying to write a personal and political and professional bio--, memoir or biography, I'm actually gonna go back to that school in two weeks and see what they have in the archives about those teachers and their curriculum because I remember very stereo-- exciting but in retrospect-- very stereotypical curriculum about, of all things, Mesopotamia and Baghdad.

Olson: Really?

Cazden: Oh yes, Tigris and Euphrates rivers; I remember that. And from Greece the Peloponnesian War. “The mountains looked on Marathon and Marathon looked on the sea,” and I even remember bits of epic poetry.

Olson: So it’s quite a classical education, literary—

Cazden: Well, I don’t think I would grace it with the name of classical.

Olson: Oh, I see.

Cazden: I think it was more social studies. I mean we also did Tuscany. This teacher’s name was Isabel Lawrence and the eighth--she was seventh grade. Eighth grade was Dorothy Hammet. I remember their names and we did Tuscany but what I remember was tarantellas (a dance we learned) and superficial things. But I’m curious as to learn more ‘cause that was the school where there was one Jewish student in my class and that became an issue because everybody else was invited to outside dancing club where you learn social dancing. I remember being a wall flower. And she didn’t get an invitation. “Oh, why isn’t June here?” June Edelstein or Edelstone? I’m not sure which. She is Jewish. And the explanations about what that meant, why it meant that I don’t know, but I certainly remember that very, very clearly.

Olson: Were you well prepared for Radcliffe?

Cazden: No.

Olson: Was Radcliffe very challenging?

Cazden: Good question because when I, when I switched from three years at that private school, to Maine, I skipped a year. So I never went to tenth grade and in the school in Maine, the Camden, Maine, public high school I had a wonderful social adolescent, social life. And again, I remember teachers and subsequently saw them on many trips up to Maine where I still have family. But it was not a high powered education, so I went to Radcliffe at age sixteen poorly prepared and emotionally underdeveloped, I would say.

Olson: Only sixteen, is very young.

Cazden: Yeah, very young; too young. So I did not distinguish myself in my undergraduate years. But they were important socially because I had two of my roommates were Jewish and we lived together for several, two years outside the dormitory in a sort of loft and one of them lived in the Boston area so I would go home with, to her family for good Jewish family meals and it was very important developmentally for me but intellectually, I was not prepared to take advantage of Harvard. It was during the War, and I also met my husband there and so that started you know, another chain of experiences.

Olson: So we move a little bit on to the formative influences on your intellectual development; what prompted you to become a student of the mind?

Cazden: Well, between that, those undergraduate experiences which were during the War, ’42 to ’46, and going back to Harvard for Doctoral work in ’61 to ’65, which is really the crucial years relevant to this project, two things were specially important. One, after Radcliffe I went to the Bank Street College of Education. It was then the Bank Street School for Teachers in New York City. For a year of the equivalent of a Master’s degree, though they weren’t accredited at that time to give them. But teacher training. And it was a very Deweyian-philosophy school for teachers connected with the private, progressive schools that were then developed in New York City, City and Country Cchools; Little Red Schoolhouse, that were all very Deweyian-influenced.

Olson: And largely private?

Cazden: And private, yes. All private. As was the Bank Street Nursery School, which was their sort of lab school. Little Red Schoolhouse had larger classes because they wanted to try to show what could be done even with class sizes comparable to public schools but they were all private. And that's a whole interesting history--Larry Cremin's work on progressive education and many others. But, very much the expression of the same philosophy of education was a summer camp up in New York State that my husband and I went to both before and after having kids, Camp Woodland, no longer, no longer in existence in Phoenicia, New York, the upper Catskills, hunting and fishing, hiking Catskills, not the large hotel southern Catskills. And I worked there as a counselor toward the end of my college years in the late '40s, and then we went back together with children in the 50s. And that became my first experience with children, a wonderful experience with children from age five up. And also, increasingly, especially during the late '50s, a very diverse school for kids because in addition to the sort of left wing, progressive, Jewish and non-Jewish families who sent their children--it was an eight week camp, not a fresh air camp, but an eight week camp. I mean private so to speak. But the 1199, still a very prominent union in New York City, hotel, a hospital not hotel, hospital workers union had a division that raised money to send some of their children for four week times at the camp and they were largely black and Puerto Rican, especially Puerto Rican, and so the camp was very active in working with the motels in the area--where the camp was it was all white--to make sure that the families of these black and Puerto Rican children would be accepted when they came up for visiting day etc., etc. So that was very important in diversifying my social and teaching experience as well as getting me interested in issues of curriculum and children. The other thing from those years that's really crucial in my going back to Harvard for graduate study is that I was, after Radcliffe, I was following a husband around to his beginning academic jobs. He was getting his degree, his Ph.D. in Musicology at Harvard while I was an Undergraduate; he was 4F for health reasons so wasn't part of the War. And for three years, we were at the University of Illinois, '50 to '53, which were the McCarthy years. And he lost his job there. In '53, you'd think music would not be exactly a dangerous career but he did. And what's important about it is that because of that, we moved back east. He went back to teaching piano at home and I went back to teaching school to help support the family and finally, he said, "Why don't you get a Doctorate? And why don't we move back to the Boston area so you could go back to Harvard." 'Cause he could teach piano in the Cambridge area, anywhere, actually. So we did. Now, if he hadn't lost his job; I mean it's terrible to say it this way.

Olson: You would never have gotten back to Cambridge.

Cazden: I would have stayed as a faculty wife and maybe gotten a Doctorate at the University of Illinois; I did get a Masters while we were out there. But it was one of those quirks of accidental contingencies.

Olson: Were you teaching in the public school and what grades were you teaching?

Cazden: I was teaching in the public school in Connecticut, primary grades.

Olson: Was it satisfying?

Cazden: Grades one and two, and again, with a diverse working class area. All of the teaching was in one school, StonyBrook School in Stratford, and there were many Puerto Rican children moving into that area at that time. Stable, working class families. Fathers worked in Sikorsky helicopter, and this was in the '50s, '54 to '60. '61 was when I moved back to Cambridge. And I think there were some African American children and some white, but I remember particularly Puerto Rican children. And I taught grades one, two, I think maybe five one year but I really, I really liked the younger children in beginning literacy.

Olson: So that prompted--did that prompt you to pursue that?

Cazden: That prompted me to--that prompted my interest. I should finish that story because I thought at the time, I thought at the time, as much as I can remember, that it was a pretty good public school and one indication that I've always remembered is that the parking lot, the teacher's parking lot was still full at five o'clock. In other words, teachers worked hard and they had a number of men in the upper grades and stable leadership and yet, we knew--and I can remember one of the men who taught in the upper grades; I

don't remember his name but I can see him. We were talking in the teacher's room about how our kids when they got to high school ended up in the lower tracks.

Olson: Did they?

Cazden: And why was this so? What were we not doing; what could we have done differently? Maybe that would enable them to not all be clustered in the lower track. And in the, in the 19, in the late 1950s, '57 or '58, Bruner's Process of Education came out.

Olson: Oh, interesting.

Cazden: And I have a flashbulb memory, literally, of sitting in the Bridgeport, Connecticut, public library--we lived in Bridgeport even though I taught in Stratford--reading that book. And being so excited by it, about what it implied or said about language and relationship to thinking and to curriculum and so I was all fired up when we moved back to Cambridge; I wanted to look into this whole issue of language so I went with questions about language in my mind. And the first semester I was at Harvard at the Ed School. I took what then had become a quite famous course, Psychology of Language. It was one of these middle level courses for Graduates and Undergraduates which were terrific courses because they were really substantial overviews but in depth of the field. I remember sitting in the basement of Memorial Hall which is where the Psych. Library was then along with Skinner's Lab as I remember.

Olson: Yes.

Cazden: I spent, must have spent not a quarter of my time, one out of four courses, but probably three fifths of my time catching up on all the Psychology I didn't know in order to keep up with that course, but that did it, I was hooked.

Olson: Yeah? Who taught it?

Cazden: Eric Lenneburg.

Olson: Oh, did he?

Cazden: But Roger Brown and I think Chomsky came in and maybe George Miller, too. But certainly Roger Brown and I'm pretty sure Chomsky came in as guest lecturers.

Olson: Now, you were in the Ed School?

Cazden: I was in the Ed School.

Olson: So far you've mentioned people who were in the teaching in the Psychology Department, not people in the Ed School.

Cazden: That's right; and the Ed School was my official home. I took courses there; and the person there who was my link with John Carroll.

Olson: That's right.

Cazden: John B. Carroll just recently died--

Olson: Yes, --

Cazden: --within the last year or two.

Olson: Yes, a delightful man?

Cazden: My Thesis Committee was my nominal Ed School Advisor who was a very nice man in Primary Education, Robert Anderson, but not intellectually important and John Carroll and Roger Brown.

Olson: Oh yes, excellent; excellent.

Cazden: And Jack Carroll was just wonderful.

Olson: Yes, I met him, too, you know.

Cazden: I assume, I assume you would have known him.

Olson: I tracked him down. He had written a nice book on something like psychology of language where-- that little Prentice-Hall book on language and mind or something; I don't remember so—

Cazden: It was a nice relationship in an extracurricular way as well because he played the organ.

Olson: Oh, yes.

Cazden: He was a serious organist. And so we had some social times and he and Norman (my husband) would talk music.

Olson: Oh, yes. Lovely. So now, pursue the influences on you then as you found your ideas? About your -- career.

Cazden: Yeah, well. That was the time those early '60s, that's one reason I value this conversation with you, David, is that that--oh, we didn't notice what time we started.

Olson: Oh, it doesn't matter.

Cazden: Well, we have to be sure--

Olson: It'll click off; it'll click off when it's full.

Cazden: Okay. Because those early '60s, '61 to '65, when I was a Graduate student and then I stayed on as a Research Associate with Roger for one or two years. So early to mid sixties was a fantastic time to be in Cambridge. Fantastic. I don't know of any intellectually more exciting place at that moment because there were these revolutions, paradigm shifts writ--large going on in both Psychology and Linguistics. In Psychology the shift from Behaviorism to Cognitive Psych., not Cognitive Science, of course. And in Linguistics, the shift from a kind of Behaviorism to Chomsky, whose first book had come out in '57, and by the early '60s, he's already extremely influential.

Olson: A Guru.

Cazden: Extremely influential; a guru. Exactly. And that was all in the air; Jerry Bruner and George Miller were busy starting their Center for Cognitive Studies; I'm not sure exactly what year that started, formally, institutionally.

Olson: Yeah. About '62 or '63.

Cazden: And Roger Brown at some point moved from, from MIT back to Harvard. He came from Michigan. But he started--he came to Harvard and started the famous Child Language Acquisition Project, around '61.

Olson: Oh, as early as that?

Cazden: I think so because--

Olson: Yes, I think that's right.

Cazden: I got attached to it certainly by '63. Maybe even--probably '63. But it was already going; Ursula Bellugi was already working on it.

Olson: Yes. David McNeill, wasn't--

Cazden: David McNeill was there; there was a wonderful group, Dan Slobin was there.

Olson: Oh yes, that's right.

Cazden: And we all not only worked with Roger on that project (he has a footnote in the A First Language with the names of the different, the graduate students who worked with him) David, you're right, David McNeill certainly and Dan Slobin and Ursula Bellugi were three--

Olson: And Jean Berko Gleason.

Cazden: In that early --

Olson: Was Berko Gleason one of that or no?

Cazden: Well, she was earlier.

Olson: Oh.

Cazden: She did her thesis on the "wugs."

Olson: Yes.

Cazden: I think '57.

Olson: Oh, early as that? So maybe the Center for Cognitive Studies started earlier than this, more like 1960, I would say, something like that?

Cazden: She was, she was really the beginning; I think she may have been Roger Brown's first graduate student.

Olson: Oh.

Cazden: He must have been at Harvard and then gone to MIT and then come back to Harvard because her degree is from Harvard. But she didn't stay around; I don't know what she was doing during those years in the early '60s, because she was not a part of that Adam, Eve and Sarah research. When I came in, it was Adam and Eve.

Olson: Oh yes.

Cazden: And I, said I would like to add working class child, 'cause those two were graduate student children.

Olson: Uh huh.

Cazden: And so we started Sarah.

Olson: Oh.

Cazden: Who was my special child to visit every other week. That same group, David McNeill, Dan Slobin and I and others--in other fields, I remember there was a Philosophy person, Philosophy graduate student--were teaching fellows of Jerry Bruner in his course called Psychological Conceptions of Man.

Olson: Oh.

Cazden: It was a core course. I don't know if they called them that then, or Gen Ed. General Education course.

Olson: Yes.

Cazden: And I did that for a couple of years as a teaching fellow.

Olson: All the while recording Sarah.

Cazden: All the while recording Sarah, and transcribing Sarah; we didn't have other people to transcribe as SRCD does. But I wish I remembered more about those years. One thing I would love to know in light of my later interests--1962 was when the first edition of Thought and Language, Vygotsky's Thought and Language, was published by MIT Press with Jerry Bruner's introduction--

Olson: Yes.

Cazden: Was it incorporated into the course work at that time? I don't remember.

Olson: Oh.

Cazden: And I'd love to know.

Olson: Yes, it would be interesting. It was certainly being read, whether it was being taught is another question, of course.

Cazden: Yeah; I don't know when I first read it. I have no way of dating that.

Olson: You know it's quite interesting, this is less about you but even in 1963, when I was a graduate student in Alberta, Canada, these books, Jerry Bruner's, Vygotsky's, Luria's, Chomsky, these books were already being read quite avidly.

Cazden: Really?

Olson: Yes. Straight away. Quite remarkable. I'll talk about that more.

Cazden: Good; good. Well, that, that was, it was a terrific time to be a graduate student. You felt the excitement of ideas in research--

Olson: Uh huh.

Cazden: --in these fundamental areas.

Olson: Did, did any of these teachers tweak particular ideas that started you on your own research career?

Cazden: Well, I, I certainly was imprinted with the research with Roger particularly because it was a much closer relationship. Jerry had meetings quite regularly with his Teaching Fellows. But you know Jerry Bruner: grand ideas and it's very exciting, but with Roger Brown, it was very analytical.

Olson: Careful.

Cazden: Very careful data analysis, not big theories. And I'm sorry that, while I say I was imprinted, when we come to personal research contributions, I have to say that I think my contributions have been more in a sort of synthesis articles that I've written over the years than in contributions of empirical research which was so much his, Roger's, focus and attention whatever field he got into. He always had marvelous data. -- whether it was flashbulb memories or whatever. But interestingly, often combined with literary--

Olson: Oh.

Cazden: Material. He often brought in--if you read his Social Psych. Textbook, he has wonderful examples from literature as well, and, of course, he sometimes collaborated with his personal partner, Albert Gilman.

Olson: Did you know him as well?

Cazden: I didn't know him. It's one of the losses of the fact that Roger at that time was totally in the closet about his homosexuality.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: Tragically in the closet. Because I remember his saying not to me but I think to Jean Gleason that when Al died, nobody in the, in his Department even mentioned anything about it to him. Never offered sympathy.

Olson: Well, was it, was it still secret; was it still in the closet at that time?

Cazden: I think so; I never knew until later that Roger was homosexual.

Olson: No.

Cazden: I mean in the '60s, '70s, you just, it was a different world.

Olson: --.

Cazden: And, of course, that's related to his committing sui--Roger committing suicide.

Olson: I already hear you coming up with these themes of race, poverty, social class, and so on; you mention them incidentally, but when we come now to your research interests and trajectories, and biases if you like, perhaps you'd elaborate on the directions you've tried to take your research--

Cazden: Well, social class was the first influence, direct influence, because as I mentioned, I specifically asked Roger if we could add social class variation to his research project.

Olson: Uh huh.

Cazden: So that that's the story of Karen whose father was a policeman, a Cambridge policeman, and then worked in a supermarket or vice, vice versa and you--

Olson: You meant Sarah? You said Sarah.

Cazden: Sarah.

Olson: I thought you said Karen?

Cazden: Oh, Karen. Sarah.

Olson: Sarah, of course.

Cazden: Sarah is the pseudonym.

Olson: Oh, oh, how interesting. Is that--oh.

Cazden: I got--I haven't thought of her real name for so long.

Olson: Oh, I wondered.

Cazden: Sarah is her pseudonym.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: But the analyses we did and the focus of that research was not on individual differences, much less differences that could be correlated with environmental influences like social class background. It was on the universal pattern of language development and the part of the analysis that became my tedious but always interesting work for at least a year after I got my degree was on the development of noun and verb inflections and became a published article in Child Development, I think '68. And there the pattern across the three children--Adam was black; the other two were white; but Adam and Eve were both graduate student children so there was more marked social class difference--but the pattern was still the same for all three. The U shaped pattern of correctly using *go* and *went* and then when the idea of a rule of past tense comes in getting these over generalizations like *good* and then finally, sorting out and getting both the exceptions and the rule. That work just about Adam, Eve and Sarah, combined with a lot of other work by other people with other children that absolutely verified that pattern and became the basis of one of Steven Pinker's books. I was just looking at it on Words and Rules, I think, in which he suggests that the basis of language development is mentally, cognitively, two quite different processes. Interestingly, it's not strictly Chomsky. There is the learning of rules, no question, patterns. Rule-guided patterns that can be attributed to rules, but there is also learning words and so he combined the sort of Chomsky transformational grammar as explaining part of language development with something that is much closer to the David Rumelhart distributed--

Olson: Parallel processes, yes.

Cazden: Parallel processes.

Olson: Just connectionist explanations, yes.

Cazden: For the gradual accumulation of experience with individual words. That's highly over simplified, but that there are two quite different processes.

Olson: Right.

Cazden: And without knowing anything of all of that, and I guess parallel processing really came, I don't know when that—

Olson: That was later in the '70s.

Cazden: It was certainly later.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: That early, empirical data with Adam, Eve, and Sarah, became part of a much larger, significant picture.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: But that work I did separately from my Doctoral study. When it came time to pick a Thesis topic, I wanted to go even further afield and work with racial differences. And I wanted to do an intervention study, not just a natural, descriptive study and so I worked in a--Roger got a small grant, Office of Education small grant, I'm pretty sure--and I worked in the daycare center in Roxbury, a black community in Boston with two assistants, one, an Australian woman whom I am still in touch with (in fact, I saw her this winter on her visit to Boston). Doing an intervention study, we had two experimental groups and a control group, to try and see if these expansions, adult expansions, which we found all over the descriptive Adam, Eve and Sarah data, if they really were productive for the children. That became my Thesis which I never published as a separate article, never published as a separate article, even though it got picked up and referred to and so on. But I incorporated it into other writing (e.g. my first book, Child Language and Education; 1972, pp 124-29).

Olson: And tell us the results, because there were little surprises.

Cazden: The results were that at least with the sample we had and analyzed as we did--and Jack Carroll was very helpful in working through that analysis--the expansions were not, were not significantly more helpful than what we initially called modeling but I then started calling extensions. Some people called them--I think you called it expatiations.

Olson: No, it wasn't me.

Cazden: It wasn't you; it was somebody who said--called them expatiations--maybe David McNeill.

Olson: That's where you continued, it's where you continued the discussions.

Cazden: Where the adult continued the child's subject.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: Continued the topic.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: But it's--it was--it's hard to separate them (expansions and extensions) naturally, because they often occur together. But experimentally, we tried to--and this is what you have to do that makes it unnatural, experimentally. We, the two tutors and I--they were the ones who worked with the children, I worked the tape recorder. We had to--is that still on?

Olson: Yep. Yep, it's still running.

Cazden: We had, we had to separate the two. So if a child said, "Tower fall down," when some blocks fell down, the tutor in one experimental group could say, "Yes, the tower fell down." That's expansion. Or the tutor in the other experimental group could say, "Well, what are you going to do with the blocks now?" Or, "Do you want to build the tower up again?" That's the extension. But they wouldn't say both, whereas naturally, they'd often be combined: "Yeah, the tower fell down; what do you want to do now?"

Olson: That's right.

Cazden: So we had to separate them and separating them makes the expansion kind of unnatural because it's, it offers nothing new; nothing interesting.

Olson: It doesn't connect well perceiving.

Cazden: It doesn't, and it doesn't go anywhere--

Olson: Right.

Cazden: --for the child. And under those artificial, separation circumstances, the expansions were not more helpful. Contrary to my hypothesis, semantic extensions proved to be slightly more helpful than grammatical expansions.

Olson: Did it influence your later theories about language and language learning?

Cazden: Well, it did in a way because it became in my mind, it became part of issues in talking with young children in the classroom.

Olson: Okay, I think it's--

Cazden: Right now, I'm preparing a talk to give to the group of 60 or 80 people around the country who train the Reading Recovery teachers.

Olson: Oh yes.

Cazden: And I'm going to focus specifically on the special needs of the six year olds who their teachers are working with who are learning English as a second language. From listening to some tapes of Reading Recovery teachers with such children (which they supply me for use in my preparation) I realize that the teachers in the very early lessons want to get to know the children. Admirable intent. And one of the teachers did this by asking a lot of questions about the child's family and home activities. But if the teacher couldn't understand because of the child's limited language, limited English, the teacher had a hard time expanding or extending or responding in any meaningful way. So one of my pieces of advice is if you're having trouble carrying on a conversation, pick a topic that is from the book you're sharing or something on the, on the wall, in the halls, that the child notices and get intrigued with as you walk the child to the special Reading Recovery room. Doesn't matter what.

Olson: Yeah. Good

Cazden: Anything that captures the child's--

Olson: Joint references we used to say.

Cazden: Joint reference, exactly, as Jerry Bruner has said from the beginning, because that gives you the opportunity to do this expanding and extending because you know what the topic's about.

Olson: Okay.

Cazden: Shortly, not too long after I stopped work on the Roger Brown project, I became more involved at the Ed School, starting out as a Research Assistant there, too, and then as a member of the faculty. I should, before going on to what that meant for my teaching and research, I should mention 'cause I think that it's historically interesting that at the same time let's say mid '60s as these two crucial changes were taking place in the disciplines of Psychology and Linguistics, there was at the very same time, this "revolution" (in quotes) out in the world, the Civil Rights Revolution.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: Now, as far as I know, they are two totally separate phenomena. It seems to me that in both Psychology and Linguistics the changes were internally generated within the field, with the help of unusual minds capitalizing on the stresses, and strains, and inconsistencies and incongruities within the field, but internally generated. Quite totally separate from what was going out in the world, world of the United States at the same time, the Civil Rights Revolution, but they did come together. This is like Vygotsky's Thought and Language: they have different separate routes but then they come together--and they did come

together. They came together in the government policies at the beginning of Head Start, notably, and the research on Head Start. Edmund Gordon (first Research Director for Head Start) and the Office of Education in the fall of 1965, just a few months after I received my Doctorate, funded a small, invitational conference of Psychologists, Anthropologists, Linguists (maybe Sociologists, but I've always known less about them) to consider how this research on language might be important in the Federal Government's attempt to do what we would now call closing the achievement gap. It wasn't called that then but it was the same concern for the educational problem, the underachievement of black children. And Johnson, of course, who had himself been a schoolteacher wanted to be known as the Educational President.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: But was defeated by Viet Nam, by the War. And at that conference, which I went to because of a paper that I had written, that I think came out even earlier than the one on Adam, Eve, and Sarah's inflections in Child Development; it was a research review, came out in Merrill Palmer Quarterly in '66. It was circulated in hard copies, not so easily as papers circulate now.

Olson: No.

Cazden: But I think Roger Brown had sent a copy to Susan Ervin-Tripp and somehow it got around and I got invited as a brand new Doctorate to this Conference with maybe a dozen other people and that's where I met Dell Hymes, whom I had already read somehow. I'd love to know how--if you could go back and know how you found certain people or ideas, not people in their bodily instantiations, but people just through references, and how I stumbled onto Dell's work. 'Cause he had left Cambridge in '61, the year I came, didn't get tenure at Harvard and went to Berkeley. But in '62 he and John Gumperz published two issues of the American Anthropologist that called for what has come to be known as the Ethnography of Communication. And that was like the movements in Psychology and Linguistics, internal to the discipline but a major shift. The problem within Anthropology being that ethnographers tended to treat language the way people criticize Piaget for treating language. It's just transparent.

Olson: Yeah. It's just structure.

Cazden: And you can hear through it to what you're really interested in. In the case of anthropologists, they were interested in kinship systems or whatever, but they weren't interested in the language that was the medium both for the people and for the researchers. And the linguists, on the other hand, with the advent already of Chomsky's ideas, were interested in only this, this internally generated structure and couldn't care less at that point about how language was used. So how language was used in all its variations fell down the cracks between the two fields. And that's what he was calling for in this Ethnography of Communication. And so even though I referenced, had referenced, those articles, issues of the journals, earlier, that's where I actually met Dell as well as John Gumperz and Josh Fishman. He and Ed Gordon, I think, may have been the people who were commissioned by the Office of Education to lead this Conference. Putting those ideas together became very significant for me because I was--I had been a teacher; I came to this whole field out of interest in Education and already by the late '60s, when I was basically in the Ed School full time, I wanted to take these ideas and develop them further within the Educational context. But with very rare exceptions, I have not either been able to or taken the time to do the kind of detailed data collection, especially longitudinal data, which is what we had with Adam, Eve, and Sarah, and even short term longitudinal data that I had in my Thesis. I just haven't done it with only one piece of work that I would in any way put in that category. I have been more concerned with situational differences, comparative differences, of different children in the same situation, same children in different situations, but not real development as change over time.

Olson: What would you like a reader to read again? I suppose there are several things. We could look in your résumé, but is there one or two things that you particularly recommend captured this trajectory that you're talking about?

Cazden: Well.

Olson: In your own work.

Cazden: There are several things.

Olson: Okay

Cazden: One is the, the article that I mentioned, the '66 article in the Merrill Palmer Quarterly, which was called "Subcultural differences in language development." Because I think it may have been the first place where the deficits vs. difference--

Olson: Started to take shape.

Cazden: --issue of is black children's language different or deficient.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: And that brings in another influence, professional influence that has been important over the years--and again, I don't know how I found his early work--and that's Basil Bernstein.

Olson: Yes, so what is your relationship to his ideas?

Cazden: Well,

Olson: --

Cazden: At that time, it was his work on social class differences that became, unfortunately, discredited in this country. The way he talked about those social class differences raised a lot of criticism here because it was assimilated to concern for dialect differences, which he never, never, never intended. (I became a good friend of his, and always saw him on trips to London, and spoke at a couple of memorials both in London and at AERA when he died a few years ago).

Olson: Yeah, because in this country as you implied, he got associated with the notion of well, racism; it was—harshly criticized. But I think a real dis-service to Bernstein because he did put his finger on those Linguistic differences that I think --

Cazden: He was, he was especially hurt by the wide -spread contrast, used in this country against him, between his work and the Linguist, William Labov's work, especially his paper on, oh gosh, on--

Olson: I know but I don't remember.

Cazden: You'd think I'd remember that seminal paper, and Bernstein almost up until his death, was still--I mean, he carried grudges a long time--and he was still fighting the Labov and re-analyzing "The logic of non-standard English."

Olson: Oh yes.

Cazden: That was the paper--the title of Labov's paper and Bernstein was still arguing with that, and actually went back and showed the weakness in Labov's article from an empirical point of view. What he (Labov) claimed these kids were doing, Bernstein showed an incredible amount of support, interactional support. He felt that Labov's data did not support the claims Labov was making that this business about social class differences is all situational, etc. So that, that difference/deficit paper in Merrill Palmer Quarterly was one.

Olson: Uh huh

Cazden: Now, I think people would agree that differences become deficits in some situations where you need access to repertoires that you haven't had a chance to develop, so the difference becomes a deficit.

Olson: Right. Good

Cazden: But more closely related to education were three ideas all in particular papers. One was called "The situation: a neglected source of social class differences in language use (1970)" looking at situational influences, the situation of the moment of speaking.

Olson: Uh huh

Cazden: As well as the cumulative effect of differences in situational experience over time.

Olson: On language?

Cazden: On, on language--well, certainly on language production.

Olson: Uh huh

Cazden: I'm not sure if this was well developed in that paper, but I would now say that the accumulated--accumulating effect of situational differences over time could account for differences in more than what happened to be produced, at the moment, to differences in repertoire that one is fluent in using. Not differences in the basic core of language structure, though even there, there are big differences in rate even in Adam, Eve and Sarah, even in three children, enormous differences in rate of acquisition.

Olson: In rate of production or --?

Cazden: Rate of development as we measured development. Roger had to establish some arbitrary dividing line for when you're gonna say a child "knows" in quotation marks, some feature of language. He had a whole set of criteria that again, became quite widely adopted. One thing about Roger, he shared everything. Most generous, generous, generous researcher; a model, never asked for co-authorship; we had to--those of us who worked with him--had to insist on co-authorship and he always would be the last author and he shared everything. Copies of Adam, Eve, and Sarah, went out long before CHILDES (the computerized database) made them available electronically.

Olson: So situations--were you also talking about the classroom situation at that point?

Cazden: Yes. Yes. The second article related to education is about the idea of scaffolding.

Olson: Yes.

Cazden: Right now, in this conversation, it occurred to me it would be interesting to think about the difference between scaffolds and expansions.

Olson: Yes.

Cazden: My hunch is that expansions come afterward and scaffolds come before.

Olson: Or it's a --

Cazden: But that may be crazy.

Olson: No. I think it's interesting; expansions are kind of scaffolding; I mean they would be seen as -

Cazden: Well, they are, they are over time a kind of scaffolding; absolutely.

That's right. They are.

Olson: That's interesting.

Cazden: But the point I want to make is connecting scaffolds to Vygotsky, the Vygotsky theory. Because in the famous article that Jerry Bruner wrote with David Woods on tutoring where he uses the term scaffold--that may be the first time that interactional sequence is picked out and focused on and given a name--Vygotsky is not mentioned.

Olson: That's interesting.

Cazden: And in 1978, December of '78--terrible time to go to Moscow; don't do it. Twenty-five below--Mike Cole, who's been one of the people most prominent along with Dan Slobin in bringing to the awareness of American scholars work going on in the Soviet Union. Dan edited Soviet Psychology for years.

Olson: In Russian or translated into English?

Cazden: Translated. And then Michael Cole took it over. Mike had a long history of relationship with Luria. Mike put together a small, very small group, I think there were four of us, to go to Moscow in December of '78, the year I was at the Center for Advanced Studies, '78-'79, Ann Brown, Herb Clark, and me went with Mike. And we spent a lot of time at Vygotsky's Institute, where we witnessed what we would now call dynamic assessment. That year, '78-'79, since I was at Stanford, I was asked to do the plenary talk at the Stanford Child Language Conferences which were by then annual events.

Olson: Uh huh

Cazden: I think they still are. And so I did it. The title of it is "Peek A Boo as an Instructional Model," taking Peek A Boo which Jerry had written about, along with other early games.

Olson: Uh huh

Cazden: Taking--I mean I wouldn't have thought of Peek A Boo if it hadn't have been for Jerry--taking that as a model of scaffolding and putting together the idea of scaffolding and the writings of Vygotsky. I think that may have been the first time that those two were put together; I don't know, but I think it may have been. And that paper even though it was only published in the 1979 proceedings, got a fair amount of circulation and citation and so on.

Olson: So just explain how is it an instructional model? How is Peek A Boo an instructional model?

Cazden: Well, because in Peek A Boo the adult starts out, the adult can play all the roles and then the adult leaves slots for the child to participate.

Olson: I see.

Cazden: And the child can take over more and more of those slots and eventually, the child can do the hiding and so on and make the adult take the responding role.

Olson: Yeah, I see.

Cazden: So it's a scaffold in the sense of creating a structure that the child can work in, talk within, as the child comes to know the structure and take over more and more of the roles; the adult gradually releases control and even changes participation, reduces and changes participation to be the minor partner rather than the major partner. Roger Brown had written either an article or a section of an article called, "What a Difference A Game Makes." It's the structure of the game, the structure to work within. Of course, now you can generalize that to the value that people in literature and English Education talk about the benefit of

instruction in poetic forms too, as a way of working within a structure rather than say, write any old thing, a free verse.

Olson: Uh huh. Yeah.

Cazden: I hadn't thought of that, but I think it's the same idea. And the only other article, the third I wanted to mention, is the last sequentially, and that is bringing in Bakhtin's ideas. And Bakhtin's ideas were widely known in literary circles. But not so much in Education. There was a meeting in the late '80s, in England. It combined the Conferences of the British and American Applied Linguistics Society at which I was at to give a paper. So I gave a paper on Hymes and Bakhtin and the relationship between their two ideas. I can remember starting to give this paper, and people in the largely linguistic audience said, "Ba who?"

Olson: Never heard of him?

Cazden: Totally unknown in, in Linguistic circles at that time. And that paper in various subsequent versions--first published as "Contributions of the Bakhtin circle to communicative competence" in Applied Linguistics--and then given at AERA and then in a book, Contexts for Learning, became influential, I think in bringing--

Olson: What--

Cazden: --Bakhtin's ideas into educational discourse. Now all of this, starting with the neglected situation has really gotten away from development per se. And at some point I dropped out of SRCD because I realized my work really wasn't developmental--again, in what I think of as a longitudinal kind of way. My work has been applied, there's a question on the next page about applied work. That's where--

Olson: That's where it is; where your heart it.

Cazden: Virtually all of it has been. And I think it's been very useful, but less classically developmental.

Olson: Developmental. Go back a second to say, what was it about Hymes and Bakhtin that you found so interesting and that you developed?

Cazden: Well, as I read Vygotsky there's nothing on language variation.

Olson: No, I didn't see anything.

Cazden: Situational variation, yes in his chapter in Mind in Society on play, but not on language variation otherwise.

Olson: Like the genre or?

Cazden: Like Genre or Register and Social roles, or dialects.

Olson: Right.

Cazden: Or genres as different kinds of texts. It's just "language," undifferentiated.

Olson: That's right.

Cazden: Whatever you have in your head. Bakhtin was basically a literary theorist, and did a lot of work on novels. Think of a model, of a novel like *Middlemarch* where language variation comes in very prominently through the different characters. In these rich novels, 19th Century Dickens and George Elliott and all that, where there's social class variation and situational variation, you've got all kinds of different languages.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: And so Bakhtin writes about both social languages in the novel but also social languages in everyday life. But I think his interest in the everyday life part came first through his interest in the fictional representations of that life. And so his discussion of language variation--social languages, genre, registers is profoundly interesting. I use lots, and everybody else interested in language in education now uses lots, of quotes from him. But there's also a part of Bakhtin that I have found very useful in thinking about education, which in an interesting way, connects back more closely to Vygotsky because it relates to the use of language mentally, not just socially out in the world. And that is a distinction that Bakhtin makes between what he calls authoritative language and internally persuasive language. "Authoritative language" is in his words language that comes to you with the authority of the speaker, or the writer if you're reading, fused within it; you have to accept it. And it's only if it becomes "internally persuasive language," language that you can work with, take apart, "re-accentuate," in his words, that you can really make it your own. My claim is that in Education, you have to take this authoritative stuff, you have to deal with that stuff. That's the accumulated knowledge of world and the society and not just ours but other society's'; you have to deal with that stuff. But you have to deal with it in education in such a way that students can take it apart, work with it, re-accentuate it, make it internally persuasive. And that contrast has not been picked up as much as some of his other ideas. Vygotsky's work is invaluable for heuristics as well. He was an empirical psychologist but it's not his data that people remember; it's his ideas.

Olson: Yes. I think that, that position is very important because the impact of Dewey was so much to say that it's internally generated understanding that's critical. But it seems to me he lost track of the normative standards of cultures, valued knowledge. And it's hard to keep those two things in tension.

Cazden: Absolutely.

Olson: Spelling them out at least you can realize there's two things a foot here.

Cazden: Dewey tried in many different ways to keep those two things in tension. And in Experience and Education he was very distressed that Progressive Education seemed to go so far in the direction of away from that accumulated knowledge.

Olson: Do you want to talk anything about research funding or do you have any criticisms about public, about journals' willingness to publish articles or about funding for research that you think is worth doing? Has research funding gone the way; not just in your own experience but I think they'd like comments on whether we're doing things right as an Institution.

Cazden: I don't think I can say much useful about that.

Olson: Okay.

Cazden: I've had funding from the Office of Education and other agencies of the Federal Government and I've had funding from the Spencer Foundation. I haven't had trouble getting funding but then I never did big projects that required a lot of money. A lot of my work was done with no funding. I worked for the Spencer Foundation during Pat Graham's Presidency as members at one time of all of their Advisory Committees that peer-reviewed proposals in their different categories: major research grants, professional development research grants; and practitioner research grants. And that was very interesting. Pat was trying to get more research more closely related to educational practice; and what that phrase "educational, research for educational practice" should mean is a tough one. But I never had particular problems, and I haven't really been involved in that whole controversy.

Olson: Well, just as an Institutional issue, your concern as you say is primarily applied, education is applied.

Cazden: Uh huh.

Olson: But it's also part of Child Development but there is kind of a--I wouldn't say a tension--but a bit of a collapse of the distinction between Child Development research and educational research. Some departments like ours just changed its name to be Human Development, I think, rather than Educational theory or something of that sort. Do you see?

Cazden: Isn't your Professorship "Education and Development"?

Olson: Education and Human Development. That's my description but our department is called Human Development and Applied Psychology; I would like it to be Education and Human Development or Human Development and Education; somehow putting those two things together. Anyway, this is an interview about you. Do you think that those interests should be put together as much as they are or should they be kept independent?

Cazden: Well, I think for--from the point of view of education for the applied things, they've got to be put together and I really, I think Vygotsky has it right; when he talks about education, not education but "instruction" as leading development. This is in contrast to Piaget, or at least to one interpretation of Piaget. And in contrast to the readiness philosophy where you wait until a child shows that he or she is developmentally ready and there have been controversies even over the National Association for the Education of Young Children's beloved phrase, "Developmentally appropriate education," which can be interpreted either way. Do you sit around and wait until spontaneously the child shows readiness or do you support scaffolds?

Olson: Yes.

Cazden: And provide conditions for stimulating that development. So I think they have to be put together, so I'm all for you on that. But when I criticize my own research it's because I haven't stayed with individual children enough to show that creating certain learning environments does indeed have a payoff on some developmental measures. The only place is in one paper that I wrote with Marie Clay in the book on Vygotsky and Education that Luis Moll edited. In part of that paper I tracked over time one child's development of ability to write, to actual transcribe for herself--writing in the sense of transcribing her ideas, her words, onto paper correctly. The analysis really is a Peek A Boo model: tracking different sentences over time, how much the adult had to write, how much the child wrote with some prompting, what the child wrote independently and how those three changed over time with the adult role decreasing and the child's independent role increasing. That's the only time that I've done that.

Olson: Empirically.

Cazden: Now, when you get more complex behaviors, of course, it's much harder to show that. After all, Roger Brown never did the second volume of the first language. There's one volume, period, because after that he was coping with all of English grammar, and he said so.

Olson: Oh, really. Elaborate on that. Just--

Cazden: Roger's A First Language does not go--does not follow the children as far as some of the data is available. Not a very clear sentence. There was more data on children's later development than is included in A First Language. The complexities of English and the problems those pose for data analysis and of course, the whole situational--

Olson: --

Cazden: --influences would become much more prominent. What situations a child is in and happens to say and all of that.

Olson: --

Cazden: Yeah, the role of the interlocutor, absolutely. So while I can do this neat little analysis with children's very beginning writing, which is more like their very beginning speaking in terms of the simplicity of the phenomena, doing it with more complex school learning in anywhere near as elegant a way is a very, very different job. But I do want to say one thing about--going back to your good question about journals as well as research funding. For many people in educational research, there has been a major problem of getting qualitative research accepted in journals. It's not so much a problem now; but it was ten, fifteen years ago. I don't remember that ever being a problem in the language field, because Linguistics has always worked with qualitative analyses of language phenomenon. Sometimes counting, sometimes not counting. Roger Brown being a Social Psychologist, not a Linguist, certainly counted as well, simple counting; I don't think there are any fancy statistics at all in his book. I'd have to go back and check. My Child Development article has graphs, and there are some numbers in it but for the most part, the numerical differences are so sharp that you don't need fancy quantitative analyses to show differences. So I don't remember that ever being a problem in the language field. Now this is a big generalization and I may be totally wrong, but that one aspect of more ethnographic kind of ways of working I don't think had the same access to either funding or journals in psychology, but I may be wrong about that.

Olson: Do you want to say something about your career at Harvard? About the Department; about what its directions and its--the influence you had on it or would like to have had on it or anything like that?

Cazden: Well, the thing I should say about my career at Harvard was that, again, I was just very lucky. The right person in the right place at the right time, because when I got my degree in '65, was when there was a lot of government money for research in Education because of Johnson's War on Poverty. And we had at Harvard for a very brief time--I don't think it was more than a couple of years--one of these large, federally funded centers. It was the Center for the Study of Educational Differences. That's what it was called. It was short lived because Harvard professors being Harvard professors, they didn't like governments setting agendas for them, etc. Finally, there was an amicable parting of the ways, but I was able to go immediately from being a Doctoral Student to being a Research Associate because of interest in Language and language variation kinds of educational differences and then joined the faculty as an Assistant Professor and I started giving courses in child language. I remember one colleague, Wayne O'Neil at MIT saying, "Child Language? There's animal language, but child language? Not children's language?" I said, "No, child language," and of course, now, of course, it's "child language" everywhere. I was there at a time as I say, and I worked in Early Childhood for a few years even though that had not been my teaching experience. And was able to stay on, and when I got tenure in '71, it was argued for, it was argued for as a position in Early Childhood Education. I was still at that point identified with Early Childhood. And I stayed on then for thirty years in all, '65 to '95. When I started out, I was in Human Development. I think that's what it was called then. And then in the late '70s, when I came back from that year at the Center for Advanced Studies, the then Dean Paul Ylvisaker asked me if I'd move across the street and join the what was then called Teaching, Curriculum and Learning Environments and become the Chair of that department, which I did. And simply transferred my Child Language and Education course there. Or by that time, maybe it was Classroom Discourse rather than Child Language and Education. Because gradually, my work changed from work with two, or three, or four year olds to older kids. It added an interest in writing to oral language. And it added an interest in language in the classroom to language in the home. So in all those ways, it became more educational centered and it added deliberate instructional--

Olson: Language.

Cazden: --focus to what happens more spontaneously with instructional effect but not intent on the part of parents.

Olson: Yeah. Did you have particular colleagues or students that you, that the relationship was particularly productive or were these scattered all over the world rather than in your Institution?

Cazden: Well, I mean, the most famous advisee I take no credit for whatsoever and that's Laura Petito--

Olson: Oh.

Cazden: --who got her degree at the Ed School even though her work was totally in Psychology.

Olson: Now she's at McGill, isn't she?

Cazden: She's was, but moved to Dartmouth.

Olson: Oh.

Cazden: She was at Harvard giving a talk a few months ago and she was listed at Dartmouth. I think it must be a career mar--you know, career marriage or something that took her to Dartmouth, or Dartmouth gave her phenomenal space for her work, 'cause she's still working in sign language-related issues. Very neurological as well as--

Olson: Yes.

Cazden: --as interactional. But she was at the Ed School. Both she and Ursula Bellugi tenured at Salk Institute these many years--both have Ed School EdDs as I do, because the requirements were more flexible.

Olson: Uh huh. You could take people just because they were talented, not because they --.

Cazden: And the program then was more flexible.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: So I have no claim to being part of--

Olson: That's interesting, though.

Cazden: --productivity. The people who I've been, who I feel proudest of now I would say--and this goes back to issues of social class and race--are a number of outstanding African American women.

Olson: Oh.

Cazden: Lisa Delpit, Michelle Foster, Vanessa SiddleWalker, who's gone into historical research, not interaction particularly. Those are the ones that come immediately to mind.

Olson: Do you want--you've already said something about your relationship with SRCD as your, as your interest became more applied and more connected to education your--

Cazden: --.

Olson: But was SRCD important to you at the outset?

Cazden: Oh, it certainly was important to me at the outset. The last time I remember participating was when there was a wonderful session at an SRCD held in Boston for Roger Brown.

Olson: I was there and you were on a panel; you and even Steve Pinker who was a new student was in the panel.

Cazden: Yes, Steve was a later generation student and Dan Slobin from the early generation.

Olson: I think -- may have been.

Cazden: I was the last one to speak--

Olson: Yes, I remember that.

Cazden: --if I remember. All those papers came out in Frank Keppel's edited book on The Development of Language and Language Researchers.

Olson: Yes, yes; that was quite a wonderful -- terrific audience.

Cazden: It was a--

Olson: Terrific audience.

Cazden: --it was a ballroom size audience.

Olson: And very exciting. That's right.

Cazden: And it was around Roger's sixtieth birthday.

Olson: Yeah. So that was, that was a formative seminar.

Cazden: Frank organized it; he's, he's a, Frank Kessel is a great organizer.

Olson: Yes, he is.

Cazden: Interesting event; I don't know if he works for a foundation--

Olson: Yes, he's for Social Science Research.

Cazden: Research Council?

Olson: Research Council or something like that.

Cazden: That's the last time I remember participating. Oh yes, SRCO was very important in the early years and I don't remember when I became a member or when I left it; I have no way of tracking that.

Olson: What are the issues that you would like to see more energy and resources devoted to in your, in your area, in your field? In other words, where do you think the field is going or should go or is that too speculative?

Cazden: Well, let me just mention two research projects that I think are examples. They are both big time expenses, large projects. One is in the area of writing and was supported by the Spencer Foundation. In the area of child language development, oral language development classically, Dan Slobin when he left Harvard with his degree and went to Berkeley organized this very large cross-linguistic study of children's language development to see what was in fact, similar and what was different. When you are learning a language, because of the structural differences among languages, what's hard and what's easy. No language is--you can't rank languages on complexity, but languages are different in where they are complex, what complexity they present to the learner. The results of that study came out in multi-volumes. Terrific, terrific, terrific work. Subsequent to that, Ruth Berman, an Israeli psycho-linguist, more a linguist--Dan Slobin and Ruth Berman together edited the volume on the oral language study--but Ruth, by herself, with a new group of colleagues in different countries in Spain, Israel, US--I've forgotten where else--carried on from the original Slobin and Berman oral language development, carried on in two ways. Whereas Slobin and Berman stopped with age nine, the Berman study went on up to graduate students at intervals: I think nine, eleven, I've forgotten. But also, the Berman study added writing as well as oral

development and contrasted two genres. Narratives, which are what Slobin and Berman had children all over the world do, tell stories from a wordless book, Frog. Where are you?

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: The Berman study had a new prompt for narrative, not a book. And a related prompt for the more expository genre about the same related topic. The students, their subjects, did written versions as well as oral versions and there was a large enough sample so the order of these tasks was all carefully--

Olson: Oh yes.

Cazden: --designed. That research has just come out in a couple of articles, several articles in the journal Written Language and Literacy. I think it's a terrific, terrific research and was expensive. I remember arguing for it in the Spencer proposal readings and I'm sure they're still mining the data.

Olson: More educational--of a more educational nature, what sorts of things?

Cazden: Well, no, it, like because both the Slobin and Berman original work in oral language and the Berman in written and oral language still took subjects who were either from very educated families or were themselves educated. In other words, there was no social class variation. And there was not ethnic variation. But Ruth Berman has promised in writings that they are going to expand the writing study into more diverse populations *within* languages. These were cross linguistic--

Olson: Yes.

Cazden: --more than they were social class, ethnic differences, situational differences, educational differences, etc. So I'd like to see that same kind of study but with more situational variation. Problem is you get more variation and then it's hard to find the pattern.

Olson: That's right.

Cazden: The other study quite different is Shirley Brice-Heath's study where she has been studying adolescents as they work in community based arts organizations, which I think is now completed but went on over a decade, which the Spencer Foundation also supported and maybe other places, too. She had--did a lot of tape recordings of interact--naturally occurring interactions as young people talked among themselves and talked with artist mentors--whether visual artists or theater directors or sculptors, whatever the field. She has all these tape recordings and has plans to do empirical, longitudinal analyses of the development of complex language, because she thinks the kind of activities that are, that students engage in as they are critiquing each others' work, or as they are planning, taking responsibility for and planning exhibits or plays--because there is a, there is a rhythm of working and then performance and performance for public performance--she thinks that, her hypothesis is that, those situations stimulate the development of complex--fluency in complex if-then kinds of structures and so on. I'm hoping she will stay put and sit at her computer and--

Olson: Get it done.

Cazden: --she, too, is very interested in neurological--

Olson: Is she?

Cazden: --bases for the effects of work in the arts, but I don't know what she'll be able to say about that and I don't really care.

Olson: It seems to me that the people who, there's so much talk here, too, about neurological, genetic, neuro-physiological explanations of behavior and so on that the attention has fallen off the really critical social interactional--

Cazden: I agree

Olson: --aspects of development that its--

Cazden: She's trying to put the two together; being an anthropologist; she's not about to ignore--

Olson: --.

Cazden: --Interactional, social etc. but she would like to be able to argue from the other base as well. I don't know about that.

Olson: Yeah.

Cazden: Anyway, those are examples of large scale research which I've never done. I'm more a loner in my work or very small scale; one or two close colleagues. But those are a couple examples of big studies that I think are very influential.

Olson: Why do you think you've had interesting and productive, scholarly careers? Is there any explanation; is it just sort of got a good start?

Cazden: Got a very good start with, with Roger and the Center for Cognitive Studies, a very good start; and then the opportunity through this national concern, I got invited to Conferences like that first one in '65, but there were many others so that I almost immediately had a large set of colleagues outside of Harvard. I was not dependent on whatever was going on at the Ed School, and my closest colleagues have been outside of the Ed School. I didn't get involved so much at the Ed School itself and I'm not an organizational person to create new structures; I don't think in those terms, organizational structures. But because of the timing, and because of being at Harvard--there's no question about that, you're more visible, you're immediately more visible--I had the opportunity for rich interaction around the country with other people. And so I think it was, you know, those sorts of coming together of contingencies.

Olson: See what was happening, yes, you were involved in all these things that were happening --.

Cazden: Had access to conversations and colleagues and wonderful people and ideas in the whole Language of Education.

Olson: Did you, did you see, one of the shifts that you eluded to when you mentioned the Vygotsky when you talk about situations in your own work, too, there seems to have been another shift after the cognitive revolution into more, this more social, cultural revolution. Would you see that as a decisive stage or was that in your view always present; seem to have been present in Bruner's thinking to a large extent but the field now is divided into people who were cognitivists and social cognitivists. Ones who think social relations are fundamental and those who think that cognitive operations are fundamental; did you see a shift?

Cazden: I, I, because I'm concerned with education in an applied sense, I very quickly realized that I needed to add that social dimension. Social situational dimension. I have never--I hope that I can say this-- gone as far as some of the social interactional explanations of language to totally disavow Chomsky's assumption that the child gets born, wired in some way to learn from experience a very complex system that you can't learn by sheer empirical induction. There are too many false hypotheses out there for pure induction. I just think that it's crazy to say that's hogwash. Can't be. But it doesn't explain the whole story; it can't explain the whole story as development goes on from the basic structure to all these complex variations of register and genre and so on that the human mind is capable of learning to cope with. So I don't want to do an either/or. And there a lot of these controversies in the field in literacy as well as development that I try to avoid. Pendulum swings and fights where you had to choose one side or the other. But I can't really speak to the field as a whole; I'm certainly aware of the prominence of exactly what you say genetic, neuro, "wet psychology" is how George Miller used to talk about it. But I can--I haven't tried to keep up with the particular issues and whose--

Olson: Who's on first?

Cazden: --who's on first and who just made a home run. Your, you, I mean we should come back to that question when you talk if it's of interest to you.

Olson: Yes, it is.

Cazden: I--

Olson: I ask something about your personal interest and your family--perhaps some interest or interests that you keep going; you're supposed to be retired but of course, you're not, but you might have other interests that you like to inter-relate--

Cazden: Well, the--

Olson: --with professional interests?

Cazden: The only things I could think of there were that my husband's interest was in music history and music theory, and one of my two daughters, Joanna, has made music an important part of her career. She tried to do it as a singer and song writer and guitar teacher and quickly found that wasn't a very steady job. So she became, has become a speech therapist and particularly, not speech therapists in the narrow sense of coping with disabilities like my hissing "s," but working with people--she lives in L.A.--with voice problems more generally. And she and I have had a few discussions, and my husband and I have had a few discussions, about this fascinating area of the relation, the similarities in music and language in that they both have this dual structure of formal structure but also a meaning structure and how those go together and how, at least as I think of language teaching, you have to go back and forth between focus on meaning and focus on form, and that's part of one of these polarities.

Olson: I know.

Cazden: To get thought about.

Olson: People push one side or the other as if you can completely ignore one--

Cazden: Well, you can't; they are absolutely, that's what makes the symbol system such a phenomenally rich expressive medium. But it's true in music as well though in very different ways. But those kinds of issues have threaded through some family discussions. My husband for a while as an avocation did folk song collecting in connection with this children's camp that I mentioned in connection with the progressive school movement. And he there encountered some language and musical variation, because singers would tell, would sing an Irish ballad in towns along the Hudson river, upper Hudson river, in different ways at different times. And he wanted to get down a single version of the song for kids to learn at camp and for subsequent collections of these folk songs from the Catskills. And his way, he, his way of dealing with variation has now been criticized. I mean it's now not the way that people do it, because he abstracted away from variation to get a single--

Olson: Oh.

Cazden: --prototypical version.

Olson: The King James Version.

Cazden: And, now, of course, people pay attention to those performance differences.

Olson: Variations; isn't that interesting

Cazden: And Dick Bauman, a wonderful ethnographer of communication, was at Indiana for many years and I think, now at Texas. I'm not sure. Anyway, he was a camp Woodland student--'cause a lot of people from that camp were going into Anthropology and Music and History and so on.

Olson: Oh.

Cazden: And he's written a lot on those issues of performance variation. It's become a theoretically interesting topic.

Olson: You know, as I recall, Jack Goody collected recitals of the Lord's Prayer which is scripted and everybody is supposed to say it exactly the same way but if you--I--you haven't been -- say it, there's quite a bit of variability.

Cazden: That's very interesting; I didn't know--I didn't, never knew he worked on that.

Olson: Well, he worked on oral tradition generally and when they in traditional culture when they recite the traditional myths, there was a lot of variability, differences in telling from one location to the other, and it, his work was mostly trying to get the official version but he was, yeah, it was acknowledged that even if people are supposed to have memorized something, there's quite a bit of difference.

Cazden: That's very interesting.

Olson: And the Canadian National Anthem is pathetic because they changed the wording of it about ten years ago to take out some reference to say about man or something, I don't know what the occasion was, but now when they sing the National Anthem, people all of a sudden go silent at these critical junctions because nobody knows exactly what he's supposed to say.

Cazden: I love that National Anthem.

Olson: Any final point?

Cazden: I don't think so; I think that's—

Olson: Terrific, been terrific.

Cazden: Okay; let's stop.

Olson: Thank you very much.