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Family Influence on Children's Second Language Literacy Building: A Case Study of Korean Families

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FAMILY INFLUENCE ON CHILDREN'S SECOND LANGUAGE LITERACY
BUILDING: A CASE STUDY OF KOREAN FAMILIES

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

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August 2007

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This qualitative case study aims to explore the effects of family influence on children's second language acquisition (SLA) by investigating Korean parents' perspectives on early English education and their strategies for the children's second language literacy building, both in Korea and in the U.S. The data collection depended primarily on interviews and observation. For the triangulation of this data collection, children's artifacts were also analyzed. I applied triangulation to the development of a theoretical framework. I studied socio-cultural theory, input theory, and the critical period hypothesis to support parents' arguments and perspectives on their children's SLA.

The result showed a very positive relationship between family influence and the children's SLA when the parental influence started very early (since infancy) and was consistent. Among strategies employed by parents, mother-child reading of English books was indicated the most effective. For older children who arrived during secondary school, background knowledge in various fields provided support for their academic success, and knowledge in English grammar and structures facilitated their spoken English in the U.S. The study

also included children exposed to two or three years of English since elementary school in Korea via private language institutes or worksheets, and those who did not have that exposure. The result showed that both groups had similar difficulties in speaking and listening in the U.S. for the initial six months to a year. The children who arrived in the U.S. before elementary school showed fluency in speaking within a year without any exposure to English in Korea. The children who arrived in the U.S. right before their puberty showed two different results: (1) active and social children showed fluency in English after overcoming their initial language barrier, but (2) quiet and unsocial children did not show fluency in English after two more years in the U.S. which did not show a strong relationship with their academics. Finally, this study calls for a shift of perspectives on second language learners who lack fluency in speaking, from deficient and handicapped L2 learners to multi-competent language users.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I came to the U.S. with my two sons feeling as if I were escaping from the frustration and the heavy burdens of life on my fragile shoulders in Korea rather than pursuing academic study. I had nothing in my personal abyss except extreme anger and miserable feelings. However, this escape did not solve any problems in my life; instead, it only added more bitterness and isolation to, when I felt I may have had a negative influence on my two sons' development. My older son's isolation and loneliness as an adolescent made me realize that my spiritual instability could lead to the destruction of both his life and his mental health. My younger son began to keep silent, and I feared that this was due to the language barrier and the dark atmosphere of our family.

There were a few children at my younger son's age in the Korean church. He persisted in going to the Korean church to play with his peers, so I allowed him to go there alone for more than a year. After my doctoral coursework, I began to accompany him to the Korean church, but my older son still refused to go out except for going to school. One day he said he would accompany us to church, and since then he consistently participated in the Sunday services and youth group activities. We went to church to reduce our loneliness for more than a year, still having a vague belief in God. Meanwhile, I did notice that something in us was changing little by little. First, I noticed that my perspective on life and people was changing from negative to positive and hopeful. I realized that my agony was disappearing, and I had gained peace of mind. I found I could be happy with little things; I learned to be humble, and I discarded my arrogance.

First, this dissertation is dedicated to God and His words; He gave me the peace and power to concentrate on my dissertation. Second, I dedicate this work to my two sons: my younger son who built a bridge for me to be a Christian and achieved academic success in spite of his long silent period; and my older son who, in spite of his severe isolation and loneliness, took good care of his younger brother, looking after his academics and other details when I was absent due to my busy coursework and dissertation. Third, I would like to thank my dissertation advisor, Dr. Fontaine. She is the most considerate and kindest woman whom I have ever met. She always understood my situation as a student and a single mother with two sons. Her intelligence guided me in the right direction, and her feedback was of great help. Above all, I cannot forget her love toward doctoral students because she spared her precious time during her sabbatical to work with this dissertation. Fourth, this dissertation is dedicated to the other two readers of my dissertation: Dr. Gebhard had a strong influence on my decision to study in the U.S. Without his guidance and advice when I came to the U.S., today's honor might not have been given to me. Finally, I want to show appreciation to Dr. Chaiken. Her toughness and many requirements in her research course provided me with the basis for this research, facilitating the whole process. These three professors are who I want to resemble as a scholar, professor, and individual. I would like to especially thank my husband who supported us financially, my sister and her husband who dealt with many practical affairs for us, and my elderly mother who has prayed for me and my children through her loving tears.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
One	INTRODUCTION.....	1
	My Experience regarding English	1
	Perspectives, Practices, and Experiences regarding My Children's SLA	2
	Koreans' Perspectives on Early English Education.....	5
	Korean People's General Views on Early English Education.....	8
	Parental Strategies for L1 and L2 Literacy.....	16
	Background and Research Questions.....	18
	Purpose of the Study.....	21
	Significance of the Study.....	23
	Terminology of the Study	27
	Second Language.....	27
	Second Language Acquisition and Learning	27
	Second Language Literacy	28
	Family Influence.....	29
	Socio-Cultural Theory	29
Two	REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	31
	English as a Global Language	31
	The Number of Students Leaving Korea to Study Abroad	33
	Comparison of the Cost of Study Abroad to Total Travel Cost.....	36
	The Number of Korean Students in the U.S.....	38
	Rationale for the Sharp Increase in the Number of Korean Students in the U.S.	39
	Theoretical Framework	41
	Theories Supporting Parental Perspectives on English ...	43
	Variables Affecting Children's SLA	54
	L2 Learners not as Deficient, but as Multi-competent.....	56
	Studies on the Effect of Age for SLA	58
	Studies on the Effect of Input for SLA.....	65
	Socio-Cultural Perspectives on Literacy Building	70
	The Origin of Socio-Cultural Theory	70
	Socio-Cultural Theory and Language Learning	73
	Vygotskian Perspectives on Literacy Building	75
	Bakhtinian Perspectives on Literacy Building	87
	Beyond Dichotomy toward Unity	90
	Problems of Dichotomy.....	90

Chapte	Page
Debates	92
Multiple Theories	94
Studies on the Effect of Individual Variation for SLA.....	95
Rationale for Consideration of Variation	95
Motivation, Aptitude, and Attitude	96
Other Factors.....	98
Studies on the Influence of Background Knowledge.....	100
Children's Education in Korea	100
Overviews on Studies of Korean L2 Learners	101
The Effect of L1 Background Knowledge on L2 Literacy	102
Studies on the Post-Method Perspective on SLA	104
The Birth of Process	104
Process and Its Problem.....	105
The Birth of Post-Process	106
Postprocess and Vygotskian Socio-Cognitive Theory ...	108
L2 Learners' Position in Postprocess.....	109
Three RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS	113
Introduction	113
Research Questions.....	116
Discussion of Research Types.....	117
Comparison of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods.....	117
Rationale for Qualitative Research	119
Rationale for Ethnographic Research	122
Protection of Human Subjects.....	124
Participants	126
Method of Participant Selection	126
Setting of the Research	126
Population of the Research	127
The Stance of the Researcher	129
Methods for Data Collection.....	130
Semi-structured Interviews	130
Questionnaire for Demographic Survey.....	132
In-depth Individual Interview	133
Focus Group Interview.....	133
Participant Observation	135
Studies of Children's Written Artifacts.....	137
Methods of Data Analysis	137
Data Management	137
Process of Data Analysis.....	138
Data Interpretation	139

Chapter		Page
Four	DATA ANALYSIS	141
	Introduction	141
	Procedure of Data Analysis.....	142
	Categories for Family Influence	143
	Categories for General Issues regarding Children's Language Development.....	143
	Demographic Information of Each Family	144
	Data Analysis by Category.....	146
	Category I: Parent-Child Interaction through Reading Books	147
	Category II: Parent-Child Interaction through Direct Instruction.....	175
	Category III: Parent-Child Interaction through Audio-Visual Tools.....	193
	Category IV: Parent-Child Interaction through Utilization of External Facilities	205
	Category V: Parent-Child Interaction through Socialization and Acculturation	216
	Category VI: Perspectives on Early English Education.....	228
	Category VII: Background Knowledge	242
	Category VIII: Children's Personal Characteristics and Language Aptitude.....	254
	Category IX: American Community, School System, and Adaptation	263
	Category X: Identity, Motivation, and Retention of English.....	273
	Data Comparison	284
	Category 1: Parent-Child Interaction through Reading Books	285
	Category II: Parent-Child Interaction through Direct Instruction.....	287
	Category III: Parent-Child Interaction through Audio-Visual Tools.....	289
	Category IV: Parent-Child Interaction through Utilization of External Facilities	291
	Category V: Parent-Child Interaction through Socialization and Acculturation	293
	Category VI: Perspectives on Early English Education.....	295
	Category VII: Background Knowledge	297

Chapter		Page
	Category VIII: Children's Personal Characteristics and Language Aptitude.....	301
	Category IX: American Community, School system, and Adaptation	307
	Category X: Identity, Motivation, and Retention of English.....	309
Five	FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	312
	Research Findings	312
	Discussion.....	332
	The Influence of Age on L2 Literacy	332
	Family Influence on Children's L1 and L2 Literacy	336
	The Influence of Background Knowledge on L2 Literacy	338
	The Influence of Personality on L2 Literacy.....	340
	How Should L2 Learners Be Perceived by TESOL Scholars and Educators as well as How Should They View Themselves?	342
	Limitations of the Study.....	347
	Limitations of Population.....	347
	Limitation of Observation Sites	348
	Limitation of Methodology.....	349
	Reflections on the Research	350
	Conclusion	353
	REFERENCES	354
	APPENDICES	378
	Appendix A – Informed Consent Form (English)	378
	Appendix B – Informed Consent Form (Korean).....	382
	Appendix C – Questionnaire for Family Demographics	386
	Appendix D – Questions for Individual Interviews (English).....	387
	Appendix E – Questions for Individual Interviews (Korean)	390
	Appendix F – Questions for Individual Interviews for Children (English) .	394
	Appendix G – Questions for Individual Interviews for Children (Korean) .	396
	Appendix H – Questions for Group Interview (English)	398
	Appendix I – Questions for Group Interview (Korean)	399

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 The Development of Early Study Abroad.....	36
2 Monetary Ratio of Studying Abroad within the Total Travel	37
3 Demographic Information of Each Family	145
4 Summary of Data Description for Category I: Parent-Child Interaction through Reading Books	174
5 Summary of Data Description for Category II: Parent-Child Interaction through Direct Instruction.....	192
6 Summary of Data Description for Category III: Parent-Child Interaction through Audio-Visual Tools.....	204
7 Summary of Data Description for Category IV: Parent-Child Interaction through Utilization of External Facilities	215
8 Summary of Data Description for Category V: Parent-Child Interaction through Socialization and Acculturation	227
9 Summary of Data Description for Category VI: Perspectives on Early English Education	242
10 Summary of Data Description for Category VII: Background Knowledge	253
11 Summary of Data Description for Category VIII: Children's Personal Characteristics and Language Aptitude	262
12 Summary of Data Description for Category IX: American Community, School System, and Adaptation.....	273
13 Summary of Data Description for Category X: Identity, Motivation, and Retention of English.....	284
14 Pseudonyms of Participant Children in Each Family	285
15 The Comparison of Children's Written Artifacts	304

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
1 The number of students leaving Korea to study abroad	34
2 The number of international students in the U.S.....	39

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Since the present study was inspired by my own and my sons' experiences as second language learners, I will cover my story in some detail in Chapter I to help with the understanding of the Korean socio-cultural setting with regard to a second language (English). My autobiographical narrative stories might also help the audience understand why I chose the topic and developed the research questions for the current study.

My Experience regarding English

I was born in Korea. I was exposed to English as soon as I entered middle school in 1976 and then studied English for six years until I graduated from high school. During those periods, I had never taken any private English lessons outside school until I entered the university. I was taught by English teachers who adhered to traditional ways of instruction such as repetition and pattern drills. English teachers barely spoke English while teaching students. In addition, there were few native English speakers inside and outside schools in my town. I was taught English in a typical EFL (English as a Foreign Language) setting.

I majored in English Education at the national university. Contrary to my expectation, the educational environments of the national university were not much different from those of middle schools and high schools in those days. Most courses consisted of education and English literature. Just a few native English speakers were allotted to the whole student body (over 300 in our

department), which meant that we had few opportunities to take English courses conducted only in English. To make up for the low quality of English conversation and listening, some students registered for courses in private language institutes outside college. Others went to the American army base in the city to take private lessons from the soldiers' wives. My friends and I took English conversation lessons from one of them for a couple of months. As soon as I graduated from the university, I became an English teacher. Since then, I have taught English for almost fifteen years in public and private middle schools and high schools, and in a university and a college as an instructor.

The more experienced I became as an English teacher, the more I felt the limitations of English knowledge and ways of instruction. Especially when I lectured at the university, I indeed felt the necessity of something refreshingly new to make my students more aware and stimulated. In my forties, I made up my mind to study abroad. I had two reasons for this decision. First, I hoped that study abroad would satisfy my academic thirst and help overcome my limitations as an English educator. Second, I did not want my two sons to tread the same road that I had regarding second language acquisition (SLA). I wanted them to acquire the mood and culture of English as well as the linguistic forms in a natural setting of the host country.

Perspectives, Practices, and Experiences regarding My Children's SLA

Before I came to the U.S., I had two strong beliefs regarding SLA: (1) Children can acquire a second language in the same way that they acquire their

first language and (2) The earlier they are exposed to English, the more naturally and rapidly they acquire it. Without any theoretical background of SLA, I educated my sons following my beliefs in Korea. When we arrived in the U.S., my older son was 14 years old and my younger son was nine years old. I paid more attention and exerted more effort toward my older son's English in Korea. Right before we came to the U.S., he took an English grammar lesson instructed by me at the university language institute. Before taking my lesson, he had often taken English lessons for conversation and grammar with his peers or older students at home by me.

However, I paid little attention to my younger son's English except for the English alphabet. I had two reasons for this. First, I wanted him to acquire a native-like accent without any involvement by non-native English speakers. Second, I strongly believed that younger children would be able to acquire English for their daily communication within six months once they were exposed to the mainstream culture. Many stories from parents whose children had been to elementary school in the host countries were enough to support my beliefs.

In 2004, when my doctoral coursework had just started, I experienced extremes of both happiness and frustration regarding my sons' SLA. I was extremely happy when my older son adapted to the American school and showed high achievement at school as a ninth grader. His successful achievement and quick adaptation were beyond my expectation. I remember the first day that I took him to the American middle school. I could not resist tears when I had to leave the school following the advisor's encouragement that he

would be fine. I was so worried about him because he was very introspective and his English speaking was not so good.

However, in my younger son's case, I left the elementary school smiling and feeling relieved. This was because he was young and relatively outgoing compared with his brother. I was convinced that he would easily enter the mainstream because he was young, although he did not have any knowledge of English except for the English alphabet. However, within a month, I realized that my two sons were exhibiting results contrary to my expectations. My older son could speak English within a month and had little difficulty at school. However, it took almost a month for my younger son to even say 'hi.' He refused to speak English to his peers and to his teachers. I believed that he would be able to greet in English within a few days and to speak simple English with his peers within a month. However, the two boys' responses to English contradicted my expectation.

I conducted a small-scale study in the fall of 2004 about the phenomena that my older son showed. The study indicated that for my older son, his background knowledge in all subjects that he had studied in Korea, along with his grammatical knowledge of English, functioned as a facilitating factor. I compared his school records in the U.S. and those in Korea. Regarding the subjects that he had learned in Korea and was studying in the U.S., he showed high academic achievement. However, regarding the two subjects (biology and health) that he had never studied in Korea, he experienced academic difficulty and showed relatively lower results. Since then, I have become convinced that L1 (first language) and L2 (second language) background knowledge acquired in the

home country can be an essential factor influencing SLA and schooling in the host country. In this study, I explored Korean parents' perspectives regarding L1 and L2 background knowledge for SLA in the U.S. I discuss what perspectives Korean people have regarding early English education in the following section.

Koreans' Perspectives on Early English Education

Until recently little research has been conducted to investigate the beliefs and perspectives parents have regarding their children's SLA. Most studies have been conducted quantitatively to know how L2 learners acquire certain linguistic elements. For example, researchers have focused on how L2 learners acquire grammars and what behaviors they show while they acquire them. It has not been so long since researchers began to take an interest in individual learners, their peculiar linguistic characteristics, language learning habits, and the influence of individual variations on SLA. The increase in the anthropological and ethnographic way of data collection has contributed a lot to the investigation of individual characteristics of L2 learners. However, parental beliefs and perspectives are areas for which researchers have shown little concern. Under the hegemonic influence of Western perspectives, parental beliefs and perspectives on L2 learners may have been ignored for SLA research. Rather than listening to and reflecting parents' efforts exerted in their home countries, and strategies provided by parents for their children's L1 and L2 literacy building, researchers have mainly tried to investigate a certain phenomenon depending on L2 learners' own experiences regarding SLA in the host country. They have

disregarded the long history of L2 learning in their home countries, as if L2 learners are exposed to English after they arrived in the host countries. However, the reality is different. Before they come to the host countries, adult L2 learners already might have at least six years of English education at schools in their home countries. Even numerous children are being exposed to English at an early age depending on their parents' beliefs and perspectives on SLA rather than their own will.

Let's take my story as a simple example. I had a strong belief that younger children would acquire L2 more quickly and easily than older L2 learners, although I did not have any knowledge of the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) before studying in the field of TESOL. But through my own experiences with my younger son, I realized that my belief was not always right. In some cases the CPH may seem applicable, but in other cases the same theory may not be plausible. For example, regarding the fluency in spoken English, the concept *the younger, the better* cannot be applied to my younger son. This is because various and complex factors originating from both his personality traits and his English learning experiences in Korea involves his SLA. It is true that he speaks with a more native-like English accent when compared with his older brother. However, he has been making slow progress in other areas regarding English. With my older son, my belief that English grammatical knowledge would facilitate his language adaptation once he entered the mainstream turned out to be correct.

The first part of Chapter II covers statistics regarding English in Korea. Part of the statistical data shows that Korea has become the country sending the

most students to schools in the U.S. The other data indicates that children accompanied by parents who study overseas are greatly contributing to the increasing number of Korean people in the U.S. Given these facts, I think that now is the time for researchers to turn their concern to parental beliefs and perspectives regarding children's SLA. The studies conducted until recently have not reflected beliefs or perspectives of parents who strongly affect children's SLA. Instead, SLA research has viewed L2 learning as phenomena happening in the host countries rather than those that already happened or are happening in their home countries.

Regarding what Korean parents have been done for their children's SLA, Yu and Kim (1983) stated that Korean parents show a strong tendency to be positively involved in their children's literacy, sacrificing themselves to promote a rich educational environment for their children. Chen (2003) studied factors influencing the academic success of Chinese international students. According to Chen, one of the primary reasons that these students choose to study in the U.S. is "the emergence of English as the primary language of the world" (p. 3). As two other reasons for studying in the U.S., they mentioned "lack of adequate higher education infrastructure in some developing countries," and the increasing ability of individual families to "support individuals who want to study overseas" (p. 3). Although Chen's participants were Chinese international students in the community college, their perspectives also reflect those of Korean parents and society because China and Korea belong to the same Confucian cultural band.

In Korea, the general public opinion regarding English is *the earlier, the better*. However, the issue on a critical period for L2 has long been discussed among parents and educators. Many surveys conducted to investigate answers to this issue show opposition to the CPH. Nagai (1997) argued that children's early exposure to English and rich environments for it do not always guarantee "native-like performance" (p. 7). Marshall (2000) pointed out that learning a foreign language in elementary school is not a magical tool for creating perfect second language speakers. Chipongian (2000) contended that timing cannot explain everything regarding SLA. However, many Korean parents have a tendency to believe that studying overseas at an early age will work as a panacea, allowing their children to overcome various barriers regarding English and difficulties caused during the language learning process.

For the current study, I listened to various voices and perspectives of Korean parents regarding early English education. Prior to the in-depth interviews with my participant parents regarding this issue, I investigated how common Korean parents and the public including students view this issue through the study of e-discussions and news articles on the Web in the following section.

Korean People's General Views on Early English Education

A strong but incorrect belief regarding English has been permeated into the deepest part of the Korean society, even into the children's pure minds: English solves everything. In this study, I listened to the perspectives and

experiences of Korean parents who are in the graduate program at a university in the U.S. regarding their efforts to support their children's L1 and L2 literacy. Through the in-depth interviews with parents and children, I investigated whether the perspectives ubiquitous in the Korean society on SLA reflect those of my participant parents. In this section, I explored Korean people's views on early English education.

Dae-Gone Bang (2006) is a chief vice-district leader of the National Teachers Union of the Seoul Branch as well as an elementary school teacher. He faced this issue directly with his students and strongly revealed his view on the Korean government's announcement that English would be regulated as a formal curriculum starting from first grade at elementary schools as of September, 2006. The government has said that the regulation for early English education is gradually applied to elementary schools nationwide after trying sample classes in certain areas for a certain period. Bang argued against the superficial educational view of the Ministry of Education in *Smallbook*, which is a monthly-published magazine in Korea containing various social, political, and cultural news. He pointed out that the government's plan for early English education would lead to failure without any discussion on the problems of it, which has continued for over ten years. According to him, the first generation students enrolled in English as a formal subject at school in Korea have become college freshmen, but they still have difficulty in speaking even basic expressions of English. He also argued that English education in Korea was beyond being "a strong wind" and had become "a violent gust of wind." His metaphor of wind

represents the boom of early English education in Korea. He boldly argued that parents hold mistaken perspectives on early English education, pointing out that some parents have even forced their children to lie on the operating room table for a tongue operation, expecting them to have a native-like accent. This horrible story indicates how desperately some Korean parents want their children to acquire native-like English. Bang (2006) attributed the failure of English education to the illusion that everybody must speak fluent English, instead of returning its blame to public education itself. He said that the government's incoherence and rashly implemented educational policy has contributed to the mistaken perspectives on early English education. He also stated that under the worthwhile but illusive name of international competitive power, the children's sense of identity as Koreans is weakening and Korean language education is being isolated in the context of the current obsessive focus on English.

Byeong-Soon Park (2006) is a professor in the English Department of Kyeong-hee University in Korea. He revealed his opinion on the internet under the title "What is the Problem and What is the Solution regarding the Winds of English?" Through this article, he claimed that the wind of English is blowing strongly throughout the Korean society, where various kinds of *fake-English* educational institutes promote so-called *secrets* for learning English, attracting students and parents. He stated many people even say that *English training overseas is a must* and *early English study overseas is an elective*. However, he argued the matter regarding English is too important to be neglected or evaded because it carries too much weight in the Korean society. To avoid a vicious

cycle regarding English education, he carefully warned that early English education as a formal course at school will fail unless it starts with a thorough preparation in infrastructure such as teachers, texts, and educational environments. Finally, he said that for 50 million Korean people to be literate in the Korean language sounds reasonable, but for the same number of people to be literate in English unrealistic and impractical.

In-Kwon Lee (2006), a representative of the Korean Voice Culture Center, expressed his view on Korean English education in the *Cheon-buk Central Newspaper*, reflecting on parental perspectives. He stated that, for a certain person to be considered as a good English speaker or writer, he or she must have the power of expression both in English and in Korean. He suggested that educational authorities have a socio-cultural effect of language learning in their minds when they issue a regulation concerned with English rather than hurriedly deal with the superficial side of English education.

In a special issue of the *National Policy Briefing*, the presidential committee for school policy promotion, Eun-Seok Sim (2006) made five suggestions to resolve problems concerned with Korean English education and to reduce the cost spent on private English education. Her article appears under the title "The Hope of Korean English Education is in School." Her five suggestions can be summarized as follows: to (1) hire English teachers for the English-only class, (2) increase the number of native English teachers, (3) increase English training and adventure programs, (4) accommodate college and

adult-level English education in college, and (5) discuss ways of English evaluation.

Daejeon Metropolitan Office of Education (2001, June) initiated a bulletin discussion from June 4 to June 30, 2001, under the topic, "What Do You Think of Early English Education?: The Situations and Problems of Infant English Education and the Problems of and Solutions to English Education at Elementary School." The discussion was heated and many people posted their frank views on the e-bulletin board. Hee-Sook Choi (2001, June 7) talked about English education in kindergarten. According to her, the monthly fee of a certain kindergarten in Seoul, capital city of Korea, is over 800,000 won (around \$1000 at the rate of exchange in 2001). In spite of such a high fee, many kids are sent to such expensive kindergartens where all activities and classes are conducted in English. She said there is a tendency to send their children to such educational facilities among parents who feel that English will make their children successful in school and in society.

Jae-Yeol Yun (2001, June 11) expressed his opinion based on his experiences as an elementary school teacher. According to the survey of the fourth graders in his class, 32 of 38 students were taking two to five hours of private English lessons a week through private language institutes, private tutoring, or extracurricular English education at school. He argued that the individual differences among peers caused by such private or after school English education have had a negative influence on a formal English course at school. As a result, the advanced children, due to early exposure to English,

have no interest in formal English education at school. In addition, he stated that many parents show distrust in school English education because it is usually conducted by elementary school teachers who transferred to English education after a certain period of English training without majoring in it at a university. According to Yun, English teachers' low quality in teaching and knowledge of English and students' individual differences have negatively affected school English education and produced no desirable result. Such a recurring vicious cycle regarding English has finally fostered a social atmosphere that makes people perceive the concept that *School is dead*, he added. From his argument, it can be inferred that distrust in English education became a motif to draw distrust in the public education nationwide.

Kye-Sang Lee (2001, June 12) argued that language contains its own history and emotional ties, and thus, the Westernized way of thinking is not always of help for Koreans because it sometimes prevents them from building their own traditions and their national sense of patriotism. To prevent such a demolition of traditions and patriotism, he claimed that the Korean society need not promote a desire for English-oriented education. Rather than being swept up by the prevalent commercial value attached to English and trying to make their children experts in English, he contended that parents should implant clear views of their own life and true nationalism in their children's minds. His statement rings an alarm bell to Korean parents who are pushing their children toward the sea of English before their identity as Koreans and view of life have been established. It is easy to find children who feel confused about their identity after a long

exposure to English in the Korean society. The following two elementary school students' views on English indicate how serious the issue of identity is and how distorted views on life and English young Korean students have.

Jung-Kyu Whang is a fifth grader in elementary school, like my younger son. It seems that his views on English generally represent the distorted perspectives of his parents and society on English education. I translated what he said in the bulletin discussion initiated by Daejeon Metropolitan Office of Education as literally as possible:

As my mom says all the time, English is an inevitable thing in our life. If students start English when they become fifth graders or middle school students, they cannot keep up with peers regarding English because they are too busy with other school subjects. These days, people can *get a good job* and *be excellent persons* if they are good at English. According to the newspaper, such people can *go to a high level university*. In addition, if we do well in English, *our peers will look up to us*. If we have a concrete foundation in English, we can *get good grades* on middle and high school English exams. (2001, June 13)

Yong-Chan Ju is in the same grade as Jung-Kyu Whang. He seems to agree with Whang's insistence on early English education. He said that "If we have one thing that we can do very well, we cannot feel *frustrated in this competitive and individual society*. Whichever country we go to, *everything will be OK* if we do well in English. I *want to speak English better than the Korean language*" (2001, June 13).

As indicated in their statements (especially in italicized ones), the two elementary school children put their goals for English on grades, good universities, jobs, and higher status in society. In their eyes, English is viewed as a key to success or a panacea to cure all problems, disregarding many other beneficial sides of English study as a convenient and necessary tool to make their lives happier and more plentiful. The distorted perspectives of these two boys about the goals of English education made me bitter and feel a deep sense of responsibility both as a researcher and as a parent. I believe that children's perspectives are established by the influence of parents, teachers, peers, and the society that the children belong to. In this study, I explore the perspectives of Korean parents who came to the U.S. not only for their degrees but also for their children's English education.

In *The Young Child's Memory for Words: Developing First and Second Language and Literacy*, Meier (2004) said that "the process of learning a second language takes the creative, patient, and sensitive guidance of teachers and family members as well as opportunities for daily interactions in the new language with peers" (p. 31). Regarding family influence, Meier stated that "families can provide us with valuable knowledge to tailor and adapt [the] literacy curriculum to incorporate particular cultural and linguistic traditions and expectations for their children's literacy development" (p. 41). To discover beliefs, attitudes, practices and communications about family literacy, Battleson (2002) studied three families with children who were experiencing difficulties in literacy development. He argued that the degree to which the families participated in

family literacy activities directly affected the child's literacy development, and all of the family members, including grandparents, contributed to the literacy development of the children.

It seems that views of family influence on L2 learning are much different depending on the language learning settings: EFL and ESL. The authors of research articles and books published in ESL settings appear to have family literacy programs and workshops on their minds when they deal with the issue of family influence regarding SLA research, especially putting their focal lens on low-income or minority groups. However, in EFL settings, English cannot be viewed as an outcome of family literacy programs or workshops because English is so deeply permeated into people's lives and their society as to control their beliefs and perspectives on it. For them, English is not a simple tool for a plentiful life, but a required tool for their survival in the competitive society and world. English is a property to buy and be sold. It is capital to measure richness of people.

Parental Strategies for L1 and L2 Literacy

Parents are no longer mere observers regarding their children's literacy. They actively take part in activities to promote their children's literacy long before formal instruction starts. Vygotsky (1981) examined children's interaction with adults and argued that higher cognitive functions of children develop from social relationships with adults. Byrnes and Gelman (1991) said that "parental input serves as data that fosters development and provides 'scaffolding' for the child's

construction of appropriate linguistic forms” (p. 21; see also Bruner, 1983; Wertsch, 1985a). Lantolf and Thorne (2006) stated that although schooling serves to refine and sharpen children’s mental processing, it is clearly built on capacities which “children have already developed spontaneously as a result of interaction with other members of their culture” such as parents before entering school (p. 180). According to these researchers, parents refine and sharpen children’s spontaneous mental processes in the daily natural environment. That is, the dialectical (through communication and discussion) relationship mediated by parents assists children in shaping their capacity to internalize.

In Korea, the word *sacrifice* has been long and widely used to express parental efforts toward children’s education. In my mother’s generation, the common thing for mothers to do was to get up at dawn, pray for their children, and make warm food. Parents were busy trying to feed their children right after the Korean War (since 1953) and during the reestablishment period in Korean economy (in the 1960s and 1970s). Children could not expect interaction with their parents to develop L1 literacy, to say nothing of L2 literacy. It was a common trend for most children to learn the Korean alphabet after they entered elementary school. Our parents may feel the generation gap when they hear the news that Korea has become the country with the greatest number of students studying in the U.S. This news results from the fervent educational efforts that my sister’s and my generation have made as generational attitudes changed. This change has come about because we have become the first generation that is disadvantaged due to the lack of literacy, especially English literacy. The

financial crisis in Korea in the late 1990s and our national status which had to get help from International Monetary Fund (IMF) caused a severe reduction in employment and the restructuring of many jobs. A large number of employees were fired or had to leave their companies. This socio-political situation in Korea stimulated a trend toward English as a tool for survival. Parents have tried to pursue various strategies for their children's SLA in order not to make them victims of such phenomena surrounding English.

Background and Research Questions

In *Second-language Acquisition in Childhood*, McLaughlin (1984) said that she became interested in how children acquire a second language through observing her own children. My case was not so different from hers. The SLA results concerning my two sons—who have been in school ESL (English as a Second Language) programs and go to elementary and senior high schools—made me wonder about the theories in the texts of the TESOL field and challenged my beliefs and expectations. My younger son's long silent period worried his teachers and me and drew my interest in factors influencing children's SLA. My experiences with my two sons made me realize that there must be some other variables which facilitate or block children's SLA, in addition to age at exposure and the amount of exposure time. My older son did not have much difficulty in speaking from the beginning of his exposure to the mainstream of school life. I think the grammar knowledge he acquired in Korea might have helped him to overcome difficulty in speaking and might have facilitated his

English development. However, it took almost a month for my younger son even to say 'hi,' contradicting my beliefs and expectations. Even now, he barely speaks English in public, although two more years have passed in the U.S. His homeroom teacher also said that he has no problems at school except for his infrequent speaking in class. It is surprising that his level of fluency does not appear to negatively affect or be closely connected to his academic achievement, contrary to the results of the research conducted to find the co-relationship between language fluency and academic success.

Oh (2003) studied factors influencing the adjustment of Korean children in the U.S. He stated that the degree of fluency in English may "affect competence in schoolwork" and "exacerbates virtually every problem area of Asian Americans" (p. 10). In contrast, Canino and Spurlock (2000) argued that lack of English proficiency is rarely considered as a possible cause for academic achievement difficulties at school. My experiences with my two sons made me agree with them, turning my interest to other factors for the lack of fluency in English.

My older son's success at school was promising, and he did not seem to have a very hard time with schoolwork at the initial stage of SLA in the U.S. However, nothing seemed to go easy for him or our family. He began to show extreme depression and a self-negative attitude as soon as he became a tenth grader. Complex reasons seemed to be involved in his attitudes. His high achievement at middle school led him to take advanced courses in high school. Among the advanced courses were some subjects in which he did not have any

background knowledge. In addition, he had no peers at his own age in the Korean community. His introspective nature did not help him to make American friends, either. He felt isolated, without friends with whom he could share the difficulties of adolescence. His problems seemed to originate from both external and internal factors.

In sharp contrast, my younger son's life always seemed happy. He seemed to have few difficulties, regardless of his lack of fluency. In addition, he had several peers in the Korean community, and he got along with his American peers. He seemed to solve his problems using nonverbal language such as pointing and gesturing. Thus, his lack of verbal language did not seem to matter to him.

I felt very confused as a mother and a researcher in the field of SLA. Many questions arose from my experiences with my two sons. First, I wanted to know what beliefs and perceptions other Korean parents held regarding their children's SLA. Second, with regard to my efforts to provide my older son with English knowledge and my negligence of providing it for my younger son, I wanted to know how other Korean families in the U.S. had interacted with their children to support their English acquisition in Korea. Third, the different results from my two sons made me wonder how children's individual characteristics affect their second language learning. Finally, I wondered if parents' efforts toward their children's SLA in Korea play as important a role as my efforts have played on my older son's English in the U.S. Based on my own and my sons' experiences

regarding their SLA, I set up research questions for the current study, especially putting my focal lens on family influence on children's SLA:

- 1) What beliefs and perceptions do Korean parents hold regarding the issues that make their children's L2 learning successful?
- 2) How do families interact with children to support their L2 literacy? That is, what strategies do they use to support children's SLA?
- 3) To what extent do families feel that their strategies are successful?
- 4) Do parents think that their children's individual characteristics lead to differences affecting their second language learning and general academic achievement?
- 5) How does family support for children's L1 and L2 literacy building in Korea play an important role later for schooling and L2 learning in the U.S. judging from the family members' own perspectives?

Purpose of the Study

Until recently, emphasis regarding family influence has generally been placed on family literacy programs or services regarding first language acquisition (FLA). Researchers have studied how such programs influence children's reading and writing in the low-income or working class families (Matias, 2005). In addition, most studies aimed at FLA were conducted quantitatively and involved a lot of statistical data measuring certain aspects of linguistic mastery, ignoring "aspects such as culture, ethnicity, socio-economic influences, in-born characteristic[s]" (Matias, 2005, p. 5).

Even for the studies that have taken into consideration social contexts regarding SLA, the majority of studies have been conducted by way of macro-analysis of language output using the measuring rulers of simplicity and generalization. Siegel (2003) said that it is only in recent years that studies using “micro-analysis and the interactional approach” have begun to appear (p. 184). Although many researchers have recently turned their concern to L2 learners and their language acquisition, few studies have been conducted for children and parents in academically advanced families. Accordingly, parents’ efforts and strategies for their children’s SLA in such families have not been dealt with in detail for SLA research. What is more, ethnographic studies for L2 learners who lack English fluency but show an academic achievement in the host country have barely been conducted. One of the major goals for the current study is to redefine such L2 learners regarding their SLA. The last section of Chapter II covers why the studies for those L2 learners should be conducted.

Chen (2003) argued that most of the research has focused on students attending four-year colleges and universities, and little attention has been directed to international students in the community colleges. The increasing number of children studying abroad for SLA tells researchers that the target should be shifted from L2 learners in post-secondary schools to those in secondary and elementary schools.

Through my experiences as an L2 learner, an English instructor, and mother of two sons going to school in the U.S., I began to realize that SLA should not be and cannot be explained with a simple and generalized theory because it involves

various L2 learners' internal and external factors. Siegel (2003) reviewed various concepts developed over the years in SLA such as "interlanguage, fossilization, integrative and instrumental motivation, and the distinction between native and non-native speaker" and pointed out that those concepts are not necessarily generalized to all social contexts (p. 210). Focusing on social contexts of Korea regarding English, the current study aims to investigate parents' perspectives on SLA and their literacy practices and efforts toward their children's L1 and L2 literacy building.

Significance of the Study

I think there are two general conceptions regarding children's SLA (especially L2 learning Asian children): (1) The younger, the better and (2) Asian children are smart and they naturally and quickly acquire L2 once they are immersed into the mainstream. However, my experiences with my two sons made me realize that the truth regarding those conceptions depends on children's background regarding their L1 and L2 literacy as well as individual factors such as personality, language aptitude, and motivation.

The Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) was presented by Eric Lenneberg (1967) in his book *Biological Foundations of Language*. He stated that a critical period for language acquisition ends around the age of 12, and if no language is learned before then, it can never be learned in a normal and fully functional sense. Actually the CPH is a theory for the first language. Thus, for a long period, it has been a question of whether and in what way the CPH is applicable to

second language learners (Nagai, 1997). In “Is There a Critical Period for Learning a Foreign Language?,” Chipongian (2000) wrote that a popular misconception regarding second-language learning is that there is a window for learning a second language that shuts down around the onset of puberty. However, it has generally been accepted regarding the CPH that children acquire a more native-like accent once they are exposed to a second language before puberty.

The concept of *the younger, the better* was conceded by Singleton and Lengyel (1995) in *The Age Factor in Second Language Acquisition*. Before and since their study, the concept of a critical period has dominated the field of SLA as a major theory. Many researchers have tried to test its validity (Harris, 1994; Chipongian, 2000). Regarding L2 learning Asian children in the host country, it has generally been believed that they are able to acquire communicative English within a short period once they permeate the mainstream. Before coming to the U.S. with my two sons, I firmly believed that my younger son (nine years old then) would easily speak with peers and teachers at school within six months to a year once he was immersed into the mainstream American school. English fluency of other Korean children who came to the U.S. earlier than us was enough to confirm my beliefs regarding younger children’s SLA. However, my younger son still has not made any remarkable progress regarding his spoken English in spite of two more years of exposure to English in the host country. My son’s long silent period made me question the given theory regarding age and led to the research questions for the current study. I investigate parental

perceptions on and strategies for their children's L1 and L2 acquisition based on their socio-cultural contexts and experiences with their children. I also investigate whether my perspectives on English resulted in my younger son's long silent period and lack of fluency, and if so, how they affected his SLA by comparing my perspectives with those of other parents. Finally, I explore two relationships: (1) between L1 and L2 background knowledge learned in Korea and SLA and schooling in the U.S., and (2) between children's characteristics and their spoken fluency of English.

Many expected and unexpected factors may influence children's SLA. Many studies of SLA have tried to approach L2 learners with numerical data obtained by empirical research, whereas others have used a qualitative way of approach through narrative and ethnographic data collection. However, both groups have disregarded the roles and efforts of the adult family members to support their children's L1 and L2 literacy building in their home countries. A considerable part of my study focuses on the family influence in the home country (Korea) regarding children's SLA because Korea is a country where parents show a tremendous zeal for their children's English education. Korean parents' concern for and willingness to invest money and energy in SLA have reached a level that foreigners can barely imagine. In addition, the statistical data recently released by Immigration and Customs Enforcement in the Department of Homeland Security (September, 2005) proclaimed that Korea has the largest number of international students in the U.S. Considering these two facts, I think

considerable focus should be put on Korean international students and their children regarding their SLA. .

The current study does not cover children who are staying in host families or boarding schools without parents in the U.S. As both an international graduate student and a mother with two sons going to schools in the U.S., my focal lens was naturally adjusted toward the children who are now in the same situation and grew in the same socio-cultural contexts as my sons. Especially through my younger son's long silent period and my older son's relatively quick adaptation to English, I have wondered what causes such a long silent period in some children and what helps children to quickly adapt to it and academically succeed.

Many people believe that children acquire a second language in the same way that they acquire their first language before puberty. They also think that Asian children acquire English quickly and naturally once they are exposed to a host country. The current study explores whether these perceptions of L2 learners are necessarily right or not. This study also offers practical guidelines to parents who want to educate their children in an ESL environment, or who are worried about their children's English education in their home countries. Finally, this study contributes to shifting perspectives of researchers and educators regarding L2 learners, especially those who make slow progress regarding spoken English: from having them perceived as handicapped or deficient L2 learners to being re-defined as different and multi-competent language users (Cook, 1995).

Terminology of the Study

In the current study, I frequently use terms such as second language (L2), second language acquisition (SLA), second language learning, second language literacy, family influence, and socio-cultural. These terms contain complex and broad meanings, so I think a clear definition for the terms is needed to reduce possible confusion or misunderstanding caused by the terms.

Second Language

Mitchell and Myles (1998) defined second languages as any languages other than the learner's native language or mother tongue. In a broad sense, they include not only languages which are widely used in a certain region and community but also include foreign languages which have no immediate local uses (pp. 1-2). Gass and Selinker (2001) separated foreign language and second language. Regarding a second language, they refer to "the learning of a nonnative language in the environment in which that language is spoken" (p. 5). I generally agree with their division. However, I make it clear that the term second language generally refers to English in this study.

Second Language Acquisition and Learning

One of the most influential models of SLA has been Krashen's Monitor Model. Although this model embodies five inter-related hypotheses, the acquisition and learning distinction became central to the model (Krashen, 1981, 1982, 1985). According to Krashen, language acquisition is "a subconscious and

incidental process leading to the development of tacit linguistic knowledge” and language learning is “a conscious and intentional process leading to the development of explicit linguistic knowledge” (as cited in Block, 2003, p. 20). However, many disagreeing voices have arisen to question Krashen’s dichotomy of acquisition and learning. Zuengler and Miller (2006) argued that “though earlier SLA work sometimes differentiated *learning* from *acquisition*, following the distinction made by Krashen (e.g., 1982; 1985), we understand the two terms as synonymous” (p. 44). Blackshire-Belay (1994) argued for the interchangeability of the two terms: acquisition and learning. Spolsky (1989) regarded the distinction as “confusing and unnecessary” (p. 9). Accordingly, in the current study, I avoid the dichotomy of these two terms regarding English, and I take the position that language acquisition is achieved by language learning through natural interaction and intentional instruction in socio-cultural contexts. Thus, in this study the two terms are used synonymously and interchangeably.

Second Language Literacy

Traditionally, literacy is defined as an ability to read, write, listen and speak. Social and technological changes have an impact on our understanding of literacy. Thus, the definition of literacy has been expanded. Many people view literacy as an ability to locate, evaluate, use, and communicate using a wide range of resources including text, visual, audio, and video sources. According to NCREL's (North Central Regional Educational Laboratory) enGauge (2003), over the past few decades many new types of literacy have been identified, and

literacy has been identified with eight Digital-Age categories: Basic Literacy, Scientific Literacy, Economic Literacy, Technological Literacy, Visual Literacy, Information Literacy, Multicultural Literacy, and Global Awareness (p. 15). The traditional concept of literacy belongs to the basic literacy category. Although I agree with this expansion of literacy, I avoided the expansion of the literacy concept regarding English. In this study, I confine the concept of literacy to the basic category: language proficiency (in L1 and L2) at levels necessary to function in society to achieve one's goals and to develop one's knowledge and potential.

Family Influence

The domain of family influence is very large. In this study, my focal lens is narrowed down to (1) parent-child interaction to foster children's language literacy, (2) family experiences and strategies in early English education for their children, and (3) family efforts toward their children's acculturation and socialization such as trips abroad or cultural experiences with educational purposes at home.

Socio-Cultural Theory

The term 'sociocultural' is generally used, but sometimes it is hyphenated as 'socio-cultural.' It makes general reference to social and cultural contexts of human activity (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006, p. 3). According to Wertsch (1985a), Vygotsky's writings in this area were sufficiently influential that the

general theory of mind that he pioneered carries the label “sociocultural theory,” or alternatively “cultural-historical theory” (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006, p. 31). Throughout the current study, I use the hyphenated term ‘socio-cultural,’ except in some citations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

English as a Global Language

The term *Global Village* was coined by P. Wyndham Lewis in his book *America and Cosmic Man* (1948). In 1962 Herbert Marshall McLuhan used the term in his book *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*. However, it seems that authors did not have a second language (English) in mind either as a tool for international communication or an instrument of hegemonic power when they employed the term *Global Village*. McLuhan (1962) seems to focus on how electronic mass media destroy barriers of space and time in human communication and how they enable people to interact and live on a global scale. In the 21st century, the term *global village* is used metaphorically to describe the Internet and World Wide Web (WWW). The Internet has contributed to the globalization of communication for the world's population. Accordingly, humans need a language which can help them communicate. Many countries have been using English as an official or a second language since the colonial era, and the economic and political development of America is facilitating its use in other countries. English has spread around the world either naturally or intentionally and has now become a *global language* for the *global village* (Crystal, 1997).

In *Second-Language Acquisition in Childhood*, McLaughlin (1984) said that “the world is becoming more homogeneous” and “there is a linguistic convergence” (p. 1) in the world today, a situation which obviously involves English in a very central way. Doughty and Long (2003) claimed that learning a

second language (whether naturally or through formal instruction) has long been “a common activity for a majority of the human species and is becoming ever more vital as second languages themselves increase in importance” (p. 4). Thus, there is no doubt that English has gradually become the universal language, used widely as a medium of communication in scientific and technical domains. Although this phenomenon does not mean that “English is replacing indigenous languages” (McLaughlin, 1984, p. 1), it is clear that many societies worldwide must each now find their own way to learn, use, and integrate English into their own cultural situation.

As Asian countries have been experiencing rapid economic transformation at the present time, they have increasingly felt the need for English as a tool for communication in international business. As a result, priority has been given to English in academic circles. A large population has traveled to English-speaking countries for professional degrees or language acquisition. Among those countries, the U.S. has long been the principal country, accommodating the largest such population of second-language users. Oh (2003) discussed the relationship between SLA research and population. He argued that since Chinese and Japanese have historically comprised the largest Asian populations in the U.S., most studies of L2 Asian learners in the U.S. have been based on these populations. Therefore, he cited “a paucity of Korean studies in general,” but pointed out that “even more scarce are data on Korean children” living in the U.S. (p. 2). I strongly agree with his argument regarding the lack of research on Korean children in the U.S. In fact, this gap in the research is all the more serious

given the changing trends in the international student population. According to the statistical data that Oh (2003) presented, the number of international students who enroll in American colleges and universities is increasing. This number has swelled by 1,703 percent since 1954, reaching 582,996 students in the 2001-2002 academic years (Institute of International Education [IIE], 2002). In the mid 1980s, which saw rapid economic improvement in Asian countries, Taiwan, Malaysia and Korea became the three leading countries in this trend, sending almost 20 percent of students who wanted to study abroad to the U.S. Chen (2003) indicated that China and India were the major countries of origin for international students in the U.S. based on the statistical data published by the IIE in 2002. However, study abroad has become an increasingly important goal for Korean students as well, as I show in the next section.

The Number of Students Leaving Korea to Study Abroad

The data on Korean students choosing to study abroad reflects the socio-political environment of Korea regarding SLA, as well as the vital role of English in the Korean society. The Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI) provides recent statistical data on issues in education via their homepage as well as daily news articles by e-mail. From the bountiful data supplied by the KEDI, I have selected data regarding international students, children's English education within and outside of the school context, and the Korean government's efforts to encourage English teaching. I try to present these data here in a way which I think will foster understanding of my study.

Since 1999, the number of Korean students who go abroad to study has been increasing sharply as Figure 1 indicates. Various voices have called for regulations to restrict early study abroad because this trend has caused numerous problems for families and society. In Korea, problems have arisen regarding children's early English education. One issue involves the fact that children's early study abroad with their mothers has produced many single fathers called *orphan fathers* (men who are left behind in Korea financially supporting their wives and children abroad). Yet another problem that has been identified involves a staggering education account deficit between Korea and the host countries. Figure 1 shows the dramatic increase in the number of Korean students studying abroad, especially in the four-year period from 1999 to 2003.

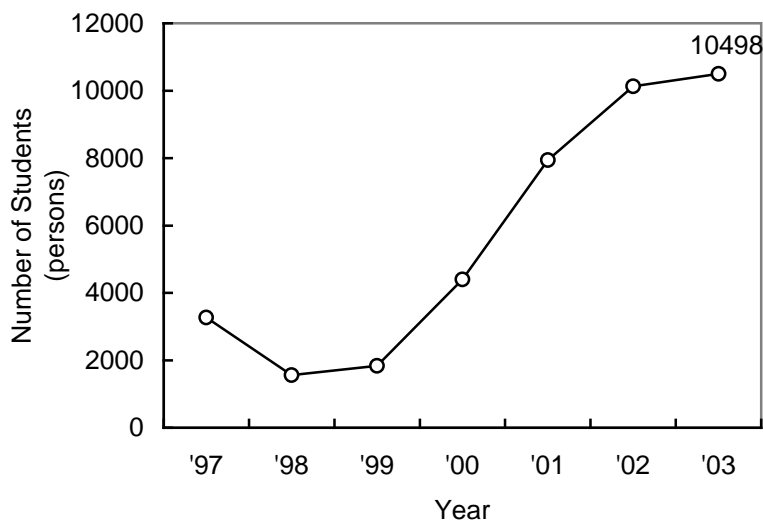


Figure 1. The number of students leaving Korea to study abroad.

Source: From the Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI).

The figure shows the numbers in elementary and secondary schools.

According to Jae-Hoon Im, a professor at George Washington University, early study abroad can provide a good opportunity for children to acquire both language and culture. However, he cautioned that if these children fail in their studies abroad, there is a great possibility that they will grow up as adults who are unable to adapt to any society. He also pointed out that remaining in Korea offers these children two advantages: (1) highly developed and widely available information technology with which many countries cannot compete; and (2) the high achievement level of its elementary and secondary schools in math and computer science (*Yonhap News*, 2005. May 25).

Young-Soon Kang, director of Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development, claimed that the Korean government must make an effort to reduce the increasing number of students studying abroad and encourage them to utilize Korean public education. He argued that this effort must involve a number of factors: (1) a recovery of trust in Korean public education; (2) mitigation of the excessive competition in entrance examinations; (3) a substantial increase in English-only classes and native English-speaking teachers; and (4) extended operation of English adventure and similar programs (*Yonhap News*, 2005. May 25).

In spite of the Korean government's efforts, the number of children who may be involved in family decisions to study abroad has recently reached its highest point in Korean history, doubling within a year from 2004 to 2005. Table 1, based on statistical data released by the Education Office in Seoul, shows that

an average of 22 elementary and secondary students in Seoul alone leave Korea to study abroad every day.

Table 1

The Development of Early Study Abroad

<i>School</i>	Students' Number(SN)	
	2004 (Year)	2005 (Year)
Elementary	1,103	2,453
Middle	1,013	3,478
High	1,672	2,023
Total	3,788	7,954

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education.

SN indicates elementary and secondary school students who left Korea for early study abroad.

Comparison of the Cost of Study Abroad to Total Travel Cost

Kwang-Hyune Lee (2006, March 23), on behalf of the research committee in the Korean Educational Development Institute, recently announced the cost of study abroad when compared with total travel cost, as well as providing further figures on Koreans going abroad. Table 2 shows that the number of people who left Korea in 2003 reached 7 million, a 0.5 percent decrease when compared to the number leaving in 2002. However, the number of people who left Korea in 2004 reached well over 8 million, a 24.5 percent increase when compared with the number leaving in 2003. Finally, the number was over 10 million in 2005. Over 10,000 elementary and secondary school students left Korea in 2003 and

over 16,000 left in 2004, showing a 56.7 percent increase for this particular figure within a year. Assuming that a primary reason for travel involved the learning of English, the money spent related to this goal in 2003 amounted to \$1.9 billion and reached almost \$2.5 billion in 2004. The Korean Educational Human Resources Department estimated that the cost in 2005 would climb to over \$3.3 billion.

Table 2

Monetary Ratio of Studying Abroad within the Total Travel

Group	Numbers and expenses for overseas travel		
	2003	2004	2005
Koreans leaving Korea			
Number (millions)	7,086	8,826	10,078
Expenses (millions)	\$10,211	\$12,359	\$15,259
Students leaving Korea to study abroad			
Number (thousands)	10,498	16,446	Not yet announced
Expenses (millions)	\$1,949	\$2,493	\$3,380

Source: The Bank of Korea, Ministry of Education & Human Resources Development.

Hirschman (2006, March 3), a development economist renowned for his lucid and innovative contributions to economics, the history of ideas, and the social sciences, refers to the increase in the number of people wanting to leave Korea for education as the *exit situation* from Korean education. He argued that

to avoid this *exit situation*, Korean education (especially English education) should be qualitatively developed through the creation of effective policy to guarantee improvement in Korean education.

The Number of Korean Students in the U.S.

According to the statistics announced by the Immigration and Customs Enforcement in the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, the number of Korean students studying in the U.S. was ranked first among international student groups as of September 2005, as seen in Figure 2. In the survey conducted at the end of December 2004, the number of Korean students in the U.S. was 73,272, or 12.5 percent of the international student population. Within nine months, the number increased by 13,354, and the number of Korean students in the U.S. reached 86,626, 13.5 percent of the total. India, China, Japan, and Taipei followed Korea as the top five countries ranking in the international student population in the U.S. in 2005. An especially common phenomenon among Korean students is that many of them are accompanied by their families. The number of students traveling abroad with accompanying family members reached 52,163 in 2001 (*Daily Economy*, 2001, April 27). Figure 2 indicates the number of Korean students enrolled in American universities as of September 2005.

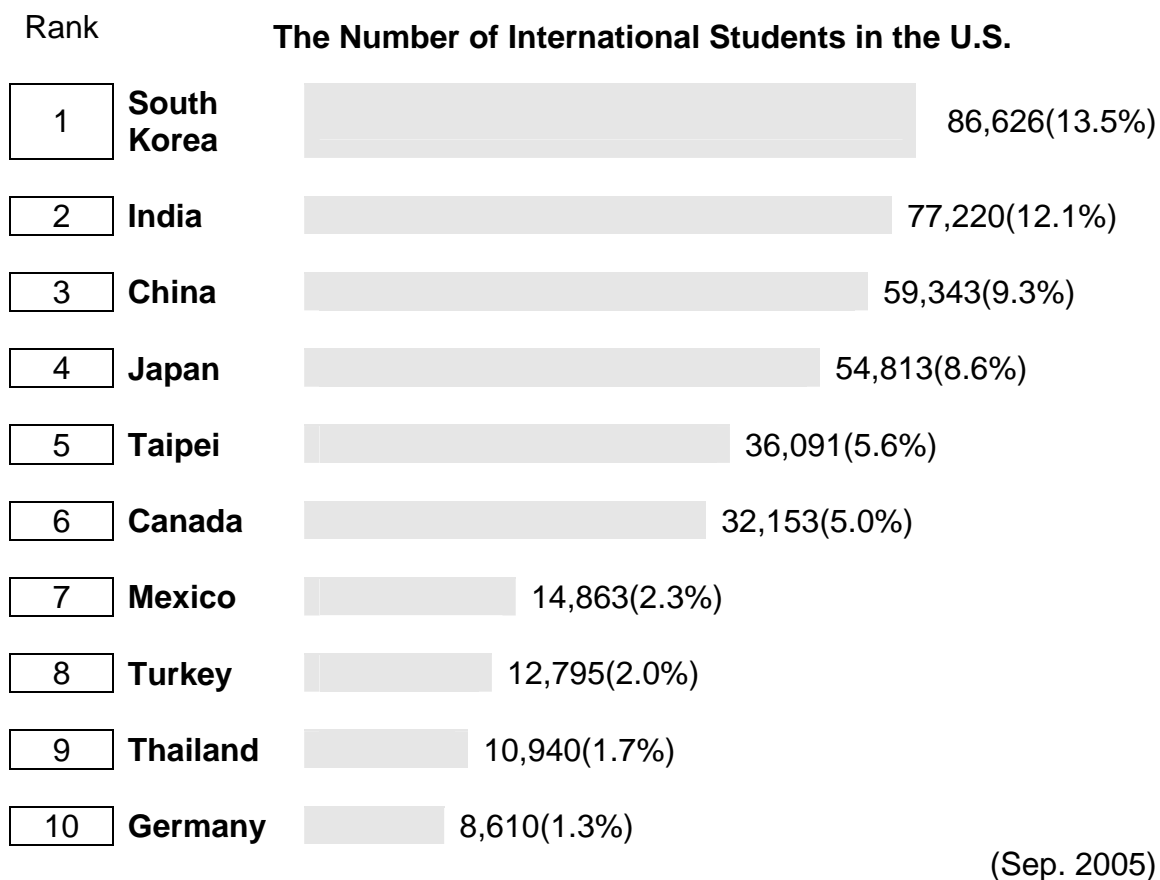


Figure 2. The number of international students in the U.S.

Source: U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement in the Department of Homeland Security.

Rationale for the Sharp Increase in the Number of Korean Students in the U.S.

Many parents believe that their children cannot keep up with peers if they do not study English abroad. George Washington University professor Jae-Hoon Im studied the situation of Koreans with early experience in the U.S. He pointed out that among parents who belong to the high and middle classe in the Korean society, a mistaken “mass psychology” exists regarding the matter of early study overseas. It is a central belief within this psychology that, unless parents educate their children overseas, their children will lag behind (*Yonhap News*, 2005, May

25). According to his study, this obsession prevalent in Korean society makes parents who cannot provide their children with the opportunity to study overseas feel guilty or incompetent.

An editorial in the *Korea Herald* (2006, April 28) viewed the situation of *orphan fathers*, mentioned earlier, as very negative for Korean society. According to the author of this piece, the *orphan fathers'* situation has resulted from (1) excessive private education fees; (2) a decrease in the quality of education caused by the current egalitarian school system and (3) distrust in public education. In the *New York Times* editorial (2005, November 18), Stewart Anderson asserted that international graduate students, especially graduates majoring in science and engineering, significantly benefit the economy and education in the U.S. He added that those students are vital for America to lead the world's economy. He indicated that the courses in science and engineering in American universities would be likely to close without international graduates because they are occupying one-third of the student enrollment in those courses.

The two editorials indicate how seriously the issue of study overseas is regarded, both at home and in the host country (U.S.). However, they also highlight a potential contrast between the deleterious effect of this trend in Korea and its beneficial effects in the U.S.

Theoretical Frameworks

To some extent, theories of SLA are dependent on and inseparable from those for first language acquisition. Lenneberg's Critical Period Hypothesis and

Chomsky's Universal Grammar were not developed to account for second language acquisition. Some researchers in the field of SLA have turned their attention to these theories in an attempt to ask how relevant they are for second language learning. However, other trends have led researchers to focus on the peculiar characteristics of L2 learners and account for the diversity of L2 learning; these have moved beyond dependence on L1 theories. One trend that may reflect a similar move involves the separation of TESOL from the CCCC (Conference on College Composition and Communication) in 1966, which facilitated researchers' concentration on L2 learning and L2 learners in the field of English education. According to Matsuda (2003a), "TESOL was started as a professional organization to serve the needs of a growing number of ESL specialists" since then (p. 787).

Postmodernism has also had a great influence on people's ways of thinking, which have been reflected in recent research. Researchers have shown a tendency to avoid the "meta-narrative" and hegemonic power (Lyotard, 1984) embedded in previously established theories. Researchers identifying themselves as postmodern have directed their concern toward expressions of locality, mini-narrative, contextualization, and interculturalism. This postmodern trend has, along with a more general turn in the direction of socio-cultural topics, affected theory building in the field of SLA. Researchers have shown interest in minority students, immigrants, and international students, trying to view them not as deficient or handicapped language learners, but as multi-language users or multi-competent language learners. In the turmoil of postmodernism, various

voices arose regarding SLA. In their article for the special issue of *TESOL Quarterly* 40, "Cognitive and Sociocultural Perspectives: Two Parallel SLA Worlds?," Zuengler and Miller (2006) argued that positivism "is no longer the only prominent paradigm in the field: relativism has become an alternative paradigm" (p. 35). Regarding the effects of postmodernism, they wrote that "during the [past] 15 years, the SLA field has devoted more attention to metatheoretical and metamethodological concerns" (p. 46). According to Gregg (1996), although Long stated that 60 theories exist regarding SLA, the theories "are not theories of L2 acquisition but rather theories in L2 acquisition; theories of production, or variation, or interaction, and so forth" (p. 73). Reflecting on the many changes in focus present today, Larsen-Freeman (2002) described the current SLA field as being "in a state of turmoil" in her article "Language Acquisition and Language Use from a Chaos/Complexity Theory Perspective" (p. 33).

One gap which the present study tries to address is the scarcity of studies on children. Until recently, most research has been conducted with L2 adult learners, and little concern has been given to children's second language acquisition. In particular, few have had interest in the L2 learners' socio-cultural contexts in their home countries and their strategies for L1 and L2 literacy in the family context. The paucity of such studies can be partially inferred from the hegemonic power of Western theories regarding language acquisition, which have not focused on the efforts of children and parents to support language acquisition in their home countries. Keeping this in mind, I took into consideration both the EFL and ESL socio-cultural contexts when I established the theoretical

framework for the current study. The theories that have informed my thinking are drawn from a range of quite different traditions. I studied Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Capital as a key to success as well as Lenneberg's Critical Period Hypothesis as a way to reflect on early English education in Korea. I also studied Krashen's Input Hypothesis, Vygotskian Socio-Cultural Theory, and Schumann's Acculturation Model to help find ways to talk about parental interaction as a source of support for language learning and literacy building. Krashen's ideas provide some insight into issues of motivation and affective filters, and the other theorists remind us that children bring particular personal characteristics to their learning process. Transfer Theory in SLA has allowed me to think about the influence of the children's first language, Korean. Finally, as noted above, postmodernism and postmethod pedagogy has helped inspire me to adopt a model of L2 learners as multi-competent users. Although I cannot hope to cover such a daunting list of theories here, I will touch on each briefly in the sections below.

Theories Supporting Parental Perspectives on English

Bourdieu's Capital Theory: English as a Key to Success

As Asian countries have been experiencing rapid economic development, the conception of English has been changed from a convenient tool for an academic and business purpose for a certain level of people, to a survival tool necessary for virtually all in a competitive world. In such countries, English has become a measuring tool for entrance examinations, job applications, and

promotions in business. In Korea, most companies demand specific scores on English proficiency tests such as the TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication), the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language), and the TEPS (Test of English Proficiency, developed by Seoul National University). The *Korea Times* (2006, February 19) reported that English proficiency tests targeting children are now prevalent; these include the Primary English Level Test (PELT), the TOEIC Bridge, the Junior English Test (JET), and the Junior General Test of English Language Proficiency (JR GTLP). According to the statistical source cited in that article, the number of elementary school children who took one of the four major English proficiency tests rose sharply from 380,000 in 2004 to 460,000 in 2005. The report further claimed that more than 600,000 elementary school children are expected to take the tests in 2006. The various kinds of English tests and the increasing number of people, including children, who want to take those tests reflect the important status of English in the Korean society.

Bourdieu's ideas are relevant here, as he was the first person to apply the concept of 'capital' to language. He applied his theoretical ideas to empirical research grounded in everyday life. His capital theory describes three categories: social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. In the current study, Bourdieu's concept of *symbolic capital* is relevant. In his book *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu (1999) claimed that symbolic capital takes different forms: educational capital, political capital, and economic capital. Stating that the functions of these forms of capital are not separable but rather influence each other, he argued for interrelationships between them. However, he warned that

when people exercise their symbolic power and seek to alter the actions of agents who have less symbolic power, symbolic violence arises.

As I emphasized in the previous section, Korea has become the country with the largest number of students studying in the U.S. Hearing this, I had conflicting feelings. First, I felt ashamed of our English education which cannot satisfy students' needs, causing them to leave their home country mainly for the sake of learning English. But also, I felt proud of the Korean people's insight into the future, because nobody can deny that English will play an increasingly important role as time goes by. Korea is a very competitive country in every field due to its dense population and small size. The Confucian influence has been weakening day by day and Western concepts of materialism and capitalism are becoming more deeply engrained into the Korean society.

Regardless of their age, Korean people in large or middle-sized companies have long felt uncertainty about their positions in case they might be found to lack this important kind of symbolic capital (knowledge of English). The main reason parents send their children overseas is that they want their children to acquire fluent English with a native-like accent instead of following in their parents' footsteps and having to worry about having inadequate English skills. They want their children to attain a high position in society with the help of this symbolic capital. The socio-political climate of Korea has contributed to giving English a stable position as desirable symbolic capital.

Korean parents have exerted their best efforts toward their children's attainment of educational capital, including English. They believe that this

educational capital will help their children to gain political capital, followed by economic capital. However, the problem is that some people with higher symbolic capital try to exercise their power against people with less symbolic capital, doing so to try to protect their vested rights. Thus, English as capital has both good and bad sides. The concept of capital for English is very good since it helps Korea to build competitive power in the world market. However, as I just noted, that very competitive spirit can be divisive if applied within the society. Moreover, the excessive investment and concern regarding English can cause the nation and its people, especially the younger generation, to lose their identity. In addition, the imbalance in educational costs between Korea and English-speaking countries can lead to a financial crisis for the nation.

Lenneberg's Critical Period Hypothesis: The Younger, the Better

The most controversial issue regarding education in Korea is early English education. As noted earlier, children have contributed to Korea's top-ranked position as the country sending the largest number of students to the U.S. The efforts of parents to help their children with early English education have already extended beyond outsiders' imagination. There are many English-only kindergartens and English villages in many cities that have begun to accept children. The Korean government now includes English in the formal school curriculum beginning in the first grade of elementary school. Thousands of private language institutes charge excessive private tutoring fees for early English education.

The idea that young children can learn language best is founded in the idea of a 'critical period' or a 'sensitive period' for language acquisition.

Lenneberg is "generally acknowledged as the 'father' of the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) in relation to language acquisition" (Singleton & Ryan, 2004, p. 33). His theory originally focused on the claim that a first language might not be acquired after puberty; later versions see this critical period as beginning at age two and ending at around puberty. According to him, "a first language cannot be acquired after the period of brain plasticity ends—at about puberty—and that any language acquisition that occurs after puberty will be qualitatively different from normal first-language acquisition" (Snow, 1979, p. 176). A variety of perspectives have been expressed on the effect of age:

ranging from the position that children are in all respects more efficient and effective second language learners than adults to the exactly contrary position that adolescents and adults are in all respects more efficient and effective second language learners than children. (Singleton & Lengyel, 1995, p. 1)

Snow (1979) claimed that these contradictory results obtained in SLA studies cannot be taken "as the basis for rejecting the critical-period hypothesis" (p. 178). Korean parents exert their best efforts toward their children's early acquisition of English without explicit familiarity with Lenneberg's CPH. While the vast majority of them simply believe the concept of *the younger, the better*, many negative voices are also being raised regarding the effect of early English education.

In the Korean context, the CPH and Bourdieu's capital concept bear an interesting relationship. It does not seem too extravagant to say that Korean parents have devoted themselves to their children's attainment of symbolic capital through early exposure to English at home and abroad. Lenneberg's concept of the CPH is informally reflected in Korean parents' zeal for early English education, and as well in their equally implicit sense that English represents educational capital, which they believe to be a basis for political and economic capital in the future.

Krashen's Input Hypothesis

Long (1996) said that "research on input for L2 acquisition began in the 1970s, nearly a decade after the initial studies of 'motherese' in L1 acquisition" (p. 415). Krashen's (1981; 1982; 1985) ideas began to have a concrete position in the field of SLA through five interrelated hypotheses: (1) the Acquisition-Learning Distinction, (2) the Monitor Hypothesis, (3) the Natural Order Hypothesis, (4) the Input Hypothesis, and (5) the Affective Filter Hypothesis. Ritchie and Bhatia (1996) said that "perhaps the most influential model of SLA has been Krashen's Monitor Model" (p. 16). According to Krashen's (1985) Input Hypothesis, input should be comprehensible, which is to say the input should be meaningful and in a natural order. The application of the Input Hypothesis has also reflected Krashen's assumption that "L2 acquisition is similar in nature to L1 acquisition" (Harris, 1994, p. 1). Johnson (2004) argued that Krashen's (1985) model for SLA has partial roots in the "cognitive paradigm" because it depends heavily on

Chomsky's Language Acquisition Device (LAD) and subconscious processes (p. 48).

In the current study, the input concept is relevant as it relates to parents' efforts as they are naturally in a position to provide language input from an early age. McLaughlin (1984) claimed that "what goes in—the input—is the content of sentences heard by children from parents, other adults, other children, television, and so forth" (p. 32).

However, there are some negative voices regarding the Input Hypothesis. Callanan (1991) phrases doubts about parental input, at least in terms of the framework in which this author's research is carried out.

Though some imitation is certainly necessary for learning language, we need not always interpret parental input data as evidence of a nurturist position. In studies of parental influence on cognitive development, it is often difficult to determine that status of parental input as evidence relevant to a theory of cognitive or conceptual development. Researchers sometimes examine parental input in order to rule out parents' teaching as a competing hypothesis for their claims about changes within children....Since in this approach, input is taken mainly as negative evidence for developmental change, no clear theoretical claims are made about the role of parents in cognitive development. (pp. 451-452)

Johnson (2004) claimed that "Krashen confuses two paradigms," the cognitive and the social, because he "unintentionally brings to the fore the need to

examine the interaction between the learner's external and internal realities," although he claimed that "cognitive processes are responsible for SLA" (p. 50).

In the current study, I explore what kinds of input and how much input have been given to my participant children by family influence regarding their L1 and L2 literacy and how the input affects their SLA in the host country. Hence, Krashen's particular mix of the cognitive and the social is relevant to the present study.

Vygotskian Socio-Cultural Theory

SLA research based on Vygotskian socio-cultural theory "began to appear in the mid-1980s (Frawley & Lantolf, 1984) but quickly gained momentum in the mid-1990s with a special issue of the *Modern Language Journal* (Lantolf, 1994) devoted to sociocultural theory and second language learning" (Zuengler and Miller, 2006, p. 38). Swain (2004) noted that "Vygotsky (1978, 1987) and others (Wertsch 1985b; Cole 1996) have articulated a sociocultural theory of mind" (p. 103). In 2006, Lantolf and Thorne published *Sociocultural Theory and the Genesis of Second Language Development*. According to their analysis,

Sociocultural theory is a theory of the development of higher mental functions that has its roots in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German philosophy (particularly that of Kant and Hegel), the sociological and economic writings of Marx and Engels, and which emerges most directly from the research of the Russian psychologist L.S. Vygotsky and his colleagues. (pp. 2-3)

Thorne (2004) stated that “the entailments of sociocultural theory approach foreground sociality to individuality.” He also commented that “central to this approach is that human activity is mediated by material artifacts and by symbolic sign systems, the most important of which is language” (p. 225). These researchers focused “not on language as input, but as a resource for participation in the kinds of activities our everyday lives comprise,” and they assumed that “participation in these activities is both the product and the process of learning” (Zuengler & Miller, 2006, pp. 37-8).

Vygotsky presented four domains to explain human development: (1) phylogenesis, (2) the sociohistorical level, (3) ontogenesis, and (4) microgenesis. The domains are not separable but are inter-connected and co-influential. Lantolf (2004) wrote that “although sociocultural theory recognizes four genetic domains, most of the research has been carried out in the ontogenetic domain” (p. 3). Regarding ontogenesis and microgenesis, Block (2003) described that the former refers to “the individual’s development over a lifetime” and the latter refers to “changes occurring in mental functioning over the span of weeks, days, hours or even seconds” (p. 99). Lantolf (2004) explained that ontogenetic domain focuses on “how children appropriate and integrate mediational means, primarily language, into their thinking activities as they mature” (p. 3). The latter two genetic domains are the most significant for L2 research (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

In this study, I focus on the ways mothers and their children interact for purposes of literacy building in families. I conducted the in-depth interviews to find out what activities mothers and children pursue in Korea and what strategies

they use in the U.S. For this reason, I selected Vygotskian Social-Interactive Theory to help establish a theoretical framework for my study. I was especially intrigued by his argument that thinking and speaking develop at the same time through mediated interaction assisted by artifacts. This is because I have been curious about the relationship between children's level of fluency and the development of their thinking more generally.

Parents are no longer mere observers regarding their children's literacy. They actively take part in activities to promote their children's literacy long before formal instruction starts. Vygotsky (1981) examined children's interaction with adults and argued that higher cognitive functions of children develop from social relationships with adults. Byrnes and Gelman (1991) said that "parental input serves as data that fosters development and provides 'scaffolding' for the child's construction of appropriate linguistic forms" (p. 21; see also Bruner, 1983; Wertsch, 1985a). Lantolf and Thorne (2006) stated that although schooling serves to refine and sharpen children's mental processing, it is clearly built on capacities which "children have already developed spontaneously as a result of interaction with other members of their culture" such as parents before entering school (p. 180). According to these researchers, parents refine and sharpen children's spontaneous mental processes in the daily natural environment. That is, the dialectical (through communication and discussion) relationship mediated by parents assists children in shaping their capacity to internalize.

Schumann's Acculturation Model

The rate of economic development of Korea seems to run parallel with parents' interest in their children's SLA. The methods employed by parents to support their children's SLA are also becoming diversified. The most remarkable trend regarding acculturation is that Korean parents provide their children with opportunities to travel abroad. This trend can easily be observed in the national airport during the summer or winter vacation seasons because the international lines are busy with Korean parents and children who want to travel abroad, to say nothing of those who leave Korea for schools and language training institutes in host countries.

Towell and Hawkins (1994) considered Schumann's (1978) study of Alberto, a 33-year-old Costa Rican immigrant to the United States, to be particularly important research on the effect of acculturation for SLA. Schumann's (1978) *The Pidginization Process: A Model for Second Language Acquisition* describes the relationship between acculturation and language acquisition as follows:

Development towards target language norms is dependent on the social distance between the learner and native speakers of the target language....The greater the social distance, the less interaction there will be between the learner and native speakers. (Towell & Hawkins, 1994, p. 38)

Ritchie and Bhatia (1996) indicated that Schumann developed a model of SLA through his series of papers, and they argued that "degree of success in SLA

under these circumstances is determined by degree of success in acculturation in general” (p. 16). Towell and Hawkins (1994) claimed that Schumann’s acculturation is “an approach to incompleteness and learner differences in SLA, which regards quantity of input as the primary determinant of success” (p. 38).

In this study, I relate Korean parents and children’s family trips to English speaking countries to Schumann’s Model of Acculturation. My perspective is that traveling abroad with children influences their SLA later because it helps them to overcome culture shock when they are exposed to the host cultures.

Variables Affecting Children’s SLA

As I mentioned in Chapter I, my experiences with my two sons made me aware that there must be various factors that facilitate or hinder children’s SLA. Some theories appear to be accurately applied to a certain group of children, but the same theories may not account for other groups’ problems regarding SLA. There must be multiple variables within an individual which may affect his or her SLA. I have described my sons’ cases as examples, and I elaborate on aspects of that narrative here, as these two learners can serve as examples of the complexity of the second language learning process.

My oldest son felt frustrated and deeply depressed when he became a tenth grader in the U.S., although he had shown few problems when he was immersed into the mainstream as a ninth grader. I had been able to explain his school achievement at first using traditional notions, such as the idea of knowledge *transfer*, which is actually used within the Contrastive Analysis

Hypothesis (see Towell and Hawkins, 1994). The idea was that he had been able to bring both content knowledge and his experience with English to bear on his acculturation to the American school culture. However, when he began to feel deeply depressed, no theory seemed effective. He tried to stop going to school, showing an extremely negative attitude toward himself and his school life. For him at this period, something akin to Krashen's Affective Filter Hypothesis would need to be applied to explain the major obstruction that arose to his learning.

In another example, my younger son's verbal fluency showed very slow progress when compared with the progress made by his Korean peers in the U.S. His long silent period made me view Lenneberg's CPH from a different angle. My younger son did not seem to reflect the positive advantage predicted by the CPH. Although age positively influenced his accent, it did not affect his spoken fluency in English. Again, we have to conclude that patterns such as his are due to other internal and external variables which must be accounted for by other theories.

Krashen's Affective Filter Hypothesis attracted enormous interest, especially in the 1980s. According to Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982), this internal processing system subconsciously screens incoming language based on what is called *affect* by psychologists. They explained that "learner's motives, needs, attitudes, and emotional states," which are established around puberty are included in the domain of *affect* (as cited in Towell & Hawkins, 1994, p. 27). This system works by determining the degree of inhibition in situations of L2 learning. Johnson (2004) said that the Affective Filter Hypothesis claims that there must be another factor affecting SLA, though comprehensible input is a

necessary condition. He also argued that this affective filter can function as “a mental block that prevents acquirers from fully utilizing the comprehensible input they receive for language acquisition” (p. 48).

Regarding the role of motivation and social attitudes in SLA, the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972) stands out in the research literature of the 1960s and 1970s (Ritchie & Bhatia, 1996, p. 15). In *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*, they identified a series of relationships between learners’ characteristics through factor analysis. They distinguished two types of motivation regarding SLA: integrative and instrumental. The former refers to learners who want to learn an L2 “in order to participate in the culture of the L2,” whereas the latter refers to learners who are concerned with “more mercenary objectives such as getting a better job” (Ritchie & Bhatia, 1996, p. 15). The current study touches on the relationship between affective domains and adolescent learners’ SLA, and thus these issues are relevant here.

L2 Learners not as Deficient, but as Multi-Competent

Many studies regarding family influence focus on the working class and their children’s language acquisition in the U.S. These studies have disregarded the influence of family in the children’s home countries and socio-cultural and economical aspects of their home cultures concerning English such as heated competition, English as a key to success, and language proficiency as capital in the market economy. Frasier and Passow (1994) pointed out a few problems regarding the perceptions of L2 learners:

the low expectations educational professionals have for culturally and linguistically diverse students, their low levels of awareness of cultural and linguistic behaviors of potentially gifted minority students, their insensitivity to the differences within and among groups, and their inability to recognize 'gifted behaviors' that minority students exhibit. (p. 4)

Their points are closely connected to the concept of *multi-competence*, which has recently been spotlighted in postmethod and postpedagogy thinking.

Personally, I have much interest in the concept of *multi-competence* regarding L2 learners in English-speaking countries. My younger son's long silent period was enough for his peers to consider him to be deficient. In fact, he experienced this type of misunderstanding at school when he was nine years old. One day he asked the meaning of a certain word. The word was *mean*. Apparently, a classmate had called him 'mean;' I was so shocked to hear that. I trembled and wanted to visit his school and find out who had said such a thing. He told me that one of his classmates often used that word (*mean*) to refer to him. I could assume that his silence and lack of response in class led him to be viewed as deficient in other respects, such as empathy, as well as in English. Although he didn't know the exact meaning of it, he realized that the boy did not use the word with a good intention. Instead of explaining the meaning, I advised him to say exactly the same thing when the boy said the word again. His response to my answer surprised me again: "Mom, if the word means a bad thing, I will not say the same word to him. I will just keep silent." I felt ashamed of my

quick and inconsiderate advice, and I told myself that my son had spoken out of wisdom: silence is sometimes better than speaking and arguing.

Through my experiences with my younger son, I began to have more interest in the concept of *multi-competent* L2 learners. I decided to put weight on this concept in my dissertation to prevent more misunderstanding regarding learners like my son. Their speaking is slow, but they have potential. They are making active progress through their thinking, although they are silent. Later in this chapter, I explore what makes children keep silent in the mainstream. One question underlying my interest in the present study involves my desire to learn whether lack of family influence to promote L2 literacy may cause a long silent period for a child.

Studies on the Effect of Age for SLA

Regarding SLA, the most controversial issue may be early English education, which is often promoted by policy makers who cite Lenneberg's CPH. Generally, Lenneberg's ideas, proposed as a theoretical claim about the first language, have been uncritically extended to the prevalent belief that if children learn English earlier, they will have potential in almost all areas in the future. In the Proceedings of the 2001 Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society under the title, "The Critical Period Hypothesis Revisited," Moskovsky (2001) stated that the issue of a critical period for the second language is considerably less clear and still remains among the most hotly debated issues in SLA research. In the Introduction to the book *Approaches to Second Language Acquisition*,

Towell and Hawkins (1994) claimed that we human beings have the ability to learn one or two other languages in addition to our mother tongues, and that this potential lasts throughout our lifetime.

Much research supports the CPH as a factor in second language learning, particularly with respect to pronunciation. Oyama (1976) conducted a study of 60 Italian male immigrants and found that the earlier the exposure to English, the better one's accent will be. Fathman (1975) also found that children who are exposed to English earlier have better pronunciation ratings than those first exposed when older. Birdsong (1999) reported that the evidence of age effect in Johnson and Newport's study is a cornerstone in the CPH for L2 learners. It is a widely accepted belief that "the earlier people start learning a second language, the more successful they will be" (Nagai, 1997, p.1). Vergne (1982) argued that children's length of stay in the U.S. is correlated with school adjustment, self-esteem, children's attitude toward school, and home adjustment. While the findings obtained by the above researchers appear to be valid, their studies did not consider the socio-political climate of learners' home countries or parental perspectives and efforts regarding their children's second language acquisition.

Numerous voices have also been raised questioning any broader claims regarding the effect of age on second language acquisition (i.e., beyond the issue of accent or pronunciation). In *Raising Multilingual Children: Foreign Language Acquisition and Children*, Tokuhamu-Espinosa (2001) argued that the language acquisition window is opened at age eight and never closes. According to him, humans never lose the capacity to learn a foreign language as indicated

through numerous studies; in fact, he argued that “adolescent and adult learners are actually better than small children in grasping abstract concepts of syntax and grammar” (p. 20). Oyama (1979) suggested a more nuanced view when he claimed that “sensitive periods are preceded and followed by less responsive periods” (p. 88). Seliger (1978) proposed multiple critical or sensitive periods for different aspects of language. Singleton (1989) stated that there is some supportive evidence but no actual counter evidence regarding the CPH. Still, Ellis (1994) argued against overgeneralization and simplicity regarding the effect of age on L2 acquisition. Ellis specifically urged breaking down the idea of a ‘critical period’ into more specific categories, and asking what effect does age have on (1) the rate of L2 learning, (2) learners’ levels of L2 achievement of native-speaker levels of proficiency, (3) learners’ levels of L2 achievement, and (4) processes of L2 learning?

Birdsong (1999) contributed to the debate regarding the CPH by juxtaposing a number of papers which cover a variety of points of view and arrive at a variety of conclusions (Harris, 1994, p. 2). Harris (1994) stated that there seems to be “a critical period for first language acquisition” (p. 1) and “the commonly-observed and widely-accepted generalization that learning gets harder as one gets older” (p. 2). However, his argument was not tilted to one side because he concluded that “If there is any truth in the CPH, then there may be different critical periods for different language skills, different types of change at different ages” (p. 4). His idea agrees with Selinger (1978) in promoting the idea of multiple competencies maturing ideally at different ages.

Johnson and Newport (1989) conducted a study of 46 native speakers of Korean and Chinese who had immigrated to the U.S. at different ages and tested their basic English grammar. In particular, they examined the participants' morphosyntactic proficiency. The subjects, university faculty or students, had arrived in the U.S. between the ages of 3 and 39 and had spent a minimum of five years in residence. The grammaticality judgment test used in the study consisted of 276 sentences presented on an audiotape. The results showed that participants who had arrived in the U.S. before the age of seven reached native-like performance on the test. However, arrivals after that age showed a *linear decline* in performance through puberty. And those who arrived after puberty performed more poorly than any of the earlier arrivals.

Several studies re-analyzed Johnson and Newport's (1989) study on the CPH. Bialystok and Hakuta (1994) re-analyzed data presented by Johnson and Newport and argued that there is no evidence for an abrupt change in language ability after puberty, only for a very gradual decline (Moskowsky, 2001; see also Bialystok, 1997). They criticized Lenneberg's (1967) analysis of a critical period and questioned Johnson and Newport's conclusions. Rather than arguing for a direct effect of age, they attributed the difference between early and late learners of English in this task to differences in vigilance based on age because the experimental task was long, repetitive, and demanded intense attention.

Most recently, Seol (2005) replicated Johnson and Newport's study and found a strong evidence for the presence of a critical period in the domain of L2 syntax. The study was conducted under the presumption that speakers of Korean

and Chinese cannot be categorized into a single linguistic group, although both languages are typologically distant from English. Since Korean and Chinese are marked by distinctive linguistic features, “categorizing the L1 speakers of both languages as a single linguistic group” results in making any study of potential L1 effects “problematic” (Seol, 2005, pp. 6-7). Seol studied 34 Korean L2 learners, and the results provided some modest support for the existence of a critical period. For early arrivals, a significant correlation was found between time of arrival and performance. Contrary to Johnson and Newport's findings, which argued that heightened sensitivity drops off abruptly around puberty, there was a linear decline of performance in participants from 11 to 15 years of age in Seol's research.

In the 1990s, several studies explored the effect of age on Korean L2 learners. Sim's (1993) results indicated that “early arrivers prior to the age of five performed within the range of the native controls” (p. 4). Flege, Yeni-Komshian, and Liu (1999) studied 240 Korean native speakers of English who arrived in the U.S. at different ages ranging from 1 to 24 and who had more than 15 years of residence in the U.S. Knowledge of morphosyntax was measured through a test consisting of 144 question items. The results showed that “the ceiling effect was observed among early arrivals and a consistent decline in performance was found among late arrivals” (p. 5). They claimed that “this linear decline can be contrasted with the randomness shown in Johnson and Newport (1989) (JN89)” (p.5).

The effect of age on L2 learning is far from being a clear-cut or popular solution to explain the variables originating from second language learning (Cook, 1995). Some researchers have presented a revised version of the CPH. Rather than defining a critical period, they used more flexible terms such as 'sensitive period' (Oyama, 1979) and 'multiple critical periods' (Seliger, 1978). With regard to the effect of age on SLA, a central question seems to be whether L2 is acquired *only* within the definite span of age or *more easily* within the period.

The mixed study results obtained regarding the effect of age on SLA should not be considered as a basis for rejection of the original CPH, because "a positive effect of a critical period is hypothesized only for first-language acquisition" (Snow, 1979, p.178). Romaine (1989) stated that then recent studies on early bilingualism denote that the age at which L2 learners first encounter L2 is merely one of many determinants of the new language proficiency.

Singleton and Lengyel (1995) drew a clear conclusion on how the effect of age should be qualified regarding SLA. They made two observations regarding the notion of a critical period: (1) the available empirical evidence cannot be taken to license a simplistic idea of 'younger=better in all circumstances over any timescale'; and (2) the 'younger=better in the long run version of the CPH in respect to second-language learning needs to be seen in the perspective of a general tendency and not as an absolute, immutable law (p.4).

Birdsong (1999) pointed out that the positive arguments for the effect of age are "somewhat misleading" because "there is no single critical period hypothesis" (p. 2). Rather, he argued for a "varied formulation" of the concept (p.

2). In *The Myth of the First Three Years*, Bruer (1999) stated that a critical period does not appear to apply to L2 grammar learning. Rather, he claimed that some maturational constraints affect L2 grammar learning. Chipongian (2000) suggested that Bruer's analogy of a reservoir that gradually evaporates should replace the notion of a window slamming shut regarding one's SLA ability. Bialystok (1997) argued that the critical period as a descriptive generalization may be statistically correct, but it is nevertheless an insight from which "nothing inevitable follows" (p.117).

This section has introduced various voices regarding the CPH, which show that length of stay and time of arrival in the host country can be starting points in determining the effect of age on SLA. However, researchers also need to consider the fact that L2 learners in the U.S. have often been exposed to considerable amounts of English in their home countries. Most studies of SLA have not viewed English learning environments or exposure to English in the home country as important factors. Researchers have paid little attention to a number of factors which the present study focuses on: (1) how the children are exposed to English; (2) how high the parents' level of literacy is; (3) how parents' literacy influences their children's English literacy; (4) what materials the learners' families use; (5) what strategies they use; (6) how long children have been exposed to English; and (7) how parents support children's acculturation for future SLA. The current study investigates the effect of age on children's SLA, putting its focal lens not only on the length of stay and time of arrival in the host country, but also on exposure to English in the home country.

Studies on the Effect of Input for SLA

The Monitor Model of SLA presented by Krashen (1981, 1982, 1985) attained a central position in the field of SLA in the 1980s. This model embodies a definite shape for SLA in his five interrelated hypotheses: (1) the Acquisition-Learning Distinction, (2) the Monitor Hypothesis, (3) the Natural Order Hypothesis, (4) the Input Hypothesis, and (5) the Affective Filter Hypothesis. Regarding the input hypothesis, Krashen claimed that “humans acquire language in only one way—by understanding messages, or by receiving comprehensible input” (Krashen, 1985, p. 2). According to Krashen, “comprehensible input is operationalized $i + 1$, where i represents the learner’s current level of language competence and 1 the next level of competence in the natural order of development” (Johnson, 2004, pp. 47-48). Swain (2004) viewed Krashen’s Comprehensible Input Hypothesis as claiming that “the *cause* of second language acquisition is input that is understood by the learner” (p. 98). Hoefnagel-Höhle (1977) suggested two factors which can account for L2 learners’ achievement: (1) the amount of comprehensible speech heard; and (2) the percentage of comprehensible utterances addressed directly to the second language learner (Collins, 1979, p. 177).

Long (1996) suggested that input can be comprehensible through interactional modification. He also wrote “that environmental contributions to acquisition are mediated by selective attention and the learner’s developing L2 processing capacity, and that these resources are brought together most usefully, although not exclusively, during *negotiation for meaning*” (p. 414). He argued that

the negative feedback obtained during negotiation works as a facilitator for L2 development.

Numerous SLA researchers have tried to illuminate the relationship between L1 input and SLA. Kurlychek (1997) argued that the development of the first language must not be considered as insufficient input or intervention because it later contributes to success in SLA. Among the early studies, Fries emphasized the relationship between L1 input and SLA as follows:

Learning a second language constitutes a very different task from learning the first language. The basic problems arise not out of any essential difficulty in the features of the new language themselves but primarily out of the special 'set' created by the first language habits (Fries, 1957, p. vii).

Wagner-Gough and Hatch (1975) tried to focus on the types of input and how these affect the oral output of the individual learning the language. They proposed that input frequency is a major factor for language learning. However, they pointed out that L2 acquisition cannot be explained or predicted merely on the basis of the frequency of a word or structure that L2 learners have heard. Jewell (1992) wrote that, for children, input is recycled and causes them to repeatedly hear many of the same phrases. Thus, he argued that the important part in determining the results of a foreign language is "the type of input the learner receives" (p. 24).

From the Chomskian perspective of language acquisition, the available linguistic input or experience is often considered "degenerate, incomplete, or ungrammatical" (Johnson, 2004, p. 32). Krashen (1985) implicitly adopts

Chomsky's framework, but he nonetheless claimed that if enough comprehensible input is given, "the necessary grammar is automatically provided" (p. 2). Johnson (2004) argued that Krashen's heavy reliance on the Language Acquisition Device (a theoretical construct from Chomsky's 1969 framework) and subconscious processes might subject his approach to any drawbacks associated with the "cognitive paradigm" (p. 48). In any case, Gass (2003), commenting on Krashen, pointed out that "language acquisition [is] seen to entirely rely on the input" which children receive and "a child [is] seen to learn by imitation" within that framework (p. 28). Krashen's Input Hypothesis can be seen as challenging the CPH in its application to L2, because the former assumes that L2 acquisition is possible for learners of any age (Harris, 1994).

Long (1983a, 1983b) expanded the concept of Krashen's comprehensible input to that of "conversational adjustments" (Johnson, 2004, p. 53). Long agreed with Hatch (1978) regarding the perspective that "conversational interaction and, in particular, conversational modifications, can provide contexts not only for the practice of grammatical rules but also for the acquisition of these rules" (as cited in Johnson, 2004, p. 53). Snow (1979) tried hard to avoid the dichotomy of theories by indicating the danger originating from exclusion of innate linguistic competence to argue for linguistic input:

Demonstration of correlations between aspects of the linguistic input or social interaction and speed of language acquisition, or of a positive effect of experimental manipulation of the linguistic input, is an insufficient basis for concluding that an innate linguistic component plays no role in normal

language acquisition. Even a demonstration that certain types of linguistic input are prerequisite to normal language acquisition would not rule out the possibility that innate linguistic competence was also a prerequisite. (pp. 157-158)

Socio-cultural language acquisition researchers have investigated the relationship between Krashen's $i+1$ and Vygotsky's ZPD (Zone of Proximal Development). Thorne (2004) stated that these two concepts cannot be related due to the following three contrary perspectives:

(1) conceptualization (a passive body listening versus collaborative activity), (2) philosophical underpinnings (learner as autonomous versus personal ability co-constructed through activity with other people and artifacts in environment), and (3) focus on processes (childlike learning versus the collaborative accomplishment of a specific task). (p. 226)

Some researchers argued against Krashen's Input Theory because it is aligned with the Chomskian cognitive school of language acquisition. Contradicting cognitivist's argument that "enhanced knowledge is unavailable to the underlying grammar," they asserted that "enhanced input aids the development of L2 grammatical competence" (Ioup, 1995, p. 99).

Callanan (1991) argued that input provided by parents helps children to identify mismatches between parents and children. Byrnes and Gelman (1991) claimed that parental input serves to foster children's development and "provides 'scaffolding'" for children to construct "appropriate linguistic forms" (p. 21). Regarding the types of input, McLaughlin (1984) stated that the input is "the

content of sentences heard by children from parents, other adults, other children, television, and so forth” (p. 32).

Chomsky viewed input as meager and insufficient as evidence for language acquisition to occur. Thus, what matters in Chomskian language development is the internal processes, originally phrased in terms of the Language Acquisition Device (LAD) in Chomsky’s early work; the claim is that a child learning his or her first language is equipped with neurological mechanisms that can analyze linguistic data and produce a fully elaborated language system, even if given imperfect input at the outset. Like Lenneberg’s CPH, Chomsky’s basic agenda has been to explain the mystery of first language acquisition; hence, his work bears on the present study only insofar as it provides a framework for contrasting the role of input in first and second languages.

Subsequent theorists have focused on other aspects of input. For instance, Jewell (1992) brought in a sociological viewpoint of potential relevance to second language learners when he stated that:

Successful input is impeded when the learner perceives the social environment to be hostile or even just too strange and unfamiliar. Little language acquisition can occur, regardless of the quality of the input available, if the learner feels intimidated, uncomfortable, out-of-place. It is only when the learning environment is pleasant and nonthreatening that the cognitive learning processes can function. (p. 29)

Krashen (1985) said these impending elements contribute to the learners’ ‘affective filter’ which blocks input in situations where the learner feels

threatened or uncomfortable. According to his theory, L2 learners have a filter through which all input must pass before it is processed cognitively.

In this section, I reviewed literature concerning input to construct a theoretical framework in which to think about parental interaction with children as input providers. The following section covers socio-cultural theory and its perspectives regarding children's SLA.

Socio-Cultural Perspectives on Literacy Building

The Origin of Socio-Cultural Theory

A socio-cultural theory of mind was developed by L.S. Vygotsky after the Russian revolution (Lantolf, 2004). Vygotskian psychology was significantly developed “when A. N. Leont’ev (1981), together with a group of then Soviet psychologists, proposed a theory of activity;” since then it has become “a cornerstone of sociocultural theory” (Kasper & Rose, 2002, p. 34). Regarding this theory, Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen (2003) commented as follows:

Neo-Vygotskians (Rogoff, 1990; Wertsch, 1985a) have built on Vygotsky's (1962) argument that children develop higher-order cognitive functions, including linguistic skills, through social interaction with adults or more knowledgeable peers, eventually internalizing these skills and functioning independently. (pp. 158-59)

Since the 1970s, “several lines of research into the nature of the language acquisition process have suggested that social and interactional factors might play a major role in influencing the course and speed of language acquisition”

(Snow, 1979, p. 157). Kasper and Rose (2002) stated that “with the notable exception of an early study by Frawley and Lantolf (1984), it took another 30 years for SLA researchers to discover Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory and appropriate it for the study of second language learning” (p. 33).

Since the late 1970s, active efforts to connect Vygotsky’s research to language acquisition and learning have been made in the field of SLA. Among those researchers, Lantolf and Wertsch are notable and have exerted great efforts to illuminate Vygotsky and his theory for the SLA field. Their active study has continued from the 1980s to the present. Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen called them Neo-Vygotskians, for their studies on Vygotsky went far beyond others’ efforts.

Johnson (2004) wrote about the origin of SLA. According to him, the origin of SLA is situated “not in the human mind but in locally bound dialogical interactions conducted in a variety of sociocultural and institutional settings,” and this approach turns our attention “from a preoccupation with language competence toward the dialectical interaction between language competence and performance” (p. 4). He stated that many versions of this approach originate from “Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory and Bakhtin’s dialogized heteroglossia” and that “they are especially indebted to Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory” (p. 17). The framework for this approach, he stated, is embedded in “multidimensional, sociocultural, and institutional contexts” and “hyperdimensional social reality” (p. 5).

Firth and Wagner (1997) called for more attention to “the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use” (p. 285). They claimed that the SLA literature has been dominated by individual cognitive issues, disregarding L2 learners’ socio-cultural and historical contexts. Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen (2003) also agreed with Firth and Wagner:

The rise of sociolinguistic and contextual approaches in L2 research over the past decade reflects a growing recognition that learning language is a more complex process than merely acquiring linguistic structures, and that language learning and use are shaped by socio-political processes. (p. 155)

More recently, Thorne (2004) argued that emphasis on cognition is inadequate to fully characterize SLA:

An emphasis on individual cognition within SLA fails to account for a large number of sociolinguistic and communicative dimensions of language use, including the roles of context, discourse, and interaction, and the flat social identity of ‘learner’ and ‘native speaker.’ (p. 220)

As seen in the literature, efforts to find a theoretical framework for L1 and L2 acquisition in socio-cultural perspectives have continued until now, in spite of criticism, controversy and misunderstandings on many fronts. In the following section, I discuss the relationship between socio-cultural theory and language learning.

Socio-Cultural Theory and Language Learning

The central feature of socio-cultural theory is that “human activity is mediated by material artifacts and by symbolic sign systems” (Thorne, 2004, p. 225). Lantolf (2004) said that “humans use symbolic artifacts to establish an indirect, or *mediated*, relationship between ourselves and the world” (p. 1). This approach requires “a holistic qualitative methodology” rather than quantitative and statistical data analysis methodology (Ohta, 2004, p. 53). The important thing that has to be remembered regarding this approach is that it does “not conceive of interaction as just a means for acquiring morpho-syntax and lexis” (Kasper & Rose, 2002, p. 33).

Vygotsky (1962) said that the primary function of speech is communication, and the earliest speech is essentially social (pp. 34-35). According to him, children’s social speech takes two forms: egocentric and communicative. And he said that “the true direction of the development of thinking is not from the individual to the social, but from the social to the individual” (p. 36). In his later study, he argued that “signs and words serve children first and foremost as a means of social contact with other people” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 28). And again, “the history of the process of the internalization of social speech is also the history of the socialization of children’s practical intellect” (p. 27).

Just as we inherit cultural artifacts from our ancestors, our ancestors in turn inherited those artifacts from their ancestors. Vygotsky argued that the only adequate approach to the study of higher mental abilities is historical. To support

his argument, he proposed four *genetic domains* for the proper study of higher mental functions:

(1) the *phylogenetic domain*, concerned with how human cognition came to be distinguished from mental processes in other life forms through the integration of mediational means over the course of evolution; (2) the *sociocultural domain*, concerned with how the different types of symbolic tools developed by human cultures throughout the course of their respective histories affected the kinds of mediation (for example, the impact of such artifacts as numeracy, literacy, and computers on thinking); (3) the *ontogenetic domain*, where focus is on how children appropriate and integrate mediational means, primarily language, into their thinking activities as they mature; and (4) the *microgenetic domain*, where [the] interest is in the reorganization and development of mediation over a relatively short span of time (for example, learning a word, sound, or grammatical feature of a language). (Lantolf, 2004, p. 3)

Lantolf (2004) wrote that even though a socio-cultural theory acknowledges these four genetic domains, most of the SLA research has been carried out in the ontogenetic domain. Wertsch (1985a) said that “the general theory of mind that Vygotsky pioneered carries the label ‘sociocultural theory’, or alternatively ‘cultural-historical theory’” due to the strong influence of Vygotsky’s writings in this area (p. 30).

Vygotskian Perspectives on Literacy Building

Mother-Child Interaction through Semiotic Tools

With regard to language learning via parent-child interaction using symbolic tools, Vygotsky (1978) thought that children's learning begins long before their schooling starts and "any learning a child encounters in school always has a previous history" (p. 84). He also claimed that children learn speech from adults through asking questions and giving answers, and they acquire a variety of information through imitating adults and being instructed on how to act. Therefore, from his perspective, learning and development are interrelated from the first day of the child's life.

According to Kramsch (2004), linguistic signs are "created, used, borrowed, and interpreted" (p. 133) by individuals engaged in purposeful action, and language emerges from socio-cultural activities. Ohta (2004) stated that the advantages produced by a collaborative process have been demonstrated in recent research. He indicated that such a collaborative process is called *scaffolding* (see Bruner, 1975). Ohta also claimed that assistance is transferred from person to person through such a scaffolding process.

The concept of ZPD (Zone of Proximal Development) began with Vygotsky's genetic law of cultural development. Vygotsky (1978) defined the ZPD as functions that "have not yet matured but are in the process of maturation" (p. 86). He termed these functions as "'bud[s]' or 'flowers' of development rather than the 'fruits' of development" (p. 87). Specifically, he emphasized that "human

learning presupposes a specific social nature and a process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them” (p. 88).

Lantolf and Thorne (2006) extended the Vygotskian concept of ZPD to adult-child interaction. They claimed that we should not assume that all interactions or assistance are productive. They stated that we have to “broadly support social mediation and dialogic interaction” (p. 234) in order for the concept of ZPD to be applied widely in research and pedagogical innovation, including parent-child interaction and teacher-student interaction. Furthermore, they argued that the concept of ZPD should be gradually used “to describe and create peer-interaction environments,” and it should be applied “to individual and collective interactions with artifacts” (p. 234). Concerning daily interactions with artifacts in the family, Lantolf and Thorne stated that participation in the processes of everyday life is mediated and constrained by symbolic and material artifacts (books and tools) which carry “historically sedimented patterns of usage” (p. 234). In this study, I investigate the parental role as scaffolding providers for their children’s literacy building, focusing on the effects of parent-child interactional activities using artifacts.

Imitation

From the Chomskian cognitive perspective, external elements interact with an inner language capacity, originally termed as a ‘language acquisition device’ (LAD), a term discarded in later versions of Chomsky’s Generative Theory. Accordingly, children’s interactions with adults and the imitation of their

behaviors have been studied by Chomskian theorists in the light of the cognitive view. However, the socio-cultural perspective has encouraged people to take a more direct interest in children's behaviors and parent-child interactions in their social contexts. When children's language is developing, the role of parents and care-givers as providers of language input should not be disregarded because they spend so much time with the children they care for. However, how they spend this time together matters. While parents and caregivers feed, bathe, and take care of children, they engage in various interactional activities. They repeat the same utterances and behaviors every day, hoping that their examples will affect the child's utterances and behaviors later.

Those who support the Chomskian perspective regarding children's language learning based on the Universal Grammar might argue that adults' baby-talk is simple, unrefined and has a limited impact on children's language acquisition. However, based on my experiences as the mother of two sons, it seemed that I pronounced the same words such as mom or water hundreds and thousands of times until they uttered them. I think that any family members' efforts to make a child comfortable and happy are very important in setting the stage for language instruction. As Lantolf and Thorne (2006) discussed, a mother can provide an infrastructure for her child's language construction. The child's imitation is not just mimicry without any meaning. Rather, it is based on the instructive infrastructure provided by the family. And this imitation creates a strong basis for language acquisition later.

Lantolf (2004) stated, "The child creates something new as a result of imitating portions of the adult's utterances" (p. 18). For Vygotsky (1987), "imitation is the process through which socioculturally constructed forms of mediation are internalized" (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 166). Development based on collaboration and imitation is "the source of all the specifically human characteristics of consciousness" developing in the child; such imitation is "the source of instruction's influence on development" (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006, pp. 210-211). Lantolf and Thorne explored the crucial importance of imitation for language learning. Their research helped me develop a theoretical framework for the current study because their study was conducted to highlight Vygotskian perspectives on imitation and parent-child interaction for literacy building.

Newman and Holzman (1993) pointed out that imitation is a crucially important developmental activity due to the ways children relate to other people. They also stated that imitation is a means of development because "something new is created out of saying or doing" the same thing, and through this process children can relate to other "speakers, feelers and thinkers" (p. 151). Lantolf and Thorne (2006) made the point that "Central to imitation is understanding the goal and the means through which the activity is carried out" (p. 167). Lightbown and Spada (1993) stated that imitation is (1) "selective and based on what they [children] are currently learning," (2) represents more than simple mimicry, since it is "an intentional and self-selective behavior on the child's part," and (3) is "not driven by frequency of exemplar in the input" (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 170).

According to Lantolf and Thorne, one of the earliest social scientists to propose imitation as a uniquely human form of development was Baldwin (1915), who argued “imitation to the intelligent and earnest imitators is never slavish, never mere repetition” (as cited in Lantolf and Thorne, 2006, p. 166). They also contended that imitation does not refer to the parrot-like repetition which is “stereotypically associated with classical audiolingual pedagogy.” Instead, they claimed that imitation is “a potentially transformative process that entails selective attention resulting in reduction, expansion, and repetition of social models.” From their perspectives, the study of SLA should place its focus on “developing spontaneous knowledge and highly context-bound thinking” (p. 179). In the following section, I study how a child’s interaction with adults is internalized.

Internalization through Interaction

The social context of second language learning is essential to Vygotskian socio-cultural theory. This theory highlights the importance of human interaction for the formation of mental activities (Vygotsky, 1978). Along with mediation and conscious awareness, internalization is the third core concept of Vygotsky’s theory (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). He proposed the concept as a way to overcome the problem coming from Cartesian mind-body dualism. Lantolf and Thorne (2006) assumed that internalization is an intentional, complex, and potentially transformative process which occurs through imitation. Their study indicates that imitation occurs immediately following a model of communicative interaction.

Interaction has a prominent role in most current perspectives on SLA. Wertsch (1985a) stated that the words used by adults function to direct a child's attention toward an object in dialogic interaction. Lantolf and Thorne (2006) stated that internalization heavily relies on imitation, and "the 'I-You' conversation of social interaction becomes 'I-Me' in which 'I' makes choices of what to attend to and talk about and 'Me' interprets and critiques these choices and evaluates the talk" (p. 180; see also Vocate, 1994, p. 12).

In the language acquisition model of socio-cultural theory rooted in Vygotsky's research, interaction is not viewed solely as a cognitive issue or an inner process in the individual's mind, but as a social issue or an external face-to-face interactive process in a real-life setting (Johnson, 2004). Long (1996) considered conversational interaction in the context of the Interaction Hypothesis. According to Long, conversational interaction constructs the basis for language development, and the L2 learners' effort to negotiate meaning activates interactional adjustments and facilitates language acquisition mainly due to particularly selective attention to the input. Swain (2004) claimed that interaction is "more than a source of comprehensible input, or input as feedback" and provides learners with the opportunity to use the target language (p. 99).

Signs and Artifacts as a Tool for Mediation

According to Johnson (2004), Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory can be summarized in terms of three major tenets: (1) "the developmental analysis of mental processes;" (2) "the social origin of human mental processes;" and (3)

“the role of sign systems in the development of human higher mental functions” (p. 105). Vygotsky called signs *activity-oriented* or *goal-directed*. And in his goal-oriented semiotics, signs are “a means of regulating others and one’s own behavior” (Kramsch, 2004, p. 137). Signs have “the quality of reversibility” (Wertsch, 1985a, p. 81). In a world of “motivated and reversible signs, everything co-exists with everything” (Kramsch, 2004, p. 138) and communication takes place “only if the participants agree to understand each others’ signs for all practical purposes within a temporarily shared social reality” (p. 139).

We are living in two worlds: one is comprised of signs and symbols, and the other consists of material objects (Harré and Gillett, 1994). Human cultural artifacts help to increase our capacity for communication just as physical tools help to enhance our biological ability (Bruner, 1996). In such worlds, language is an essential too through which society transmits its knowledge and its values to the child.

Mmediation is the process through which “humans deploy culturally constructed artifacts, concepts, and activities to regulate the material world or their own and each other’s social and mental activity” (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006, p. 79). We primarily engage in social activities like schooling, shopping, conducting conversations, and responding to teachers’ questions. These activities are “mediated by all kinds of material signs like gesture, facial expressions, linguistic shapes, and sounds” (Kramsch, 2004, p. 134). According to Swain (2004), physical and semiotic tools “mediate our interaction with the

physical and social environment” (p. 103) and language is a particularly powerful semiotic tool which “regulates others and ourselves” (p. 104).

Vygotsky (1978) conceived that the creation of signs from the given environment first occurs on the *interpsychological plane*, then on the *intrapsychological plane*. He differentiated between signs and tools in the way they orient human behavior, since the tool is “externally oriented” and leads to “changes in objects,” while the sign is “internally oriented” and serves to master oneself (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 55). He also stated that “the internalization of cultural forms of behavior involves the reconstruction of psychological activity on the basis of sign operations” (p. 57). I studied the mediation through interaction using semiotic tools and signs in this section. The following section covers the studies conducted to investigate the influence on parent-child interaction employing semiotic artifacts.

Literature Review on Parent-Child Activities Using Semiotic Artifacts

Since the 1980s, the research focal lens regarding SLA has shifted from cognitive process of mind to socio-cultural contexts of individual learners. Since the 1990s, researchers in the area of family literacy have tried to observe how parents provide literacy input for their young children by using early literacy experiences at the family basis, and how parents interact with their young children with semiotic tools. However, little published research in family literacy has taken into account the literacy interactions and practices between parents and their children in the home countries for L1 and L2 literacy building. Rather,

much research was conducted to investigate social and semiotic interaction with children based on literacy programs and services in the U.S.

Much research has been conducted to explore the effect of parent-child interaction with semiotic tools. Holt (2000) studied childhood literacy experiences in African-American families. According to him, (1) the frequent use of literacy in the home by family members, (2) exposure to positive attitudes concerning school and academic success, and (3) supposed access to reading materials in one's childhood home can be sound predictors of earning a college degree and achieving professional status. Doyle (2002) studied emergent literacy in the relationship between a child, family, and the community. He included in the predictors (1) oral language interaction, (2) storybook reading, (3) writing experiences, and (4) environmental print and play with regard to the influence of the family on children's literacy development. Conner's (2000) qualitative study explored the experiences of parents who were involved in the literacy learning of their elementary school-aged children. This research highlighted the critical role that parents play in children's literacy development. Schulz (2002) documented literacy practices occurring in out-of-school contexts in four homes of middle-class families. He investigated potential relationships and collaborations between formal classrooms and the informal learning that occurs in out-of-school contexts, finding a positive correlation between them. Based on a theoretical framework informed by social-constructivist perspective, Greenman (2001) investigated the literacy practices of the middle class in suburban families. Alvarez-Martini (2002)

described and compared family support for children's early reading acquisition across three ethno-cultural groups.

The concepts that “language is situated within social interaction” and “conversational partners converge on the meanings of words within conversation” have their roots in Vygotsky (Callanan, 1991, p. 440). With regard to parent-child interaction, Vygotsky (1978) stated that “children’s learning begins long before they attend school is the starting point of this discussion” and “any learning a child encounters in school always has a previous history” (p. 84). Recently such a notion has been elaborated by Rogoff, Bruner, Clark, and others (Callanan, 1991). According to Callanan (1991), for these arguments to be a departure point of research, it should be assumed that “parents and children work collaboratively to determine the meanings of words” and suggested that “these word meanings remain open to revision depending on the goals and the context of each interaction” (p. 441).

Vygotsky (1962, 1978) depicted “cognitive development as a process of internalizing patterns of social interaction” (Callanan, 1991, p. 441). He claimed that “learning awakens a variety of internal developmental processes that are able to operate only when the child is interacting with people in his environment and in cooperation with his peers.” And “once these processes are internalized, they become part of the child’s independent developmental achievement” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 90).

There will always be a contrasting voice responding to a theory or hypothesis. Kuczai (1986) argued against the scaffolding effect of parent-child

interaction for SLA: the input data provided by parents need not always be interpreted as evidence nurturing children's literacy, although some imitation seems inevitable to learn a language. Regarding Kuczai's argument, Callanan (1991) stated that to date "neither a strong nature position nor a strong nurture position" has provided a full explanation of language development and that "the study of parental input does not lead to such quick and easy answers" (p. 451).

Snow (1979) used the term *communication* to describe exchanges of information within the parent-child relationship:

Some people refer to the communication that occurs between mother and infant as the infant perceives the warmth and the odors of the mother's body, feels the comfort of being supported by her arms, and hears her voice. I prefer to describe what is going on here as interaction, or the exchange of information in the absence of communication, because I reserve the term communication for the production of signals with the intention of passing information to another, with the expectation that the other will interpret the signals as one intended them. In other words, communication is then characterized by intentionality and intersubjectivity (p. 160).

I strongly agree with the concepts of intentionality and intersubjectivity defined by Snow (1979), since parental interaction with a child cannot be classified into the simple category: nature or nurture.

Activities through mother-child interaction may look meaningless, not closely connected to the future language building. What is worse, Chomsky

regarded input through teaching or training as “restricted” and “degenerate” evidence of language acquisition (1972, p. 27), and its effects on the final stage are “marginal” (1975, p. 144). According to him, such input is characterized by “false starts, hesitations, slips of the tongue, unfinished and ungrammatical utterances” (McLaughlin, 1984, p. 32). From Chomskian perspective, “input is not a major factor in language acquisition—and hence uninteresting; instead it is the internal processes of LAD that matter in language development” (McLaughlin, 1984, p. 32).

McLaughlin (1984) argued that Chomsky and his followers appear to have “gone too far in denying the importance of factors external to the child” (p. 32). Meier (2004) argued that the memories of positive and successful experiences with literacy, provided by parents in childhood, can bring “the potential joys of language and literacy as children discover and delight in their first words, their first stories, their first books” (pp. 1-2). They seem to be aligned with each other on the positive effect of parental interaction with a child regarding their literacy. In the current study, I explore whether parental interaction with a child using semiotic resources in my participant families has played a major role for their child’s L1 and L2 literacy building. In the following two sections, I demonstrate how Bakhtinian perspectives are applied for the current study as a theoretical framework.

Bakhtinian Perspective on Literacy Building

Dialogic Relationship through Daily Family Utterance

In the socio-cultural view of cognition, internal mental activity has its origin in external dialogic activity (Swain, 2004). Vygotskian Socio-Cultural theory and Bakhtinian Dialogic Theory have been considered as promising second language theories (Johnson, 2004). Both theories “provide a bridge between the learner’s external and internal realities” by offering the field of second language acquisition “a unique opportunity to ‘heal’ the schism that currently separates the learner’s social environment from his or her mental functioning” (Johnson, 2004, p. 170).

Bakhtin (1986) proposed a new epistemology of *dialogized heteroglossia* (see also Johnson, 2004). *Dialogized heteroglossia* is a “pragmatically oriented theory of knowledge” and seeks to “grasp human behavior through the use humans make of language” (Holquist, 1990, p. 15). One of the key concepts in Bakhtin’s writings frequently invoked in SLA research is “*dialogism*: the mutual participation of speakers and hearers in the construction of utterances and the connectedness of all utterances to past and future expressions” (Zuengler & Miller, 2006, p. 42). Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism defines the self and the world “as two sides of the same coin, relative to and constitutive of each other” and emphasizes the fact “every utterance is a response to other, prior or potential utterance, i.e., is characterized by addressivity” (Kramsch, 2004, p. 139). *Addressivity* is “the quality of turning to someone” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 99) and viewed as “a constitutive feature of utterance[s]” addressed to someone in response to another (Kramsch, 2004, p. 139).

Bakhtin seems to have developed his concept of language as a reaction to Saussure's concept of *la parole* and Chomsky's concept of *performance*, which are contrasted with *la langue* (Saussure) and *competence* (Chomsky) (see Holquist, 1990; Johnson, 2004; Lantolf and Thorne, 2006 for more explanations of these terms). Johnson (2004) stated that "Bakhtin's voices and speech genres are always in a dialogic relationship" and "we are all heteroglots" (p. 125). For example, we pray to God in one language, sing songs in another, speak to our family in a third, and we use a fourth language when we begin to dictate petitions to the local authorities (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 295-296).

The Rationale for the Connection of Bakhtin's Perspective to Vygotskian Theory

According to Johnson (2004), Vygotsky stressed the importance of speech for human cognitive development, but Vygotsky's theory did not examine the characteristics of speech in a given socio-cultural context. As a complement and parallel to Vygotsky's ideas, Bakhtin's work fills this gap in Vygotskian theory and is compatible with Vygotsky's theoretical position. For example, Bakhtin's work on speech genres directly supports Vygotsky's genetic law of cultural development. They are aligned with each other on additional issues as well. Neither Vygotsky nor Bakhtin advocates Saussure's separation of *la parole* from *la langue* and Chomsky's distinction of language *performance* from language *competence*. To summarize, Bakhtin and Vygotsky view language as speech, not as an abstract set of rules like Chomsky and other cognitive theorists. Van Lier

(2004) suggested that the work of Vygotsky and Bakhtin demonstrates an environmental and conversational approach to cognition, learning, and language.

The new Dialogical Model of SLA based on Vygotsky's Socio-Cultural Theory and Bakhtin's heteroglossia can be summarized as follows. I have just enumerated four features of the two theories excerpted from eleven features noted by Johnson:

(1) "language learning is not universal or linear but localized and dialectical;" (2) "language performance and language competence cannot be separated because they are in a dialectical relationship;" (3) to acquire the target language is to acquire discursive practices (speech genres) characteristic of given sociocultural and institutional settings;" and (4) "the development of second language ability is viewed as the process of becoming an active participant in the target language culture" (Johnson, 2004, p. 179).

I conclude this section with Lantolf and Thorne's (2006) metaphor of water and a ball. They stated that language endures and flows rather than being tossed like a ball from one generation to the next. And each generation enters into the stream of incessant communication. I think words flow without stopping. Even when humans keep silent, words flow in their brains through the process of active thinking. The very interaction between mother and child through dialogic communication in a socio-cultural context can be a strong basis for the child's future language acquisition and knowledge learning.

Beyond Dichotomy toward Unity

Problems of Dichotomy

Traditional theories of language and language acquisition are “predicated on a clear dichotomy between the individual and the social” (Kramsch, 2004, p. 133). Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen (2003) described the debate in the field of SLA between cognitivists and socio-culturists by using the metaphor of a military camp. They contended that the debate is problematic because “cognition *originates* in social interaction” and knowledge construction is “both a cognitive *and* a social process” (p. 156). The cognitive theoretical tradition is embedded in the 17th century’s Cartesian philosophy which argues for the separation between mind and body (Harré and Gillett, 1994) and has since been transferred to the Chomskian theory of Universal Grammar regarding SLA (Johnson, 2004). However, the cognitive perspective disregards “communicative social interaction and goal-oriented collective activity” (Rommetveit, 1987, p. 79).

The dialogical tradition, which is mainly based on the work of Lev Vygotsky and Mikhail Bakhtin, takes into consideration “the dynamic role of social contexts, individuality, intentionality, and the sociocultural, historical, and institutional backgrounds of the individual involved in cognitive growth” (Johnson, 2004, p. 16). Zuengler and Miller (2006) stated that Thorne and Lantolf see Vygotskian theory in particular “as providing a lens for viewing social context as central to the development of cognition” (p. 50). Lantolf and Thorne (2006) contended that “Vygotsky proposed a way of overcoming the Cartesian dualism in psychology which integrates hands (labor activity) and language (speaking

activity) into a dialectical unity” (p. 59) by “integrating biological and sociocultural factors into a new and unified theoretical framework” (p. 152).

According to Johnson (2004), Vygotsky and Bakhtin open our eyes to “a holistic perspective in which the two seemingly opposite parts of human existence, mental and social, merge together in a dialectical relation” (p. 170-71) and make us look into the learner’s second language social environment not as “the source of the learner’s cognitive growth” but as “the source of the learner’s language input” (p. 171). However, some people argue against the concept of Vygotskian internalization while agreeing with Vygotsky’s role in breaking long-standing cognitive and social dichotomy in SLA theory building. Lantolf and Thorne (2006) supported Vygotsky by claiming that “the major problem with the social constructionist critique is that it characterizes internalization in ways that Vygotsky did not” (p. 158).

Wertsch, one of the most important interpreters of Vygotsky, has anti-internalization position, and Rogoff and Matusov also “fail to appreciate the significance of two crucial features of internalization” because they “overlook the bi-directional quality of internalization” (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 159).

Regarding their misunderstanding of Vygotskian conception of internalization, Lantolf and Thorne (2006) defended Vygotsky, arguing that ‘the social constructionist critique arises from a mistaken inference that internalization suffers from the very internal-external dualism that Vygotsky sought to overcome’ (p. 157). They also contended that Vygotsky clearly recognized that internalization (1) “was not a one-way street;” (2) “forms an inseparable unity with

externalization;” (3) “was not a transmission process whereby the internal is merely a duplicate of the external only on an ideal plane, but that the process was transformative;” and (4) is a bi-directional process with externalization, “mediated through semiotic artifacts, [and] both idealize the objective and objectifies the ideal” (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, pp. 154-155). They concluded that Vygotskian internalization necessarily includes “a reverse process of externalization” (p. 160). Error of interpretation in the concept of internalization between Western researchers such as Wertsch and Russian researchers might cause misunderstandings of the Vygotskian concept of the individual. In this study, I am aligned with Lantolf and Thorne’s view on internalization as bi-directional.

Debates

In *TESOL Quarterly* 40, which was aimed at looking back on the history of SLA theories, Zuengler and Miller (2006) viewed the cognitive and socio-cultural perspectives as two parallels in the SLA field. Beretta (1991) supported theory building only “from a rationalist/positivist paradigm, and certainly not from a relativist one,” and Crookes (1992) agreed with Beretta, adhering to “a positivistic notion of science as the gold standard in considering theory construction” (Zuengler & Miller, 2006, p. 47). Researchers who oppose relativism have a tendency to consider positivism as the sole paradigm for cognitive research in the field of SLA. Among those researchers, Gregg (1993) opposed relativism arguing that the overall explanation in the field of SLA is “the acquisition (or non-

acquisition) of L2 competence, in the Chomskyan sense of the term” (Zuengler & Miller, 2006, p. 48). Interestingly, regarding this theoretical debate in the SLA field, Zuengler and Miller juxtaposed Gregg (1993) and Lantolf (1996) by citing their flower metaphors. They thought that Gregg’s metaphor of *Let a Couple of Flowers Bloom* does not advocate a relativist’s acceptance of a multiplicity of theories. Instead, they viewed the metaphor *a couple of flowers* as opposed to many theories within a cognitive and positivistic framework. They viewed Lantolf’s metaphor of *letting all the flowers bloom* as supporting relativism and opposing positivism.

Lantolf (1996) claimed that Gregg, Long, Crookes, and others have contributed to the positivist paradigm in the SLA field. He argued that these researchers share “a common fear of the dreaded ‘relativism’” (p. 715), opposing Firth and Wagner’s (1988) claim; language acquisition and use should not be separated because language use actually implies how learning takes place. Firth and Wagner (1997) have a strong tendency to conceptualize second language as a cognitive phenomenon as opposed to a social one. For them, there has been “the imposition of an orthodox social psychological hegemony in SLA,” which has led to “the reduction of complex and nuanced social beings to the status of ‘subject’” (Block, 2003, p. 4). However, Kasper (1997) attacked that theory, suggesting that Firth and Wagner have, in fact, “very little to say about L2 acquisition” (p. 310). Gass (1998) made a strong case for positivism, arguing that SLA and second language use are branches that are separate and unconnected. As indicated in Larsen-Freeman (2002), this debate does not provide an answer

to the problems in the field of SLA because it involves two different ontological positions that reflect “fundamental differences in the way they frame their understanding of learning” (p. 37). Thus, what should be expected is not debate for debate’s sake, but the agreeable attitude that contrasting views of learning can stimulate rather than befuddle the field (Zuengler & Miller, 2006). SLA research needs the integration of perspectives, and the socio-cultural approach should assume that responsibility (Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen, 2003).

Multiple Theories

I agree with Zuengler and Miller (2006). They claimed that debates can stimulate the SLA research field, so we need not necessarily come to agreement. Rather, they claim that incommensurable theories in the SLA field have to be proliferated and debated to avoid the domination of one theory without its being problematized. Researchers such as Ellis (1994) and Swain and Lapkin (1998) argued for the complementarity of cognitive and socio-cultural views (see Block, 2003). Lantolf (1996) encouraged letting all theories bloom in the SLA field, warning that “once theoretical hegemony is achieved, alternative metaphors are cut off or suffocated by the single official metaphor” (p. 739). Larsen-Freeman (2002) proposed chaos or complexity theory as a means of accommodating both socio-cultural and cognitive perspectives within SLA. Block (2003) encouraged “a more multidisciplinary and socially informed future” to be designed regarding SLA theories (p. 139). Watson-Gegeo (2004) saw a synthesis of the cognitive with the

socio-cultural as a possible alternative because of the atmosphere in the SLA field trying to view cognition as cultural and socio-cultural processes.

Studies on the Effect of Individual Variation for SLA

Rationale for Consideration of Variation

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, some scholars such as Bialystok and McLaughlin began to apply the concept of general cognitive psychology based on computer-based information-processing models to the investigation of SLA research (Ritchie & Bhatia, 1996). The behaviorist and computational schools are grounded in the positivist or empiricist model of the classical physical hard sciences, which privileges quantitative methods (Van Langenhove, 1995) and has long dominated the field of SLA. However, researchers in this field have begun to realize that with only data produced by quantitative methodology, it is hard to explain the individual differences in L2 learners.

Firth and Wagner (1997) criticized a strong propensity in the field of SLA, which has viewed language as cognitive rather than social (Block, 2003). For these writers, “an orthodox social psychological hegemony in SLA” has resulted in “the reduction of complex and nuanced social beings to the status of ‘subject’” (Block, 2003, p. 4).

McLaughlin (1985) contended that individual differences regarding SLA should be understood not in the domain of linguistic factors but in the domain of social factors, “such as ability to interact with other children and motivation to identify with speakers of the target language” (p. 21). Schieffelin and Ochs (1986)

provided a good rationale for why researchers have begun to pay attention to the various factors regarding SLA. They claimed that a similar level of language use in children does not indicate the same rate of language acquisition in the identical ways. Rather, as Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen (2003) contended, children's "prior experiences and individual variation in language-learning strategies" can explain the difference in the rate of their information intake (p. 157).

The Input Hypothesis occupies the main part of Krashen's Monitor Model. What he calls the *affective filter* entails the concept of variation of L2 learners. According to Krashen (1985), the affective filter is "a mental block that prevents acquirers from fully utilizing the comprehensible input they receive for language acquisition" (p. 3). Nagai (1997) prefers to call Krashen's affective filter an "affective factor" which "plays an important role in artificial environments" (p. 6). Gass and Selinker (2001) classified major stages needed for the conversion of input into output: "apperceived input, comprehended input, intake, integration, and output" (p. 400). Their concept of *apperceived input* parallels that of Krashen's affective filter because the former is involved in social distance, status, motivation and attitude, while the latter concerns motivation and social attitudes as well as the role of personality and other affective factors.

Motivation, Aptitude, and Attitude

The research of Gardner and Lambert on the role of motivation and social attitude in SLA between the 1960s and the 1970s is outstanding (Ritchie & Bhatia, 1996). Gardner and Lambert (1972) distinguished two types of

motivation: integrative and instrumental. According to these authors, the learner who is equipped with integrative motivation wishes to learn a second language so as to actively take part in the L2 culture, whereas the one with instrumental motivation has more interest in matters regarding money, such as getting a good job.

Tokuhamma-Espinosa (2001) accounted for various factors influencing multilingual children's language acquisition. His study explores a critical period, motivation, language aptitude, and personality as influential factors for SLA. Regarding motivation, he stated that it comes to L2 learners in both positive and negative forms and from both internal and external sources. Regarding the relationship between motivation and the parental role, he believed parents can help "motivate their children through encouragement and by setting an example" and by being supportive, praising their children for use of the L2 (Tokuhamma-Espinosa, 2001, p. 48). He claimed that just as positive motivation can cultivate a good relationship between the learner and the language, the negative side of motivation can result in little success. For example, a child who is highly motivated but has no exposure to a language, or a child who is force-fed a language but has little motivation, will not achieve the results that the parents desire.

With regard to older children and their motivations, McLaughlin (1985) argued that affective factors are likely to play a greater role because their "individual identity and group membership are more acute" (p. 21). He claimed:

Attitudinal and motivational factors are even more important than language-learning aptitude; the attitude of learners toward the cultural group that speaks the second language and their desire to participate in this group can compensate...for a lack of natural aptitude in second-language learning. (p. 21)

In *Raising Multilingual Children: Foreign Language Acquisition and Children*, Tokuhamma-Espinosa (2001) argued for a strong relationship between language aptitude and parents' efforts and role. He contended that children's language aptitude depends on parents who help their children start their L2 on the right path.

Other Factors

Both inner and external factors in learners have an influence on SLA. Regarding this, Long (1996) stated, "Environmental support in the form of comprehensible input is necessary for language learning, but insufficient for learning certain specifiable aspects of an L2" (p. 425). Tokuhamma-Espinosa (2001) wrote that "another perspective revolves around the issue of personality types as well as motivation" (p. 49). Singleton and Lengyel (1995) have a very positive perspective about the effect of variables on SLA. They said that not only research but also the informal observations in daily contact with second-language learners suggest that "an early start in a second language is neither a strictly necessary nor a universally sufficient condition for the attainment of native-like proficiency" because of "the enormous variation in people's

experience of second languages” (p. 4). Klein (1990) stated that regardless of whether it is L1 or L2, language acquisition is “a fascination, but also an extremely complex phenomenon whose course and final result are determined by a number of interacting factors” (as cited in Dechert, 1995, p. 67).

Seol (2005) made a partial replication of research by Johnson and Newport (1989) to prove the effect of a critical period on the acquisition of L2 syntax. In his literature, he revealed that, although some studies indicated the apparent impact of an age effect, such results might come from “other confounding factors” rather than age (p. 6). He explained that “variables such as amount of education in the U.S., use of L1 and L2, and L1-L2 pairings have been pointed to as potential confounding factors causing age differences” (p. 6). However, he did not mention the amount of education in Korea as an important variable for SLA in the host countries. In my study, I investigate the influence of the amount of educational input in Korea as one of the most important variables for SLA in the mainstream culture.

Oh (2003) studied factors influencing the adjustment of Korean children who live in the U.S. He examined variables such as (1) English proficiency, (2) peer relationship, (3) family relationship, and (4) school experiences. He argued that the independent variables mentioned above and the length of stay in the U.S. may influence the adjustment of Korean children living in the U.S. (p. 4).

Matias (2005) examined the factors influencing the success in verbal acquisition of second language of East Asian international graduate and scholars’ students’ children. He looked into three areas: (1) factors influencing

the academic success of East Asian international students; (2) the extent to which individual characteristics such as demographics, family background, academic ability, English language proficiency, educational aspiration, and social interaction of Chinese international students affect their academic success; and (3) the similarities and differences between Chinese international student groups and other student groups. Based on these areas, he classified the factors which could influence SLA into two groups: (1) external factors such as students' life experience, and the influence of culture on their literary interpretation of authentic text in the foreign language; and (2) internal factors such as motivation, strong desire to succeed and a commitment given to learning a foreign language providing these students with the desire to become involved in a challenging high school advanced placement class (p. 5). Long (1997) pointed out that the L2 acquisition literature indicates the importance of social and affective factors, but they have been regarded as having relatively minor impact on SLA in both naturalistic and classroom settings.

Studies on the Influence of Background Knowledge

Children's Education in Korea

Due to the long influence of Confucianism, a clear division has traditionally existed between the roles of father and mother in the family regarding children's education. Mothers have long taken charge of children's education at home as well as housework. The word *sacrifice* has long represented the life of Korean mothers. Hines Ward, the MVP of the 2006 Super Bowl XL in Detroit, is a good

example to illustrate a Korean mother's sacrifice for her child's education. His mother sacrificed herself for her only son's education, overcoming poverty and racial discrimination after she divorced an American soldier when Ward was young. Her sacrifice finally made him one of the greatest football heroes in the U.S. Many Korean mothers have lived a life similar to that of Ward's mother. Although Korea is not a maternal society, the father's role in families has been getting weaker and weaker due to the lack of time they spend with their children. The mistaken but long held perception that the woman has to take care of all the housework including the children's education has greatly contributed to the Korean fathers' limited role in the family.

As indicated in Chapter II, Korea has become the country with the largest number of international students in the U.S. This fact clearly shows Korean parents' zeal for their children's education, especially for education in English. To my regret, most research conducted in the field of SLA has overlooked Korean parents' efforts in their home countries. Few researchers have studied family influence on Korean children's SLA. In the current study, I place emphasis on the parents' perspectives on and strategies for children's SLA in the home countries and its effect on SLA in the U.S.

Overviews on Studies of Korean L2 Learners

The duration of stay in the U.S. and the arrival time to the U. S. do not mark the start of English education. Researchers should not exclude the fact that L2 learners in the U.S. have long been exposed to English in their home

countries before they arrived in the host country. However, most studies on SLA have focused on the L2 learners' arrival time and length of stay in the U.S., viewing them as the crucial factors influencing their SLA. They have not considered English learning environments and amounts of exposure to English in the L2 learners' home countries as an important variable. Researchers have paid little attention to factors such as: (1) how and how long the children are exposed to English, (2) how high the parents' literacy level is and influences their children's L1 and L2 literacy, (3) what materials and strategies they use, and (4) how parents support children's cultural acquisition regarding SLA. The current study explores the influence of these missing factors and their influence on Korean children's English acquisition.

The Effect of L1 Background Knowledge on L2 Literacy

Schachter (1996) pointed out four major dimensions to indicate why SLA differs from foreign language acquisition: (1) ultimate attainment, (2) fossilized variation, (3) lack of equipotentiality, and (4) the role of prior knowledge (pp. 160-61). The concept of Schachter's *role of prior knowledge* concerns the background knowledge obtained in L2 learners' home countries, which is relevant to the current study. In the case of my older son, his academic achievement in the U.S. seemed to be closely connected to his prior knowledge of English and the American culture that he learned in Korea. Chen (2003) stated that L2 learners' academic achievement is involved in "a multidimensional phenomenon," and it is "the product of a relational process" (p. 6). He also stated

that for the process to function effectively, numerous variables play important mutual roles: (1) the student's cultural identity, (2) the student's socio-cultural background, and (3) the norms and expectation of families, institutions, and teachers (p. 6).

When older children learn a second language, the linguistic knowledge of their first language sometimes blocks their SLA due to the fossilized forms and patterns. Regarding this, Fries (1957) wrote that learning a second language "constitutes a very different task from learning the first language." According to him, the basic linguistic problems are caused by "the special 'set' created by the first language habits" (as cited in Gass, 2003, p. 229).

As Bruner (1987) put it, human conditions are so intricately bound to their socio-cultural context that they cannot be achieved "by considering isolated segments of life in vitro" and cannot reach a final conclusion "beyond the shadow of human doubt" (as cited in Lantolf, 2004, pp. 18-19). The process of children's SLA is one of such complex human conditions. Regarding this, Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) said that even though children speak the same language and study the same text, their way and degree of taking the same information and knowledge cannot be identical. Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen (2003) argued that the differences regarding SLA are caused by children's "prior experiences and individual variation in language-learning strategies" (p. 157).

Studies of language transfer have taken an interconnection model for granted by investigating how the development of inter-language takes advantage of the first language (Cook, 2003). Birdsong (1999) argued for "the benefit of L2

attainment when the two languages are sufficiently similar” (p. 16) in the SLA context. In their early study on symbol formation, Werner and Kaplan (1963) stated that learning takes place in the background of earlier knowledge, and learners use what they already know to learn new things. L2 learners can apply what they already know to the new language that they are learning. Kurlychek (1997) also argued for the correlation between L1 background knowledge and L2 learning. He claimed that the development of the first language can contribute to later success in acquiring the second language and other language forms; therefore, the knowledge of L2 learners’ first language “must not be sacrificed to insufficient input or intervention” (p. 4). According to the Fundamental Difference Hypothesis, second language learners utilize their first language “as a knowledge base,” whereas first language acquisition depends on universal grammar “as an innately specified linguistic knowledge base and a set of domain-specific learning procedures” (Moskovsky, 2001, pp. 1-4).

Studies on the Post-Method Perspective on SLA

The Birth of Process

Looking back on the history of second language pedagogy and theory, there have been continuous paradigm shifts. Whenever the pedagogical paradigm shifts, there have been conflicts caused by the dichotomy of the theories. Without “workable alternatives,” current-traditional pedagogy [CTP] has long dominated ESL teaching (Matsuda, 1997, p. 46). Under the influence of CTP, instruction was teacher-centered and text-oriented. However, since the two

great World Wars, a group of people called existentialists began to turn their concern to *self* and began to realize that an individual's existence is the antecedent to any other fact or understanding that individual may have about the world (Morris, 1990). This philosophical mood has had a great influence on postmodern pedagogy. Under the impact of existentialism and postmodernism, researchers and educators have exerted efforts to escape from the dilemma coming from the current traditional way of instruction. A new pedagogical mood called *process* arose "in the late 1960s and the early 1970s in reaction to the dominance of a product-centered pedagogy" (Matsuda, 2003b, p. 67).

Process and Its Problem

Process theory has tried to initiate a paradigm shift from a product-oriented and teacher-centered pedagogy to a process-centered and student-centered one. However, as Applebee put it, process theory has also been challenged due to "a gap between educational theory and educational practice" (Matsuda, 2003b, p. 69). Many scholars such as Trimbur, Kent, and Bizzell began to focus on "pedagogical concepts and practices current in L2 writing including peer review, voice, audience, and expression of self" (Atkinson, 2003, p. 10). Pennycook (1989) persuasively argued that the concept of method was "articulated in the interests of unequal power relationships," reflecting a particular view of the world (pp. 589-90). More provocatively, it was even proclaimed that "method is dead" (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p. 67). Dechert (1995) claimed that recent increasing appreciation of the dynamics and complexity of SLA

phenomena means that “certain hypotheses, such as the Critical Period Hypothesis, or certain ‘Models,’ derived from assumed basic paradigms or elementary mechanisms, have turned out to be fatally oversimplified and thus obsolete” (p. 67). Cook (2003) stated that SLA research still treats “the L2 system in an L2 user as an approximation to an L1 system” (p. 3).

However, according to Kumaravadivelu (2006), some researchers such as Allwright (1991) and Brown (2002) began to realize that the notion of method has only “a limited and limiting impact” on language learning and teaching, so method should not be considered “a valuable or a viable construct” any more, and what is needed in the field of SLA is “not an alternative method but an alternative to method” (p. 67). Kumaravadivelu (2006) stated that “this growing realization” has become the basis of birth of the *postmethod condition* (p. 67, see also Kumaravadivelu, 1994). Until recently, little attempt has been made to reconstruct the status of L2 learners or to interpret their obstacles based on their own socio-cultural and educational contexts. Instead, “salient cultural and psychological features of the Asian students’ unfamiliar, and often unsettling, behavior” have been discussed, and researchers have tried to apply Western hegemonic pedagogies to most L2 learners, disregarding their own peculiarity in their own context (Verity, 2004, p. 180).

The Birth of Post-Process

Many people believe that post-modernity arose as a reaction to modernity. Thus, a majority of people featured post-modernism as anti-modernism, using

terms such as de-centeredness, de-construction, de-standardization, de-meta narrative, de-colonialization, situatedness, and so forth. They had a tendency to consider those concepts as denying and breaking the norm of modernity, as if they could represent the entirety of post-modernity. However, McComiskey (2000) made an effort to define post-process not as a severance from process theory, but as its extension.

Among the advocates of post-process pedagogy, Kent (1999) argued that writing cannot be taught because it is a situated, interpretive, and indeterminate act. Matsuda also tried to see post-process on a continuum with process, arguing that “The term ‘post-process era’ presupposes the existence of the process era; however, such a historical period cannot easily be delineated” (2003b, p. 76). Kumaravadivelu (2006) summarized the main features of post-method pedagogy into practicality, particularity; and possibility:

Particularity seeks to facilitate the advancement of a context-sensitive, location-specific pedagogy that is based on a true understanding of local linguistic, social, cultural, and political particularities. Practicality seeks to rupture the reified role relationship between theorizers and practitioners by enabling and encouraging teachers to theorize from their practice and to practice what they theorize. Possibility seeks to tap the sociopolitical consciousness that students bring with them to the classroom so that it can also function as a catalyst for identity formation and social transformation. (p. 69; see also 2001)

In post-method pedagogy, teachers' autonomy and students' needs are highly weighed (see also Kumaravadivelu, 2006). Cultural, racial, and individual knowledge differences are deliberatively considered in class. From post-method perspectives, second language learners are not considered as handicapped and deficient, but as multi-competent learners (Cook, 1999).

Postprocess and Vygotskian Socio-Cognitive Theory

Since the 1980s, Vygotskian ideas about language acquisition have drawn researchers' and educators' attention. Socio-cognitive approaches place emphasis on the interdependence of social and individual progression in co-constructing knowledge. And researchers claim that language development occurs "through situated interaction, not in laboratories, but in classroom, tutoring sessions and other teaching-learning settings" (Ohta, 2004, p. 51).

According to Vygotsky (1987), our socio-cultural experience helps us shape our ways of thinking and interpret the world as accessible to individuals. Thus, he considered language as a critical bridge between the socio-cultural world and individual mental functioning. Vygotsky (1978) viewed education not only as central to cognitive development but as the essential socio-cultural activity. Wertsch (1979) stated that two foundational ideas in Vygotskian Socio-Cultural Theory are activity theory and mediation.

In the traditional and dominant Western perception, knowledge is based on reason and Aristotelian logic, and it is considered as truth or information in a specific domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). However, from the interaction

perspective, there is a close relation between whole and part. True knowledge is not just a factual record of information, but is an understanding of life which makes us able to achieve a more harmonious relationship between nature and society. Lantolf (2000) emphasized that the most fundamental concept of socio-cultural theory is that “the human mind is mediated” (p. 1).

L2 Learners' Position in Postprocess

As I mentioned in the above sections, the increasing number of people who study overseas is not a matter to be disregarded or delayed by professional research any more. The more the number increases, the more variables regarding SLA they represent. They have different nationalities, socio-cultural and political backgrounds, family backgrounds, learning experiences, motivation, amount of exposure to English, and more. Most studies that have been conducted disregard L2 learners' background knowledge and cultural experience obtained in their home countries. L2 learners' success has been regarded as the result of exposure to ESL environments and relatively good educational systems in host countries. The current study aims to generate concerns on such elements. I also investigate other elements which may contribute to L2 learners' academic success or facilitate the rate of L2 fluency, putting weight on family influence.

Cook (2003) stated that “the arguments against the native-speaker standard have been mounting over the past ten years,” and we have to define the native speakers as “a monolingual person who still speaks the language they learnt in childhood” (p. 3; see also Cook, 1999). Cook stated four characteristics

of L2 users: (1) the L2 user has other uses for language than the monolingual; (2) the L2 user's knowledge of the second language is typically not identical to that of a native speaker; (3) the L2 user's knowledge of his or her first language is in some respects not the same as that of a monolingual; and (4) L2 users have different minds from those of monolinguals (p. 5; see also Cook 2002, pp. 4-8).

The remarkable thing is that Cook used the term *L2 users* instead of *L2 learners* in order to overcome the misconception that L2 researchers and educators might have regarding slow or unsuccessful L2 learners.

According to Cook (1995), the literature in the field of SLA has been considered "discriminatory" in many ways and "the pitiful attempts of the L2 user to attain the lofty heights of the monolingual" have been disregarded (p. 54). Han (2004) wrote that the concept of failure for L2 learners has been used as a mark of "permanent lack of mastery of a target language (TL) despite continuous exposure to the TL input, adequate motivation to improve, and sufficient opportunity for practice" (p. 4). In the same vein, Lantolf and Thorne (2006) argued that second language learners' failures in accents, grammaticality, and pragmatic and lexical usage should not be considered as "just flaws or signs of imperfect learning" but as "ways in which learners attempt to establish (new) identities and gain self-regulation through linguistic means" (p. 275). They said that "L2 learning is about gaining the freedom to create" (p. 275). Hoffman's (1989) study clearly indicates how L2 learners feel at the beginning stage of SLA:

All around me, the Babel of American voice...Since I lack a voice of my own, the voices of others invade me as if I were a silent ventriloquist. They

ricochet within me, carrying on conversations, lending me their modulations, intonations, rhythms. I do not yet possess them; they possess me. (as cited in Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2004, p. 167)

Mori (1997) described how she felt as an L2 learner:

What I am afraid of is the language, not the place. ...I clam up after a few words of general greetings, unable to go on. ...Every word I say forces me to be elaborately polite, indirect, submissive, and unassertive. There is no way I can sound intelligent, clearheaded, or decisive. But if I did not speak a 'proper' feminine language, I would sound stupid in another way—like someone who is uneducated, insensitive, and rude, and therefore cannot be taken seriously. (as cited in Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2004, p. 173)

Regarding SLA, I think the most important concept in post-pedagogy is *multi-competence*. Among SLA researchers, Cook seems to have more attention and interest in helping L2 learners to find a proper and suitable position in the field of SLA (Cook, 1991, 1995, 1996, 2003). Cook has argued that:

The foundation of second language acquisition research has to be multi-competence—the complex supersystem of language knowledge possessed by those who use more than one language....It is mainly then within second language acquisition research that the concept of multi-competence needs to be asserted. (Cook, 1995, pp. 55-58)

Cook (1996) also argued for the need of a shift in perspectives on L2 learners and suggested that the initiating point of L2 research should be “what L2 learners are like in their own right rather than how they fail to reach standards” (p. 64).

Cook proposed that multi-competence is a necessary basis for SLA research because L2 learners are not “failed monolinguals” (p. 64). From Cook’s (2003) perspective, L2 learners are multi-competent language users with “knowledge of two or more languages in one mind,” rather than people to be judged based on native-like fluency or proficiency criteria (p. 2; see also Cook, 1991).

Throughout this section, I have raised my voice to portray a desirable image for L2 learners based on post-method perspectives. In the current study, I pursue the paradigm shift in views of those concerned with SLA pedagogy and research. I seek to change traditional perspectives like those described by Frasier and Passow (1994):

the low expectations that educational professionals have for culturally and linguistically diverse students, their low levels of awareness of cultural and linguistic behaviors of potentially gifted minority students, their insensitivity to the differences within and among groups, and their inability to recognize ‘gifted behaviors’ that minority students exhibit. (p.4)

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Introduction

Postmodernism has had a significant influence on almost every discipline in the humanities, arts, and the natural sciences. The trend of this philosophical view doubts that any method or theory “has a universal and general claim as the ‘right’ or the privileged form of authoritative knowledge” (Richardson, 2004, p. 475). However, in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), there is still a strong tendency to “conceptualize language as a cognitive phenomenon as opposed to social one” and to impose “an orthodox social psychological hegemony” (Firth & Wagner, 1997, p. 285). The behaviorist and computational schools, in particular, have been strongly “embedded in the positivist philosophy of science, which favors quantitative methods” (Johnson, 2004, pp.10-11; see also Roebuck, 2004, p. 80).

In this atmosphere, SLA research has long struggled to find its own theoretical ground, as it depends on first language acquisition theory. Even in the face of strong arguments for the empiricist and positivist model of research methodology, the truth cannot be ignored that the more the number of second language learners increases, the more diversity they have and the more variation they provide for SLA research. Thus, researchers have gradually come to realize that a full picture of the peculiarities and variants of L2 learners could not be derived by general and universal theories tested through quantitative research methodology. Qualitative research methods have recently been given “higher

status than statistically driven quantitative methods” by many researchers in the field of SLA (Johnson, 2004, p. 16).

Reichardt and Cook (1979) stated qualitative research methodology focuses on “randomized experiments, multivariate statistical analyses, and sample surveys” (p. 7). Limaputtong and Ezzy (2005) reported that “the use of diaries, photographs, and other unobtrusive methods are often used in conjunction with in-depth interviews and participant observations in youth studies” (p. 207). Regarding the insights obtained through the use of qualitative research methodology, Johnson (2004) stated that longitudinal case studies, diaries, journals, and personal narratives have been considered “to provide important insights into the individual’s cognitive development” (p. 16).

Some researchers support the combination of several research methodologies: Eder and Fingerson (2002) asserted that some researchers have been required to combine various methods, including in-depth interviews and participant observations, “to obtain more valid responses and to strengthen the analysis of interview data” (p. 188). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2004) saw the main characteristic of qualitative inquiry as its multiplicity regarding methodology. They argued that this method helps to “produce more diverse and elaborate knowledge than does quantitative” research (p. 6), and can also “produce more comprehensive visions of the same social phenomenon” (p. 9). As Pank (2004) put it, the strong point and benefit of qualitative research is the data’s “richness and depth,” since “field notes, verbatim transcripts from the in-depth interview,

document analysis, and other qualitative data can provide a wealth of information” (p. 92).

For the current study, to avoid the overgeneralization that might result from data analysis conducted only by a single method of data collection, I collected data through various methods to ensure triangulation: (1) In-depth interviews, (2) participant observation, and (3) document analysis. Triangulation in research usually refers to the combination of two or more theories, data sources, methods, or investigators in one study of a single phenomenon to converge on a single construct. In addition to triangulation in data collection, I also employed what might be called a theoretical triangulation to establish a theoretical framework for the current study including different viewpoints of Krashen’s input/output theory, Lenneberg’s critical period hypothesis, and Vygotsky’s socio-cultural theory.

The following sections cover general issues regarding the data collection and analysis for the study. Prior to discussing my data analysis, I also explain why I chose the current research topic and how I developed my research questions. Then I discuss major differences between qualitative and quantitative research methods. I describe the major characteristics of qualitative research and the benefits and vulnerabilities common to qualitative researchers and their studies. Finally, I cover the details of the research design for this study, including participants, setting, instruments and data analysis.

Research Questions

The purpose of the current study was to explore the role of family influence on children's SLA, particularly as perceived by the viewpoints of the families. To achieve this goal, I investigated parent perspectives on their children's SLA, focusing on early English education. During the process, I explored the parents' strategies used to support children's learning of English in the home country and tried to examine to what degree parental influence seems to affect children's language learning and academic achievement in the U.S. Finally, this study investigated other characteristics that might influence children's SLA. The following five questions were developed and explored employing a qualitative case study design:

- 1) What beliefs and perceptions do Korean parents hold regarding the issues that make children's L2 learning successful?
- 2) How do families interact with children to support their L2 literacy? That is, what strategies do they use to support children's SLA?
- 3) To what extent do families feel that their strategies are successful?
- 4) Do parents think that their children's individual characteristics lead to differences affecting their second language learning and general academic achievement?
- 5) How does family support for children's L1 and L2 literacy building in Korea play an important role later for schooling and L2 learning in the U.S. judging from the family members' own perspectives?

Discussion of Research Types

Comparison of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods

The quantitative approach to SLA research, grounded in the study of language variation, arose during the 1970s. Under this approach, “the variability of structural features in speech production is studied with the purpose of determining the linguistic, psycholinguistic, social psychological, and psychological basis for that variability” (Ritchie & Bhatia, 1996, p. 14).

Quantitative methods, based on statistical logic and probability, are “primarily associated with the nomothetic scientific tradition” (Johnson, 2004, p. 13). SLA research using this methodology features “separateness between theoreticians and practitioners” (Johnson, 2004, p. 1). For some researchers, quantitative methods have come to represent “the technique of randomized experiments, quasi-experiments, paper and pencil ‘objective tests,’ multivariate statistical analyses, sample surveys, and the like” (Reichardt & Cook, 1979, p. 7). More recently, self-realization has grown among SLA researchers fostering a context of discovery, idiosyncrasy and mystery, viewing language learning as a process that cannot be explained or rationalized by positivistic assumptions (Sprague & Zimmerman, 2004). However, some quantitative researchers still consider much qualitative research to be “vulnerable to criticism on grounds of bias or arbitrariness” because of its lack of principles regarding research participant selection, the content of research questions, and the methods of data analysis and interpretation (Rabinowitz & Weseen, 1995, p. 18). The debates

between qualitative and quantitative research methods with regard to their value and uses have lasted for over two decades (Rabinowitz & Weseen, 1995).

Many researchers discuss the differences between quantitative and qualitative research. Burman (1995) asserted that these differences do not arise from the nature of quantitative research itself but arise from “subscription to a different interpretive framework” (p. 267). Johnson (2004) argued that quantitative experimental methods are primarily “associated with the nomothetic scientific tradition,” contrary to qualitative methods which are “associated with the hermeneutic tradition” and assume the existence of “multiple realities” (p. 13). Researchers who discuss the dichotomy have emphasized the independence of the two methodologies.

First language acquisition theory was established on the basis of experimental and quantitative research, and its history in modern form precedes that of SLA theory. Despite the strong influence of the empirical research that has characterized both fields, some researchers came to realize that “cognition itself is constructed and shaped in the context of experience and through social interaction” (Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen, 2003, p. 156). They also perceived that studies of second language learners should consider their context of experience and social interaction. The efforts of many SLA researchers—who seek to shift their perception from a focus on second language learners as individuals who can be measured cognitively to consideration of those learners as idiosyncratic and social beings—have contributed to a shift in SLA research toward qualitative methods.

Rationale for Qualitative Research

This section discusses the rationale for my choice of a qualitative research methodology for the current study. The term *triangulation* that I employ in this study does not imply a cross-sectional study involving both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Rather, I use the term to reflect two aspects of the current study: (1) combining various qualitative data collection methods within the research design and (2) using several theories of SLA to establish a theoretical framework.

According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2004), qualitative research involves not only micro-analysis but also macro-analysis. They described the epistemological position of qualitative research as follows:

Multiple epistemological positions, theoretical frameworks and research methods are included in qualitative research....This qualitative approach is infused with what is called epistemology, a theory of knowledge.

Epistemologies ask questions about knowledge itself: How can we know what we know? This encompasses questions such as the following: Who can be a knower? What things can be known? How is knowledge created?

(pp. 1-2)

These researchers identified two objectives of qualitative research. Researchers seek to (1) “understand the meaning or world view of a particular subject” and (2) “listen to the subjective experiences of others and somehow make sense of them” because qualitative data provides a “subjective, interpretative, process oriented, and holistic” perspective on the research (pp. 3-4). In addition to these

two objectives, they noted the richness of “the interdisciplinary landscape” of qualitative research, where there is no attachment to a single philosophical ground or methodological approach, avoiding the privilege traditionally given to the researchers (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004, p. 1).

In spite of such benefits, qualitative researchers have encountered misunderstanding and accusations that “the search for casual variables is epistemologically misguided and obscures the complex, dynamic nature of reality” (Rabinowitz & Weseen, 1995, p. 19). Kidder (1996) noted that qualitative research may look “unsystematic and disorderly” because of its procedures for fieldwork, which are not always planned in advance. Contradicting this misunderstanding, Kidder argued that there is “a logic of induction” and that “an order not imposed at the beginning emerges by the end” in research method (Rabinowitz & Weseen, 1995, p. 19).

Regarding the relationship between qualitative research and language acquisition, Ellis (2003) wrote that “language is grounded in human experience and in human embodiment” and human experience “represents the world in a very particular way” in detailed qualitative analyses (p. 65). Marecek, Fine, and Kidder (1995) stated that “the heart of a qualitative stance is the desire to make sense of lived experience” (p. 29). They viewed the researcher’s roles as those of careful listener, witness, and interpreter:

When researchers listen with close attention to what respondents say, the respondents become active agents, the creators of the worlds they inhabit and the interpreters of their experiences. And as researchers become

witnesses, bringing their knowledge of theory and their interpretive methods to participants' stories, they too become active agents. (Marecek et al., 1995, p. 34)

Denzin and Kimmel (1994) also stated that qualitative researchers should emphasize not only "the socially constructed nature of reality" but also the intimate relationship between the researcher and the participants (p. 4), focusing on "the value-laden nature of inquiry" within "a value-free framework" (p. 4).

The relationships between qualitative and quantitative approaches are far from simple. Burman (1995) points out that "it is inadequate to treat qualitative and quantitative approaches as simply complementary" because the former provides "competing as well as complementary interpretations that challenge positivist psychology, rather than simply adding to it" (p. 268). Marecek, Fine, and Kidder (1995) also warn that researchers should not consider qualitative methods as "new or radical or necessarily progressive" or as "the only emancipatory approach" because any research methods can be used for either "emancipatory or repressive ends" (p. 40).

Generally, studies regarding family and SLA have dealt with family literacy programs or services and studied how such programs influence children's reading and writing in working class families. Thus, studies on children's SLA in highly academic and literate families are lacking. Although many studies have been conducted qualitatively, few have considered using an ethnographic approach in looking at children's language acquisition.

Rationale for Ethnographic Research

Ethnography, which can be simply defined as the writing of culture, traces its origins to the ancient Greek philosopher, Herodotus. According to Clair (2003), Herodotus documented traditions and sociopolitical practices, traveling from one culture to another. Ethnography has an interest in “understanding and describing a social and cultural scene” from an insider’s perspective (Fetterman, 1989, p.11). It also involves “studying a real social group within a natural setting” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004, p. 136). Grills (1998) stated that researchers who use ethnography can address the most important issues in their qualitative research studies, such as people’s perspectives on their world. Fetterman (1989) argued for ethnographic research from the emic perspective. He stated that since the ethnographer has interest in “understanding and describing a social and cultural scene from the emic (an insider’s) perspective, he or she is both storyteller and scientist; the closer the reader of an ethnography comes to understanding the native’s point of view, the better the story, and the better the science. (p. 11) Limaputtong and Ezzy (2005) pointed out one major difference between an ethnographer and a researcher, which provided helpful direction regarding my stance for the current study: “Rather than ‘studying’ people,” they say, “the ethnographer attempts to ‘learn from the people’” (p. 165). Spradley (1979) also represented the ethnographer’s stance toward participants:

Ethnographers adopt a particular stance toward people with whom they work. By word and by action, in subtle ways and direct statements, they say, ‘I want to understand the world from your point of view. I want to

know what you know in the way you know it. I want to understand the meaning of your experience, to walk in your shoes, to feel things as you feel them, to explain things as you explain them. (p. 34)

Ethnographers describe particular patterns and characteristics of their participants in natural settings. The strength of ethnography originates from the descriptive power of the ethnographers, in spite of the unavoidable subjectivity caused by their close relationships and frequent interaction with their participants. To overcome the effects of this subjectivity, researchers must use wisdom. The ethnographic study must bring vivid details of relevant issues and events to the researchers through the exploration of the participants' perspectives and their experiences.

Theories produced through analysis of empirical and quantitative data obtained from large participant groups have long dominated the field of SLA. These theories and data have led researchers to view L2 learners as handicapped or deficient. Bernard (2002) suggested that this inaccurate perception of L2 learners has led researchers with methodological concerns to employ more humanistic and holistic research methods:

Today's truths are tomorrow's rubbish, in anthropology just as in physics, and no epistemological tradition has a patent on interesting questions or on good ideas about the answers to such questions. Several competing traditions offer alternatives to positivism in the social sciences. These include humanism, hermeneutics, and phenomenology. (p. 20)

The research topic and questions for the current study were developed based on my own experiences. This study employed an ethnographic approach, including in-depth interviews, participant observation, and analysis of children's writings. The following sections describe the research method, the setting and population, the background of the researcher, data collection and analysis methods, and method of data organization.

Protection of Human Subjects

The current research design was approved by the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB) at the research site, which is also the university where I am enrolled as a doctoral student. The Informed Consent Form was written both in English and in Korean. It was distributed to all participants in order to help them make an informed decision whether or not to participate. Before they signed, I explained the purpose of the current study and the process: (1) to explore how and to what degree families have had an impact on their children's Second Language acquisition in their home countries and in their host countries; (2) to investigate parents' perspectives on their children's SLA, focusing on early English education; (3) to explore parents' strategies used for children's SLA in the home country and discover to what degree their influence has affected their children's SLA and academic achievement in the U.S.; and (4) to explore if there are other variables influencing children's SLA such as motivation and children's characteristics. I also let them know there would be two in-depth individual interviews with parents, two or three informal

interviews with older children, one group interview with parents, informal observations of your children's use of the English language in social settings such as church or a party, and willingness to provide written documents by your children, who would be participants in the study. Finally, I let them know possible follow-up questions after the interview might be conducted by phone or e-mail to compensate for the missing information or correct errors in transcription.

After the explanation of the purpose and process of the current research, I let them know there would be no known risks or discomforts associated with this research and their participation was voluntary and they were free to decide not to participate in the current research or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting the relationship between the participants and the researcher. Finally, I let them know all information obtained in the current research would be held in strict confidence and might be published in professional journals or presented at professional meetings and conferences, but their identity would be kept strictly confidential.

After listening to my detailed explanation of the research purpose and process, they agreed to participate in the current research and signed on the Informed Consent Form for them and allowed their children to sign to concede the participation (see Appendix A for Informed Consent form for adults and children).

Participants

Method of Participant Selection

This qualitative study employed homogeneous network sampling to identify prospective participants. I recruited subjects through personal contact with six Korean families who belonged to the Korean Student Association at the local university. In this process, I excluded families with children who already spoke English fluently with a native-like accent due to early exposure to the host country from infancy on. I also excluded families with children who had just arrived in the U.S. within six months, regardless of their fluency in English. My participants were Korean families with children from K to 12 who had been in the U.S. for more than six months.

Setting of the Research

The current study took place in the Korean community located in a small town surrounding a university in Western Pennsylvania. The population of the town was about 30,000. The number of enrolled international students at the university was around 500. The town offered a good educational environment featuring a quiet atmosphere, a low crime rate, and few opportunities for unhealthy distraction. Schools included a secondary school, a junior high school and four elementary schools. ESL teachers took charge of one or two schools, depending on the number of international students enrolled. The ESL instruction was conducted on a face-to-face basis, almost every day for an hour. This

peaceful educational environment attracted many graduate students with children to the town.

During the period of this study, this community was home to around ten Korean families with one or two children enrolled in K-12, excluding undergraduate students and single graduate students. One parent in each of these families was affiliated with the university as a graduate student. The parents' literacy level was high, and their concern for their children's education seemed to be relatively high as well.

Population of the Research

The target population for the current study was limited to Korean families with children in American elementary and secondary schools. Six families were chosen for this study. Four families consisted of parents and two children, and the other two families were composed of a single mother and one child. All parents of the families were affiliated with the university as M.A. or Ph.D. graduate students. Parents rarely used English at home and also spoke Korean when getting together in the Korean community, such as in church and at parties. However, their children sometimes used English among their peers. Younger children especially tended to code-switch, mixing Korean and English when talking to each other. The participants included 10 parents and 10 children. I used an English pseudonym for each family to protect their privacy. The following paragraphs introduce these families.

Sun was the only child in her family, the daughter of a woman enrolled in a doctoral program. Sun was a fifth grader. She had been in the U.S. for four and a half years since her exposure to the mainstream as a first grader. She spoke fluent English with a native-like accent. She was very social and active.

John's family had a son and a daughter. John was a sixth grader like my younger son, and his sister Mary was a fifth grader. They had been in the U.S. for two years. They seemed to have little difficulty in speaking English. Contrary to his talkative and social sister, John did not seem outgoing or talkative, but he enjoyed talking with his parents and sister.

Minsu's family also included a son and a daughter. Minsu was a fifth grader, and his sister Minhee was a third grader. They had been in the U.S. for around two years. Minsu's father was a visiting scholar and his mother was in the doctoral program. Unlike other families, their father spent considerable time with his family, supporting his wife's study and his children's SLA. Minsu spoke English well and had excellent reading comprehension. Minhee had a native-like accent and was a fluent speaker of English.

Jeny's family had a daughter and a son. Jeny was a tenth grader and Jimmy was a sixth grader. They had been in the U.S. for just a year. However, Jeny spoke the most fluent English with the most native-like accent of all students in the Korean community. Everybody was surprised at the fluency and accent she displayed as soon as she arrived in the town. Local Koreans assumed that she must have lived in a foreign country when she was young. Her brother Jimmy was a very quiet boy, like my son. They became very close friends

due to this similar characteristic—both boys tended to avoid speaking in public either in English or Korean.

Sam's family had two sons. Sam was a fifth grader and his brother Tom was a first grader. They had been in this community for one and a half years. Their English had been weak when they were newly arrived in the U.S. However, when this study started, Sam had little difficulty with spoken English, and Tom had a native-like accent with little difficulty speaking or understanding English. They were very social, and the family enjoyed sports.

Jung's family had a son. He had been here for a year. However, he seemed to have little difficulty in speaking English with peers. When he played with other boys and girls who commanded native-like English, he spoke English without hesitation or difficulty. He seemed very outgoing and talkative.

The Stance of the Researcher

The goal of this study was to investigate the influence of family on children's SLA. The parents' perspectives and strategies as reported in interviews played an important role in data collection. However, I cannot say that I was completely objective, because I had lived for a long time in the same culture as my participant parents as a mother and educator before I came to the U.S. My situation might have had an impact on my interview questions as well as my reaction to participant responses. To reduce subjectivity to a minimal level, I maintained a stance as a listener or a mere facilitator of their responses. Although it was difficult to remain neutral and uninvolved, I exerted efforts to

avoid interfering with or reacting to my participants' responses because such signals might lead them to answer what I wanted for the current research rather than to express their views freely on various issues.

In addition to the reduction of subjectivity in the research, establishing rapport between the researcher and the participants is an inevitable factor to be considered. Limaputtong and Ezzy (2005) reported that "building trust and rapport is a necessary ingredient for conducting sensitive research with 'vulnerable' populations" (p. 218). Seymour (2001) also argued that a critical aspect of research success is the researcher's ability to establish rapport and a trusting relationship with the participants. I established rapport with my own participants by maintaining a neutral position as a scholar, by listening to their stories as a neighbor, by providing my house for participant children and families, and by being patient with people and the daily concerns they shared with me.

Methods for Data Collection

Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to investigate the parents' perspectives and strategies with regard to their children's SLA. Older children were also interviewed to listen to their responses regarding early English education in Korea and the effect of background knowledge on academic achievement in the U.S. Interviews were conducted in the Korean language and transcribed in English later. Two one-hour interviews were conducted with the parents in each family, and two thirty-minute interviews were conducted with

children over sixth grade. However, I was flexible regarding interview time. One or two phone or face-to-face interviews were conducted when I thought more detailed information was needed or when some ambiguous data emerged in the collected interview data.

Before the interview, I explained the research topic and goals to the participants in order to foster their active participation. I indicated that the participants' real names would not be used in the current study in order to protect their privacy, and that data collected through interviews or in any other way would not be used for any purpose other than the current study. Informed consent forms were distributed and signed, and the interviews were audio-taped.

Prior to starting the interviews, a family demographic questionnaire was given to each family to measure their length of stay in the U.S., their children's ages and genders, their age at first exposure to English, and the duration of their exposure to English. After that, the initial list of questions for the semi-structured interviews was distributed to each interview participant. The questionnaire consisted of questions to draw out the participants' responses, revealing their perspectives and strategies regarding children's SLA. I asked open-ended questions in a sequence corresponding to the items on the written questionnaire. Bernard (2002) suggested that the first interview question should be directly related to the topic of the study, and any threatening questions should be avoided; I attempted to follow this advice in all interviews.

I did not interrupt the parents' natural flow of speaking, even when their responses deviated slightly from the question topics, for two reasons. First,

parental responses sometimes only appeared to deviate from the given interview question. Actually, this wandering did not seriously matter because several questions were interrelated. Second, the highest priority in ethnographic research is to make participants comfortable in a natural setting. If I had interrupted or cut off the participants' natural responses, they might feel uncomfortable or adjust their answers to accommodate what they thought I wanted. Thus, I tried not to ruin any interview by breaking the rapport established between myself and the interviewees. I retained a consistent stance "to eliminate reactivity and subjectivity in interviewing" (Bernard, 2002, p. 217).

I took notes during the interviews and the interviews were audio-taped following Bernard's advice: "Don't rely on your memory in interviewing; use a tape recorder in all structured and semistructured interviews;" but on the other hand, "Tape is not a substitute for taking notes" (pp. 220-223), so I kept notes of my own reactions during and immediately after the interviews.

Questionnaire for Demographic Survey

The survey of demographic information was conducted before the individual interview with each family to collect precise information regarding their children's age, grade, gender, age at arrival in the host country, age at exposure to English in Korea, parents' program in the graduate school, etc. This information was very important since I could then compare the relationships between children's age and their perceived stage of language acquisition, children's exposure period and family views of their success with English, as well

as learning about the parents' literacy, their age and the literacy activity (for instance in support of English) in the family. The questionnaire consisted of 12 items (See Appendix C).

In-depth Individual Interview

After completing the demographic survey, I conducted in-depth individual interviews with my participants: the parents and the children older than fifth grade level. Hesse-Biber and Leavy's (2004) study described the skills required to conduct an in-depth interview. Their study also indicated that the in-depth interview is one of the most frequently used qualitative methods of data collection. According to these authors, the in-depth interview is a way to gain rich information from the respondent's viewpoints, which explains the method's high viability. Hesse-Biber and Leavy emphasized the convenience of setting up interview date schedules and locations as well as the time and money-saving aspects of the interview technique, as compared with the demands of a longitudinal ethnographic study. The individual interview for parents consisted of 14 main questions and 62 sub-questions and the one for children consisted of 15 main questions and 42 sub-questions (See Appendix D and F).

Focus Group Interview

I conducted a group interview to allow participants to share their ideas and experiences freely and to discuss issues regarding their children's second language such as early English education, studying abroad, ESL programs,

school life and more. Parents of the six participating families joined a two-hour group discussion. The group discussion was audio-taped once I judged that the comfortable chitchat I used as a warm-up had established rapport among those attending. I took notes unobtrusively so as not to disrupt the natural atmosphere and rapport among participants. The entire group discussion was later translated and transcribed in English.

Eder and Fingerson (2002) recommend a combination of individual in-depth and group interviews as an effective means of investigating social phenomena. Morgan (1996) stated that an advantage of the focus group method is the enhancement obtained by group effect. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2004) affirmed that a focus group interview is a very noteworthy interview method because the group setting serves to “give voice to groups otherwise excluded from knowledge construction” (p. 144). They also stated that a group interview allows “consensus and diversity in responses” to emerge and adds “a comparative dimension” to the research (p. 145). However, in contrast to Morgan’s (1996) argument in favor of the group effect, Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2004) interpreted it negatively, identifying the group effect as a weakness of this focus group interview method. As rationales for their concern about group discussion, they mentioned two things: (1) focus group members may influence each other’s responses; and (2) some topics may make some group members resistant to reveal their stories and experiences because of the lack of privacy. The group interview consisted of 14 main questions and 2 sub-questions (See Appendix H).

Participant Observation

Bernard (2002) stated that participant observation helps researchers to produce effective and positivistic knowledge, and that data obtained using this method is qualitative. I engaged in participant observation to observe younger children's behaviors and characteristics when at play with peers, family members, or community members. The purpose of this observation was to collect data that might help me to understand the children's story—for instance, I felt that I might be able to see a possible relationship between talkativeness (both in Korean and in English) and related outgoing characteristics on the one hand, and verbal fluency in English on the other. Over ten observations were conducted at the participant children's homes, at my home, and in the church to which the families belong. During the observation outside the children's homes, I observed their behaviors regarding language activity and language use while they were playing with peers, participating in Sunday school and the Korean Language Class provided by the Korean church.

Depending on the atmosphere of each family and the degree of rapport established between each family and me, the frequency of observation differed. When a family was more comfortable with me due to a close relationship, I visited frequently and collected more qualitative data. However, for the families where I was less successful in establishing friendly rapport, I exerted an effort to create equal opportunities for observation by inviting the children in these families to my house with other children. I provided all of the boy participants with three invitations to sleepovers at my house for more detailed and prolonged

observation. During observation sessions in my home, I audio-taped the children's language behaviors while they were playing computer games, having meals, watching TV, or talking and chatting. During the observation outside the children's homes, I observed attitudes and behaviors regarding language use while they were participating in Sunday school and the Korean language class provided by the Korean church.

I also conducted informal observations when I saw the participant children in the library or at their houses, recording the behaviors and characteristics I saw as important for the current study by taking notes immediately afterward.

Participant observation for the current study was "context dependent" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004, p. 136), so my field notes involved "not only a passive account of the facts of an event, but also the active processes of sense-making" (Limaputtong & Ezzy, 2005, p. 172). Since the researcher is also an interpreter, Fielding (1993) stated that it is appropriate to include the researcher's personal feelings and impressions in the field notes. Limaputtong and Ezzy (2005) asserted that field notes should be written up as soon as possible, either in the field or immediately afterward in cases where simultaneous observing and note-taking are impossible. For the current study, I took field notes regarding distinct language features and behaviors connected to SLA during participant observation. I added my feelings and interpretations of the observation when rewriting the field notes.

Study of Children's Written Artifacts

Data also included child participant artifacts, which were written at home as diary entries or created in mainstream or ESL classes as composition. Lantolf and Thorne (2006) stated that from the socio-cultural perspective, artifacts are “material and conceptual aspects of human goal-directed activity,” which are not only incorporated into activity, but are also constitutive of it (p. 62). Vygotsky (1997) said that “unlike physical tools, linguistic artifacts may also be inwardly directed with the goal of self-regulation” (as cited in Lantolf & Thorne, 2006, p. 60). The use of artifacts such as diaries, photographs, and other unobtrusive methods is often used “in conjunction with in-depth interviews and participant observations in youth studies” (Limaputtong & Ezzy, 2005, p. 207).

The purpose of this data collection was to identify the relationship between verbal fluency and writing in the current research.

Methods of Data Analysis

Data Management

In a qualitative research study, researchers are allowed to ask different kinds of questions than their quantitative counterparts. Varied questions given to the interviewees draw rich, thick information about the social, cultural, and political contexts that affect the participants. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2004) argued that qualitative research allows for “thick descriptions” of social life, detailed explanations of social processes, and the generation of theory on both micro and macro levels of analysis” (p. 5).

I conducted individual and group interviews in Korean and transcribed them in English later. They were also audio-taped. Participant observation was transcribed in English or in Korean in the field notes on the spot or immediately afterward. I kept data for each family in a separate file. The transcribed data was shown to the participants' parents to identify mistakes, misunderstandings, and ambiguities.

Process of Data Analysis

The current research did not aim to generate new SLA theory, but rather to explore family experiences with their children's language acquisition, which can be interpreted through concepts drawn from Lenneberg's Critical Period Hypothesis, Krashen's Input/Output Theory, and Vygotskian Socio-Cultural Theory. I employed a contextualizing strategy to analyze the data obtained through triangulation. Maxwell (1996) stated that "contextualizing analysis attempts to understand data in context" (p. 79). For the current study, I made an effort to understand and interpret what my participants narrated and what I saw during participant observation in existing contexts.

I collected data through individual interviews and transcribed this data in table form for each participant in the sequence of the semi-structured interview questions. Data collected during the group interview was transcribed in one table to compare responses to each question. The questions for the group interview were constructed separately from those for the individual interviews. However, the close relationship between questions for the two types of interviews cannot

be denied because they were constructed to elicit rich information for the common goals of exploring parents' perspectives and experiences.

To deal with the huge accumulation of data, I made tables to summarize data for the individual interviews. To protect my interviewees, I employed pseudonyms with family connections, as I indicated in the previous section. The table was divided into columns for individual interviewees and rows for the interview questions. Data were read repeatedly and carefully analyzed. Based on the summary table for the individual interviews, I created ten categories to be discussed, considering the goals of the current study. Based on the contents of each summary table, data were compared to identify similarities and differences among families.

Data Interpretation

According to Schutz (1967), regarded as a leader in developing the interpretive tradition, social meaning cannot be separated from human behavior. In other words, social scientific research must not only observe human actions but also unravel the meanings that social actors assign to their actions. Thus, the hermeneutic tradition puts its stamp on "interpreting meaningful interactions" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004, p. 4-5). The researchers who follow this tradition believe that positivist research methods cannot reveal the interpretations that social actors attach to their everyday experiences because "social meaning is created during interaction" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004, p. 5).

Horsfall (2001) contended that transcribing research should not be regarded as a mere “re-presentation of what happened, when, how and what we found out” because writing is a creative activity (p. 89). He argued that data transcription and interpretation also represent acts of creation and creativity. Furthermore, researchers “weave [data] together in a linear way to represent” their research “as a coherent process,” which is “bound in time” (Horsfall, 2001, p. 90). In the next chapter, I will apply my own creative process to analyze and describe the data I collected.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

The current study explored family influence on children's SLA. As described in Chapter I, I developed the topic based on my own experiences with my two sons regarding their SLA in the U.S. Based on my curiosity and beliefs as a researcher and a mother with children studying in the U.S., I developed the following research questions, placing the focal lens on family influence on children's SLA:

- 1) What beliefs and perceptions do Korean parents hold regarding the issues that make their children's L2 learning successful?
- 2) How do families interact with children to support their L2 literacy? That is, what strategies do they use to support children's SLA?
- 3) To what extent do families feel that their strategies are successful?
- 4) Do parents think that their children's individual characteristics lead to differences affecting their second language learning and general academic achievement?
- 5) How does family support for children's L1 and L2 literacy building in Korea play an important role later for schooling and L2 learning in the U.S. judging from the family members' own perspectives?

This chapter covers the procedure of data analysis and categorization, data interpretation and analysis, research findings, and limitations of this study. I discuss the findings of the current study based on the theoretical framework

suggested in Chapter II. Finally, this chapter suggests some beneficial and reflective issues for future research.

Procedure of Data Analysis

The amount of data collected through triangulation was too large to describe in detail. Even the information from any one individual interview would be too large to describe in detail; the interviews consisted of 14 main questions and 62 sub-questions. In addition to individual interviews with parents, I conducted individual interviews with children, a focus group interview, observation of the participant children, and close analysis of children's writings. These are all reflected in the following data description and analysis.

During individual interviews, parents' responses sometimes addressed areas beyond the given research question. However, I did not interfere with these responses by cutting off the natural flow of the interview, since the questions were interconnected, dealing with parents' experiences and perspectives regarding their children's SLA. Because I allowed free expression, these rich sources of information helped to reduce subjectivity and improved the credibility of the current study.

In analyzing data, I set up ten categories to consider co-relationships among research questions. The first five categories cover family experience of parent-child interaction regarding their children's literacy building, and the other five categories cover general issues regarding children's language development:

Categories for Family Influence

1. Category I: Parent-child interaction through reading books
2. Category II: Parent-child interaction through direct instruction
3. Category III: Parent-child interaction through audio-visual tools
4. Category IV: Parent-child interaction through utilization of external facilities
5. Category V: Parent-child interaction through socialization and acculturation

Categories for General Issues regarding Children's Language Development

1. Category VI: Perspectives on early English education
2. Category VII: Background knowledge
3. Category VIII: Children's personal characteristics and language aptitude
4. Category IX: Features of the American community setting, the school system, and the children's adaptation
5. Category X: Identity, motivation, and retention of English

Prior to presenting the results according to these categories, I present demographic information on each family, created based on the research questionnaire filled out by the parents before individual interviews with each family.

Demographic Information for Each Family

The survey of demographic information was conducted before the individual interview with each family. As seen in Table 3, the questionnaire found in Appendix 3 consisted of 12 questions requiring short answers about the family's arrival time in the U.S., the children's age at exposure to English in Korea, the children's current age and grade, the parents' major strategies employed for their children's SLA in Korea, the parents' program in graduate school, the parents' age, and so forth. Table 3 indicates this demographic information for the participants. The first child's pseudonym of each family represents the family.

Table 3

Demographic Information of Each Family

	Sun	John	Minsu	Jeny	Sam	Jung
Date of Arrival in the U.S.	Sep. 2002	Jan. 2005	Sep. 2004	Dec. 2005	Dec. 2004	July 2005
Length of Stay in the U.S.	4 and a half years	2 years	2 and a half years	1 year	2 years	1 and a half years
Children's age/gender	11 Male	12 and 10 Male/ Female	11 and 10 Male/ Female	16 and 12 Female/ Male	11 and 7 Male	7 Male
Children's grade	5 th	6 th 5 th	5 th 3 rd	10 th 6 th	5 th 1 st	1st
Age at exposure to English	Since infancy	6 years old	5 years old	Since infancy elementary	8 years old No	No
Children's studying period for English in Korea	7 years	5 years 3 years	4 years 3 years	15 years 2 years	1 and a half years None	None
Strategies for children's SLA	Reading English books, audio-visual tools	Private language institute, worksheet, private tutoring	Reading English books	Reading English books, audio-visual tools, private language institute, worksheet, private tutoring	Private language institute None	None
Parent's graduate program	Ph.D. (M)	Ph.D. (F)	Ph.D. (M)	M.A. (F)	M.A. (F)	M.A. (M)
Parent's age	M: 37	F: 42 M: 41	F: 47 M: 43	F: 45 M: 43	F: 39 M: 37	M: 36
Parent's studying period for English	Since Junior high	Since Junior high	Since Junior high	Since Junior high	Since Junior high	Since Junior high

Data Analysis by Category

I conducted interviews with six families. The resulting data were translated, transcribed and coded for each family. During the process of interview data description and analysis, I employed data obtained from observation of the children and from samples of their writing wherever these data were seen as relevant to one of the categories listed above. I used pseudonyms for the interviewees to protect the participants' privacy. I found it difficult and unproductive to maintain strict divisions between categories when describing and analyzing data; for instance, parents' responses and strategies were so varied that they did not fit in any single category. In addition, categories overlapped to some extent. For example, the category of mother-child reading of books is closely related to that of interaction through audio-visual tools. Some data crossed over categories, making an inter-categorical analysis possible.

I included a table at the end of each category summarizing my data description and interpretation of the previous sections in order to facilitate comparison of factors within each category and among categories, and to help the reader view data vertically and horizontally.

For the families that had two children, I have found some cases where the same or common strategies were employed with both children. However, I divided the table cell into two sections when differences were shown with regard to each child's age at exposure or length of exposure, the strategies employed by parents, each child's responses to English and to parental strategies, or the

activities the child joined regarding SLA. In this case, the first cell is for the older child of the family, and the next represents the second child.

Category I: Parent-Child Interaction through Reading Books

I set up ten main categories to reflect the five research questions and all interview questions. In some cases, the categories were too closely related to be described separately and independently. As was my practice during the interviews with participants, I followed the natural flow of data description rather than being restricted to the category label wherever strict adherence to a category would have limited the authenticity or richness of the data.

Before the interview started, most parents claimed that they had nothing special to talk about regarding their children's SLA or Korean literacy. However, once the interview began, they opened up and described their experiences. One merit of qualitative research is the way the researcher is able to draw rich information from informants once rapport has been established between the research and participants.

Sun's Family

Sun's mother came to this town for her doctoral degree as a single mother when the current research was being designed. She had only one daughter who was in the fifth grade. I will refer to her daughter as Sun.

Sun and her mother had been local residents for one and a half years. However, they had also been in another state in the U.S. for three years while Sun's mother completed her master's degree. As soon as Sun arrived at this small college town, everyone was struck by her native-like accent and verbal fluency. In contrast, her spoken Korean sounded awkward. Therefore, I intended to omit her family from my prospective research population, assuming that she must have come to the U.S. in her infancy. However, when I became acquainted with her mother as a fellow doctoral student and neighbor, I learned that Sun's first exposure to the host country occurred when she was seven years old.

When considering the comparison of exposure time between Sun's family and mine, I realized that Sun had been here only one and a half years longer than my own family. How could Sun speak native-like English when my younger son was still reluctant to speak in public at all? Would he be able to speak as fluently as Sun in another year and a half? I had great curiosity about Sun's situation, and thus I decided to include her in my research population. Through my interview with her, I discovered information regarding Sun that altered my preconceptions about the source of Sun's fluency in English. The following section describes the parent-child interaction through reading books that occurred in Sun's family.

Mother's reading with Sun. Sun came to the U.S. as soon as she had completed her first semester as a first grader in Korea, and she entered first grade in the U.S. When asked about Sun's adaptation to new situations in the

host country, Sun's mother said that her daughter had only a little difficulty regarding English and the American culture, lasting only two or three months from her arrival in the U.S. This rapid transition made me wonder what degree of effort had been employed to aid in Sun's acquisition of English before she came to the U.S. The following story reveals the mother-child interaction that took place in Korea. With regard to reading English books, Sun's mother stated:

I was a bookworm, which seems to have influenced my daughter's reading and education. I spent most of my spare time reading books to her in Korea. I read story books for 30 minutes to an hour every day from when she was three months old until she came to the U.S. I had been reading books to her for about seven years in Korea.

Her story was so intriguing that I asked her what made her read books to Sun so regularly. She answered my question, relating it to her family literacy environment:

We had lots of English stories and educational books at home because I was working as an instructor for the private language institute, and my sister's family was in the U.S. in those days and frequently sent English books to us. When my sister came back to Korea, she also worked as an instructor for the private child language institute. We had easy access to English books at home.

Looking back on the literacy atmosphere in my family when my sons were very young, mine was not so different from hers. We had a library at home because my husband was in a doctoral program, and I was an English teacher.

We had hundreds of books and took seriously the importance of reading for our sons' literacy. We provided various kinds of books depending on the areas of knowledge. However, there were two big differences between Sun's family and mine. First, we were mere providers of those books; we did not spend our time reading to our sons regularly. With the plausible excuse that our children should be independent, we did not pay much attention to our children's reading.

Although we read books to our children, we did not do this consistently. Another big difference was that my husband and I were educators at the secondary and post-secondary levels. As an English teacher, I had a strong belief that children's English could not be improved much if they did not have the will to solve their problems independently regarding English. A third reason may relate to the children themselves. Unlike girls, boys usually do not show much interest in reading because they are attracted by more active hobbies such as computer games. Their resistance to reading made me less attentive to it.

John's Family

John's father was very competent in his academic field as well as very gracious and supportive of his family. Almost every evening, he came to the college track or tennis court with his wife and children, John and Mary. John was in the sixth grade like my younger son, and Mary, a fifth grader, was one year younger than her brother. John was especially polite and quiet. However, Mary was somewhat talkative and social. John often smiled but he usually looked sincere. I was very surprised to see him running the track several laps a day for

almost a week. I asked the reason, and his mother explained that John had failed to finish running a full mile at school, so he wanted to show his teacher that he could do that. I decided that he must have a very tenacious personality. My curiosity began to arise regarding whether, and in what ways, this tenacity might have affected his English development.

It seemed that participant parents with two children usually focused on their first child in discussing their children's SLA and Korean literacy. During individual interviews, I noticed that parental concern for the second child's literacy and SLA decreased when compared with that shown for their first child; this pattern did seem to hold true for John's family. John's mother was primarily responsible for her children's literacy education. She seemed more consciously attentive to John, the older child; and also, it is worth noting that she focused her attention on her children's Korean literacy rather than English literacy through mother-child interaction (particularly reading books) in their early years in Korea.

Maternal reading books to John and Mary. John's parents were very cooperative, and his father participated especially actively in the interview. To lead our conversation smoothly, I asked general questions first. When asked if there was a special area in which their children showed more interest regarding English, John's mother stated:

John showed a special interest in reading. He asked me to buy books that reflected his interests. He would compare the books that he read and the movies produced based on the books. He would concentrate on reading

and finish a thick book within a few days. Above all, he is consistent and tenacious in reading. Mary prefers to watch TV and listen to music. She is less patient than her brother in reading and studying.

When asked if John's parents read English or Korean books regularly to their children, John's mother said, "I used to read Korean books for 30 minutes to an hour a day from the time they were two years old until they could read books for themselves. I made it a rule to read books before my children fell asleep." When asked about the value of reading English books to their children's SLA, she stated:

I usually read Korean language books. I was a librarian, so I could borrow books from the library easily. I borrowed translated Western story books and read them to my children from the time they were two years old until they could read them by themselves, until kindergarten. In America, my children seemed to choose those books whose translation they had already read in Korea. I think their prior experience with those stories facilitated their reading comprehension when they read the English versions.

Although she did not read English books directly to her children, she got the children accustomed to the sounds of English through English story tapes provided with worksheets, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

John's father was a professor in the English department. However, John's mother pointed out that his busy schedule made it difficult for him to spare time to read English or Korean books to his children. The responsibility for the children's

literacy rested on John's mother. In addition, her job as a librarian had a great influence on her reading books with her children. When asked about their perspectives on reading books to their children, they said that they intentionally accustomed their children to the sounds of English at an early age. They believed that anyone who read books aloud would help children to be emotionally stable and increase rapport between children and parents. They also added that reading aloud helps to stimulate children's interest in books, which makes them voluntarily ask to have another book read. According to these parents, their children borrowed ten books a week from the library in Korea and read them all. They presented three goals for parent-child reading of books: (1) to make children interested in books, (2) to provide them with helpful instruction for their lives, and (3) to build their knowledge about culture and various subjects. I felt that their children were raised in a beneficial climate for the promotion of literacy. When asked if their children continued reading books in the U.S., John's mother said:

I don't read them a book, but I make them read books for 30 minutes to an hour a day. I make it a rule for my children to read one page of the Bible every night before going to bed. We don't have many Korean books in America, so they cannot read them. However, they regularly read English books related to school assignments.

John's father stated that his children read one or two books a week in addition to books related to school assignments. It seemed that American

schools make students read more books related to the curricula than schools in Korea.

When asked about their beliefs and perspectives on parent-child reading and children's own reading of books, John's mother said that she believes consistent parent-child reading of books helps children establish regular and consistent practices, not only in their own reading of books, but also in their study habits. Regarding the effectiveness of reading books, she argued that stories and knowledge obtained in this way helps to ease children's reading comprehension in their academic work, due to the increased cultural and academic knowledge they encounter in the readings. She also stated that in Korea, she had a vague belief that reading books to her children would affect their language development, positively facilitating their reading comprehension when they arrived in the U.S. through familiarity with the Korean versions of those books that they had already read in their own country. John's father supported his wife's argument, stating that their children seemed to have the ability to apply the knowledge obtained from reading Korean books to their studies in the U.S.

Minsu's Family

Minsu's mother and I were in the same doctoral program. She had two children, Minsu and Minhee. Unlike many married female doctoral students who arrived without their husbands, she seemed to get considerable help from her spouse, who was a visiting scholar. She stated that her husband supported her

and her children in many ways, especially regarding her children's English literacy in the U.S.:

I am happy to say that my situation was very different from that of other female graduate students. Most of these came to the U.S. as single mothers because their husbands had to support them financially in Korea. My husband was a visiting scholar. So when I was busy with my doctoral course work, he took charge of my children's education as well as household chores. For the first several months, he set up a tight schedule to support my children's English.

As the saying goes, birds of a feather flock together, and doctoral students who were single mothers usually got together and formed close relationships. In fact, by the time the current study started, Minsu's father had returned to Korea as a professor. I had more frequent opportunities to talk with his mother in the library, which helped establish rapport between us and led to a feeling of comfort. When I thought sufficient rapport had been established between us, I asked her and her children to be participants for the current study. She was a very rich informant because her responses were very helpful to my research. To provide even more information, she called her husband in Korea and collected data about family influence on her children's SLA prior to our interview.

Mother's reading books to Minsu and Minhee. Prior to asking the main question regarding parent-child reading of books, I asked Minsu's mother if her children have a special area of interest regarding English. She said:

Minsu likes to read and draw cartoons, including scripts. His dream is to become a cartoonist or an actor. When he writes scripts for his cartoons, he uses American humor and shows the scripts to his American friends. He had read news articles due to his father's influence (requirement) for over a year. Every evening he had to find a new article that attracted his concern from the *New York Times* on the Internet and read it with his father. He usually chose articles on sports, health, war, or cartoons, which seemed to improve his English vocabulary a lot as well as his cultural knowledge. Minhee likes to read a series of books which deal with girls' concerns and interests. She also likes to watch television. She enjoys singing, following the characters on TV.

Her statement interested me because Minsu's English level seems much higher than my younger son's. Despite the fact that my son has been in the U.S. for six months longer than Minsu, he continues to struggle with English and is reluctant to speak English in public. I do not compare their academic success here, because I think academic success is quite distinct from language acquisition. Regarding academic achievement, in fact, my son has been very successful so far. However, considering only linguistic development, the question comes to mind: how is it possible for a child who had been exposed to the mainstream for two years to write his own cartoon script using American humor? In addition, how is it possible for Minsu to read news articles on various themes in the *New York Times*?

My curiosity increased as I wondered what made Minsu such a good reader and writer of English. I asked Minsu's mother to talk about her experiences with her children's English and Korean literacy. Regarding English literacy, she stated:

It is important to read books aloud to help children become accustomed to the sounds of English. So I read English story books aloud to my children. In addition, I made my children listen to English tapes and watch English videos from the time they were five years old. Until my family left for the U.S., I consistently made my children read English and Korean books, listen to tapes, and watch movies. I communicated with my children about the content of the books to show my concern for their reading rather than checking or monitoring their comprehension. I think showing parental concern is very important, since it can encourage children's interest in reading.

When asked what motivation made her start reading books to her children, she related her own childhood literacy experiences with her mother. She believed the strategies that she has used to build her own children's literacy might be transmitted from her own parents, especially from her mother. She reflected on her mother's reading of books:

My reading strategy seemed to originate with my mother's consistent reading when I was young (three or four years old). In retrospect, she used to read books to me in the corner of the room whenever I woke up in the morning. My brother and sisters also sat around her, listening to her

reading. My brother and sisters used to say that our mother's reading was delicious because she was a real oral narrator. I still vividly remember the setting in which my mother used to read books to us. It seems that I have also done the same for my children regarding their literacy education. My father had a study filled with books, and he used to read books. Our family also subscribed to newspapers, and my parents made us read the newspaper every day.

While listening to her story, I reflected on my childhood to see whether I had similar experiences regarding literacy. I barely remember my parents reading books to me. In addition, I barely remember any books for children in our home except for some classic books for my older sister. So, it is plausible to conclude that parental reading habits influence their children's literacy behavior as she argued. I agree with her to some degree because my parents barely influenced my literacy, since they only graduated from elementary school like many of their generation did right after the Korean War. Rather than literacy education, they were working hard to feed their children due to the poverty of those days. Although I was young, I was seriously affected by my lack of reading, which led to my lack of knowledge in many fields. This lack of reading may have hindered my comprehension in subjects such as history, sociology, or geography at secondary school.

Due to my own lack of background knowledge through reading, I provided a large number of books necessary for my children's knowledge construction when they were young. However, I did not consistently read

books to my children and was a mere provider of good reading materials, unlike Minsu's mother who played an important role as an interactor and mediator supporting her children's literacy.

Minsu's mother was raised in a rich, literate environment, which influenced her literacy activities with her children. She also stated that her mother continues to influence her grandchildren's literacy. In addition, her brothers and sisters also influenced Minsu and Minhee's literacy. She described efforts by their whole family to help Minsu and Minhee's literacy:

My mother, brothers, and other relatives still send e-mails and reply to my children's e-mails. In short, all of my family members including my relatives seem to pay attention to my children's literacy. I also asked my children to send cards written in English and Korean. It seems to be very important to make children express what they feel and think to encourage literacy.

The parental role in Minsu's family was clearly divided in terms of their children's literacy education. Minsu's mother took charge of L1 and L2 literacy in Korea because she had no job then. Her husband monitored their children's SLA in America because she was very busy with her doctoral coursework.

When asked what strategies were employed for reading of books, she stated that she and her husband used to narrate stories in order to stimulate their children's imagination. The literacy support provided by Minsu's family must have had a great influence in establishing their children's good literacy habits. To my surprise, she said she is still reading books aloud to their children to show

parental interest in her children's reading, although they have no problem in reading Korean or English books now.

When I asked about her beliefs and perspectives on parent-child reading and language development, she emphasized the parental role in the early stages of SLA, using her husband's efforts as an example. She stated that her husband closely monitored their children's grammar and reading comprehension for a year when they were newly arrived in the U.S. She believed that his efforts to promote their children's L2 literacy not only facilitated their SLA but also assisted in building good reading habits. She said her children continued to follow the rules set by their father after he returned to Korea. More details regarding direct instruction by parents are discussed later in the chapter, with data from Category II devoted to the topic of explicit instruction.

To summarize, Minsu's mother's efforts through regular reading aloud and her husband's efforts through direct instruction seemed to work together to facilitate their children's adjustment into the mainstream as well as their learning of English. Their parental role as book readers seemed significant for their children's emotional stability too, increasing rapport between parents and children.

Jeny's Family

Jeny's family interested me because her family's composition was similar to mine, with a father, mother, Jeny, and Jimmy in her family. Although Jeny was an older daughter in her family, other elements in each family were similar. Jeny

was in the tenth grade, and my elder son was in the twelfth grade in the same school; my son was one year older than Jeny. In addition, Jimmy and my younger son were both in sixth grade, although they went to different schools. The children in both families were quiet and somewhat withdrawn socially. Jimmy and my younger son seemed to have similar personalities which connected them as best friends. They were very quiet and disliked talking to strangers and being in public. However, they talked freely when they got together with each other. By comparing the surface structure of each family, many similarities emerged. However, looking into the deep structure of each family, I found a big difference regarding SLA.

When Jeny's family was newly arrived in this town, many people were surprised at Jeny's fluent English and native-like accent. People in the Korean community thought that Jeny must have lived in a foreign country for a long time. Her fluent and native-like accent provoked my own curiosity as I began this research. I wondered what had led to her fluent English. Before conducting our interview, I thought Jeny's mother must have spent a great deal of money to support Jeny's learning of English in Korea by (1) providing her with private English tutors, (2) sending her to an English-only kindergarten, or (3) sending her to an expensive English-only private language institute. I have heard that people from Seoul, the capital city of Korea, usually use these three strategies to support their children's learning of English. But actually, I found that the strategies employed to support Jeny's SLA were more varied and family-centered.

Jeny was the only participant who attended secondary school. She was a tenth grader. However, she could have been in the eleventh grade. When newly arrived in the U.S., Jeny's parents doubted Jeny's ability to keep up with her American peers and decided to enroll Jeny in the ninth grade although her English was good, she performed very well in other fields at school, and she had completed the Korean equivalent of ninth grade. Enrolling their children one grade below their grade level is a common trend among Korean parents when newly arrived because they want to reduce their child's experience in terms of culture shock, language barrier, and fear of academics in the U.S. Jeny's parents might have made the right decision because Jeny experienced little difficulty linguistically or academically. In fact, she surpassed her American peers in academics due to her background in various fields.

Again, it is useful to contrast my experience with what I observed in this family. My older son came to the U.S. immediately after completing the Korean equivalent of eighth grade. I was also worried about his English, so I asked the advisor if he could repeat the same grade. However, the advisor carefully looked over his grades in Korea and decided to enroll him in ninth grade. Superficially, Jeny and my son were proceeding successfully, both academically and linguistically. However, their perspectives on English and the American high school system looked very different (this issue is discussed with data from Category VIII on children's personal characteristics and language aptitude). I wondered what had made them adapt so differently to the new culture and American school. Through the individual interview with Jeny's mother, I was able

to satisfy my curiosity. The influence of Jeny's family, especially her mother's influence on Jeny's SLA, far exceeded my assumptions.

Mother's reading books aloud to Jeny and Jimmy. Jeny's mother was an elementary school teacher in Seoul, the capital city of Korea. As I mentioned in Chapter I, Korea became the country with the largest number of students in the U.S. as of September, 2005. English has become a real form of capital in Korea so that it is very hard to enter the university, get a job, or be promoted at a company without high grades on English tests such as TOEFL and TOEIC. Seoul is one of the most populated and economically developed cities in the world. It is divided into two big areas according to its people's financial and educational level: Kangnam and Kangbook. The former, from which Jeny's family came, has the most heated educational concern and competition in Korea. The social climate of Seoul—especially of Kangnam—contributes much to the explanation for Jeny's fluent and native-like English accent.

Jeny's mother said that Jeny could read the Korean language when she was three years old, which suggests that she had read Korean books to Jeny since her infancy. She said that Jeny used to finish a book in one sitting, and her consistent reading of books to Jeny might help to establish a good and consistent reading habit. However, she said her son was less patient during reading sessions which seemed to prevent him from being a consistent reader.

She employed various strategies to provide Jeny with many opportunities to practice and learn English. This section covers the stories she shared regarding mother-child interaction between her and Jeny. Jeny's English reading started when she was two years old and had continued on a daily basis before she came to the U.S. She remembered that she used to read one English book a day to Jeny until her daughter could read it for herself. Based on her story and Jeny's native-like accent, I wondered if the idea of 'reading English books' in Jeny's family also implied the help of audio-visual tools rather than only her mother's direct reading of English books. Her story supported my assumption:

Jeny has been exposed to English since she was 18 months old. I turned on a video (Walt Disney cartoon) every day, and she repeated the song and spoken words. Her musical sense also seemed to develop along with a sense of the language. She thought of it as a form of play.

Jeny's family's efforts to promote their daughter's SLA continued after Jeny entered kindergarten. During this period, Jeny's mother had another child, Jimmy. She was allowed three years of maternity leave in those days. She stayed at home, taking care of her two children and especially taking considerable responsibility for Jeny's English literacy. She reflected on those days:

When Jeny entered kindergarten, I made her listen to audio-taped short stories which were recorded in both Korean and English. Rather than forcing her to memorize English words and expressions, I let her approach English as a form of play. I also did English puzzle games with her (words

and sentences). People called her a genius regarding English. To confirm her level of English, I provided her with opportunities to show her talent. She would sing, use words, and make English sentences in front of peers and cousins. I worked hard to give her confidence in English.

When asked about her beliefs and perspectives regarding mother-child reading of books and SLA, Jeny's mother argued for the positive effects of this strategy, seeing a connection with the development of logical thought and the child's potential for future SLA:

I think children should read many books, because the ability to think logically originates in their reading. Children who read many books can harvest more fruit later. Reading does not show an instant and visible effect within a short period of time, so parents have to take a broad view regarding the eventual results of early English education. It seems that the interaction with the mother via reading when the child is young helps him or her to establish good and consistent reading habits. And parents have to lead their children to approach English books for fun rather than academic knowledge.

Her statement indicates that she provided a rich environment for her children's natural acquisition of a second language through reading books accompanied by audio-visual tools. Her perspectives can be summarized into three points: (1) Reading books helps children's development of logical thinking (2) It establishes a consistent reading habit, and (3) parents should lead their children to approach English reading books not as a form of study but as a form

of play. However, she stated that her efforts in mother-child reading of English books would not have produced such a beneficial result if they had been in Korea because it is hard for children to find contexts to exercise their potential in English in an EFL setting.

Currently, now that she has experienced her daughter's (Jeny's) quick adaptation to the mainstream, she believes that she was right regarding her strategy to provide a rich environment for L2 literacy through reading English books and using related support materials such as videos. Still, her interest in the English language development of her younger child (her son) decreased when she worried that her efforts to encourage Jeny's SLA might not create a quick, visible result (i.e. when they were still in Korea). This shifted her perspective on children's SLA from *the earlier, the better* to another concern, which might be phrased in a quite different slogan, *after acquisition of the mother tongue*. That is, in dealing with her son, she came to feel that the boy would benefit most from a solid foundation in Korean, rather than extensive experience with English in the early stages.

Sam's Family

Sam was in the fifth grade, and he was one year younger than my younger son, but they were very close friends. His parents and I provided several chances for them to have sleepovers with each family. In addition, they met each other every Sunday at church. I frequently took my son to Sam's house to let them play together. Sam's younger brother, Tom, was in the first grade at that

time. Both children in Sam's family were very social and talkative. Above all, they really enjoyed sports due to their father's influence. Their father was an English teacher in Korea, but before he became a teacher he was a competitive ping-pong player representing his high school. In addition, he excelled at tennis and golf. Every summer he took his sons to the tennis court and taught them to play. Sam's mother and I went to the same church and frequently exercised together on the university track. We had a strong friendship which helped me to obtain rich information for the current study. I spent more time during the study with Sam's family than any of the others, interviewing, observing, and sharing informal visits and other conversations, because Sam's house was a place where the Korean community frequently got together. The strong rapport established before conducting the current research helped me to observe every detail regarding their children's SLA.

Mother's reading books with Sam and Tom. Sam's family was very social and outgoing. They liked sports, both as spectators and as participants. Whenever I visited Sam's family, he was playing games and his father was preparing to play golf or had already left for golf or tennis. Sam's younger brother, Tom, was usually playing in the house or yard using a plastic sword or a stick. They were an active, happy family. There were other neighbors over whenever I visited Sam's house, which suggested that all the members in Sam's family made people comfortable. I wondered if this family's hospitality and socialization influenced their children's SLA (this issue will be discussed in detail in Category

V on parent-child interaction through socialization and acculturation). However, in this section, I discuss the family's reading of books both at home in Korea and in the U.S.

To break the ice before the formal interview, I made Sam's mother feel comfortable by exchanging casual remarks about our children and daily lives, which reduced her anxiety about the formal interview. When asked if her children liked to read Korean books, she said that Tom enjoyed reading books and used to make up stories, using his imagination. However, she added, Sam spent more time in sports, playing with friends rather than reading. When asked about parent-child reading of English books, she commented:

We did not read English books regularly, but we tried to read Korean books whenever we had spare time. We usually bought our children a series or collection of books. It seems that we read English books for 30 minutes at a time, but not on a regular basis.

She explained that she and her husband shared responsibility for their children's literacy, reading English and Korean books with them from the time they were three or four years old until they arrived in the U.S. Regarding their interaction during parent-child reading, she stated that while reading books or afterward, they talked about the pictures and contents in order to attract their children's interest. When asked about their beliefs and perspectives regarding parent-child reading books and SLA, she said:

Rather than forcing our children's exposure to reading English books, we helped them become familiar with it, feeling comfortable through a natural

and early exposure to English. Sam used to spend more time in sports, playing with friends rather than reading, which did not help him to establish good study habits. I regret that I did not work harder on his reading in Korea because good study habits are not established without the habit of reading.

Although these comments about reading of English books with their children are shorter than those made by other families, this family's interaction with their children to support the children's socialization and cultural experience in Korea and in the U.S. seemed more plentiful than those in other families.

Jung's Family

Jung's family arrived in this community in July, 2005. They had been here for one and a half years when this study began. The general atmosphere of the town seemed a little boring due to the quiet, routine life of the parents as graduate students. Younger children seemed to generate the only lively energy in this overly quiet climate. Jung's appearance was enough to enliven even other parents with children at a similar age. This was because Jung was very talkative and active. He often surpassed people's expectations and imagination in every aspect of his life. His behavior and his remarks surprised people due to his brightness and clever mind. Jung's mother was always worried about her son's personality on one hand, while she felt proud of her son's personality on the other hand. It might not go too far to say that Jung was the most talkative and active boy in the community. When I saw him, I was extremely curious regarding

the relationship between his active and talkative nature and his process of language acquisition. In addition, he was very close with Tom. I thought they would give me rich information regarding the relationship between children's characteristics and SLA, as well as the one between age and SLA (this issue will be discussed in detail in Category VIII on children's personal characteristics and language aptitude).

Jung was in the second grade. He was very skilled in speaking English. Although he had been in the U.S. for only one and a half years, he switched fluently between languages. When he talked to Korean peers who spoke awkward Korean due to their long stay in the U.S., or to American peers, he spoke English. However, he always talked to older children or adults in Korean. And when he talked to Korean peers who were comfortable in both languages, he mixed languages. It was very exciting to observe his code-switching during the participant observation. He did not seem to have any difficulty changing from Korean to English, or vice versa; and he seemed to judge quite automatically and effortlessly which language to use with any given interlocutor.

How can a child who has been in the U.S. for one and a half years freely and fluently code-switch? This phenomenon was amazing to me. Jung's success sparked my curiosity regarding the relationship between length of stay in the U.S. and SLA. Many researchers argue for a relationship between these two factors, and much research has been conducted to explore that relationship. Many researchers, especially in the

field of SLA, have argued for the importance of age at exposure and length of stay in the host country. I wonder if exposure to the mainstream alone can make a child such a fluent English speaker in such a short period of time, even when the child speaks a mother tongue at home and in his or her local ethnic community.

The purpose of the current study was to explore such factors influencing children's SLA, especially focusing on family influence. Based on my own experience with my younger son, I again present a version of one question which led me to the current research: why does my younger son still feel afraid of speaking English despite the fact that he has been exposed to English for three years? I believe there must be some other factors affecting a child's SLA, internal or external. Before interviewing Jung's mother, I simply thought Jung's talkativeness and his high level of activity must be the major factors influencing his SLA; however, I wondered if the situation might be more complex. The next section covers the subtle efforts by Jung's mother for her son's SLA through mother-child reading.

Mother's reading books with Jung. When asked if she used to read books to her son in Korea, she said that she had read books regularly with Jung. She told me that she exposed her son to books in both languages. She employed audio-visual tools rather than books in English, but she regularly read Korean story books while they were in Korea:

I read to him for 30 minutes to an hour before bed. I began to read Korean language books when he was four months old, and I still do that now. I read him famous, popular Western books which were translated into the Korean language in Korea. In addition, I made him listen to audio-tapes of both Korean language stories and English language stories for over a year before we came to the U.S.

It seemed that she had his future experience with English in mind while reading Korean books to Jung because she frequently read translated Western classics. When asked about her criteria or rules regarding reading to Jung, she stated that she did not have any strong or rigid criteria. Rather, she explained that she tried not to be biased when choosing books in order to provide Jung with opportunities to sample various kinds of knowledge:

I seldom read English language books in Korea. However, when I read Korean books, I tried not to be fixed or biased. I bought him various kinds of books such as creative and imaginative stories, classics, science, Greek and Roman myths, Korean folk tales, the Talmud, etc. I tried not to buy books which teach dichotomy or norms of right and wrong. I don't mean that I didn't pay attention to those norms, but I just delayed such moral education.

When asked if she continued reading books to Jung in the U.S., her answer surprised me again:

In Korea, I didn't make any special effort to help his SLA. In the U.S., I have a rule to read 2 to 4 books a day right before bedtime. I read those

books aloud regardless of his comprehension. I sometimes monitor his understanding but usually I let him enjoy my reading. At the beginning stage of reading, I read him easy story books, kindergarten level with lots of pictures. However, recently I have read him books consisting of more content and vocabulary rather than picture books. I have been reading books to him for 30 or 40 minutes a day. After reading, I check his understanding by asking questions about the contents, his feelings about the situation and characteristics, and what will happen next, in Korean and in English. Eighty percent of my questions are asked in Korean.

It seemed that she was paying more attention to Jung's English reading of books in the U.S. than in Korea. When asked about strategies in reading, she said that at first, she selected English books to support the vocabulary and content of Jung's school textbooks so as to facilitate his reading comprehension at school.

Table 4 summarizes the data on family reading discussed above.

Table 4

Summary of Data Description for Category I: Parent-Child Interaction through Reading Books

	Sun	John	Minsu	Jeny	Sam	Jung
	Reading books (BR), Reading of English Books (REB), Reading of Korean Books (RKB), Korean Books (KB), English Books (EB), Second Language Acquisition (SLA)					
Starting of RKB	3 months old	2 or 3 years old	2 or 3 years old	Infancy 3 years old	3 or 4 years old	4 months old
Total period of RKB	Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing
Age of start of REB	3 months	1 st grade	5 years old	18 months 1 st grade	1 st grade N/A	Started in the U.S.
Total period of REB	Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing
Types of KB	Story	Western classics	Story, education	Story, education	Story, education	Western classics
Types of EB	Story books	Story books, educational	Story books, educational	Story books, educational	Story books, educational	Story books, educational
Time per day	30 min. to 1 hr.	30 min. to 1 hr.	30 min. to 1 hr.	30 min. to 1 hr.	30 min. to 1 hr.	30 min. to 1 hr.
Frequency	Regularly	Regularly	Regularly	Regularly Occasionally	Inconsistently	Regularly
Influence of RKB on SLA	Not visible	Facilitated comprehension of EB, Increased knowledge in various fields, Applied that knowledge to schoolwork in the U.S.	Not visible	Facilitated comprehension of EB, Increased knowledge in various fields, Applied that knowledge to schoolwork in the U.S.	Not visible	Not visible
Influence of REB on SLA	Lowered language barrier, Quick adaptation, Reading habit	Facilitated reading Comprehension, Reading habit	Facilitated reading comprehension, Reading habit	Lowered language barrier, Quick adaptation, Facilitate reading comprehension, Reading habit Not visible	Not visible	Facilitated reading comprehension
Strategy	Read aloud until she can read alone; As a form of play	Read aloud until they can read alone, Confirm contents and talk	Read aloud ongoing, As a form of play, Confirm contents and talk	Read aloud until they can read alone. As a form of play, Confirm contents and talk	N/A	Read aloud until now As a form of play, Confirm contents and talk
Parental perspective	Parents' reading habit influences that of their children.	BR provides emotional stability and establishes rapport between children and parents.	BR invokes children's interests and imagination. Parents have to be consistent in BR.	BR helps with logical thinking. BR has potential for later SLA. Provided a rich environment for BR is important.	BR leads to good study habits.	Not being biased in book selection

Category II: Parent-Child Interaction through Direct Instruction

As with the other topics in this study, I approached the issue of explicit instruction by parents with my own experience as a background. Every parent has an individual philosophy regarding his or her children's education. I have a strong belief that nobody knows better than me about my children's attitude toward learning and their achievement. Therefore, I have taught my two sons instead of depending on private tutoring or language institutes outside school for my children's education, both in Korea and in the U.S. I expected this activity of teaching by parents to play a role in the family narratives I was collecting.

In fact, I believe that direct instruction in grammar and basic communicative expressions was all I did in Korea to support my sons' English learning. For example, my older son was frequently exposed to English through my direct instruction in English grammar and conversation since the second or third grade. In addition, when I taught English at my university's language institute, I had him take my course along with the undergraduate students because I was already planning to study abroad for my doctoral degree. Although I cannot confidently conclude that my direct instruction influenced his SLA in the U.S., my older son did not have much difficulty regarding English itself in the early stage of SLA in the U.S. Later, he seemed to have difficulty with writing when he entered senior high school; however, this problem did not seem to be entirely language based and may have been caused by problems with imagination and logical thinking. Of course, the problems underlying his writing difficulties may have been exacerbated by the lack of interaction through mother-

child reading when he was young. Thus, as in other areas, his experience helped me to form expectations. On the one hand, explicit instruction in English seems to have helped him; in contrast, the relative lack of family support of other sorts may have been partly responsible for problems he had in writing.

As mentioned at several points earlier, I spent hardly any time actively supporting my younger son's English education. Accordingly, he was barely exposed to the American culture or English in Korea, which might have delayed his adaptation to the new language and culture in the host country. Based on my experiences with my own sons in the U.S., I came to believe that parental instruction may provide strong support for children in learning a second language. The following sections cover the influence of direct parental instruction on children's SLA and parents' perspectives on it.

Sun's Family

Sun's mother was very kind to her daughter in many ways. She took her to the library every night and also found the time to take her to the swimming pool and gym for Sun's basketball practice in the middle of her busy coursework. According to my informal observation, she let Sun read books that she liked and do her homework by herself in the library. Unlike other parents in the local Korean community, it seemed that Sun's mother rarely added to her daughter's stress by pressuring her academically. Many parents, including me, increase our children's stress to some degree by forcing them to study Korean math and the Korean language to prepare for the time when they return to Korean schools.

Sun's mother used to say that she did not want to bother her daughter with studies because her own mother's severe intervention with her own studies when she was young had caused her severe stress which led her to hate her mother, although she now understands her mother's devotion to her education. She explained that her mother's intervention had influenced her own educational philosophy in raising her daughter; she felt it was best to give her daughter freedom and allow her to do what she likes. Her educational method seemed right for her child, because Sun was doing fine at school with a very positive attitude about many activities, including her academic work. So, I asked myself, "Did Sun succeed so well in English and other subjects without any direct instruction?" Before conducting the in-depth individual interview, I merely thought that Sun's bright and social personality must have made her such a fluent English speaker and so successful at school. However, the next section describes the direct instruction provided by her aunt for several months to support Sun's English and academic study in the U.S.

After-school instruction by Sun's aunt. Sun's mother divided Sun's adjustment to the host country into three stages: (1) the first six months in the U.S., from September 2002 to February 2003; (2) the next six months from March 2003 to August 2003 in Sun's aunt's house; and (3) the final stage, from August 2003 to the present. She explained that the middle stage, from March to August, was a period of direct instruction for Sun's SLA. According to Sun's mother, during this period Sun had to stay in her aunt's house due to her

mother's busy schedule. She remembered that Sun had no difficulty with speaking or academics at school after this six-month stay at her aunt's. Regarding Sun's academic success, she said, "My daughter's study developed remarkably. Her SLA and schooling improved almost one hundred percent."

When asked how Sun's aunt had influenced Sun's SLA through direct instruction at home, she explained:

My sister-in-law was very systematic and stubborn regarding her children's education. In addition, my uncle has two daughters. His older daughter has been very close to Sun since they were in Korea, and they became even closer in the U.S. Sun's aunt made Sun and her daughter study right after school for several hours a day using a Spartan method of teaching. In spite of her aunt's strict educational discipline, my daughter and my cousin seemed to enjoy her instruction. Rather than resisting her rigid intervention with their studies and SLA, the two children competed in reading and doing assignments. In addition, my sister-in-law is good at English due to a long stay in the U.S., maybe more than seven years. My cousin's native-like English seemed to have a great influence on my daughter's English speaking. She probably mastered English in that period of time.

Of course, it is too early to attribute Sun's rapid language acquisition only to her aunt's Spartan instruction at home, because Sun was exposed to the reading of English books for seven years before she encountered the rigid educational climate in her aunt's home. On the other hand, would it have been possible for

Sun to adapt to the English-only academic setting so quickly without her aunt's efforts? Commenting on Sun's quick SLA and success in her studies, Sun's mother views Sun's success as a matter of both her policies and those of her sister-in-law, as well as of Sun's own personality:

In my daughter's case, I think my influence on her reading in Korea, her aunt's Spartan method of instruction, and her optimistic and outgoing personality played cooperative roles in her SLA.

Even though she did not deny viewing her sister-in-law's Spartan instruction as an important element in Sun's success with SLA and academics, she was reluctant to identify parental or family members' direct instruction at home as an effective way of achieving children's SLA. Her comments on direct instruction by family members indicate the rationales for her reluctance, as she contrasts parental involvement, which she views as desirable, with explicit instruction, which she does not see as the parents' domain:

I don't think parents' instruction in English grammar or other skills at home can result in success unless they are qualified teaching professionals of English. I think the best result in English instruction can be achieved when both professional instruction and parental concern work together. In my experience as an English instructor, the children whose parents show considerable interest in their children's progress and homework do much better than those whose families don't take an interest.

Rather than emphasizing the effect of direct instruction by family members on SLA, she viewed parent-child interaction as a major factor for successful SLA.

She stated that parental interest in their children's SLA and a close relationship with the children are needed to achieve a desirable result regarding SLA in the home country.

John's Family

Mother's support in phonics and vocabulary. Regarding SLA, there are many possible types of direct instruction by parents such as grammar lessons, English conversation, reading comprehension, vocabulary, listening, writing, and so forth. When asked if they gave direct instruction in English grammar or English conversation to their children, John's father said:

I have not taught any grammar at home in Korea or in the U.S. It seems that school teachers teach basic grammar to fifth graders in the U.S. Once or twice I tried to check grammar errors in their assignments, but I gave it up.

During the interview, I found that their children did experience direct instruction with their mother, although John's mother did not see her activities as direct instruction. Although I did not do so with other families, I included John's parental involvement with their children's English through worksheets in the Category for direct instruction. This is because other families did not pay much attention to their children's worksheets, depending instead on a tutor who visited them on a weekly basis. In contrast, John's mother was with her children when they were completing the worksheets, and she checked their progress on a daily basis. Thus, her involvement can be considered direct instruction utilizing worksheets

as a supplementary material for SLA. She remembered her use of these materials while the family was still in Korea:

Both of my children received regular second language education through worksheets and storybooks provided by Sisa—one of the biggest companies to provide EFL materials. When my son became a first grader, he began using worksheets and continued until he was a third grader, two more years. He already knew phonics, the rules of pronunciation, before he came to the U.S. I could check the progress of my children's SLA through the worksheets. My daughter also did the same worksheets for two years. However, their levels were different. My son's level in the worksheets was much higher. However, my daughter has a more native-like accent than her brother. I think worksheets are good for learning the basic concepts of English as well as for improving a child's English accent.

John's mother seemed to believe in the benefits of worksheets because she helped her children solve problems in their English and monitored their work so they would not miss or delay the assignments required for the worksheets every day. These worksheets fall into a kind of mixed category, since they are provided by educational facilities outside the home; the degree to which they function as part of family support clearly must be a matter of how much family interaction revolves around them. Reflecting on my experience with using these worksheets for my own children's SLA, I feel I may have failed because of my negligence in helping and monitoring them. That is, my lack of interest in what they were doing

may have been partly responsible for my sons' own loss of interest in the worksheets. John's statement during his individual interview indicates that his mother's involvement with the worksheets led to his success in phonics and reading:

I learned phonics in Korea, so I knew how to read English words.

When I first arrived in the mainstream, I just read English words, depending on the rules of phonics without knowing the meaning of the words. Now, my reading and understanding happen simultaneously. I read and understand English books as if I read Korean books without any translating process. I don't translate English into Korean in my brain.

Of course, it is impossible to estimate the extent to which John's mother's help with worksheets on a daily basis facilitated John's reading, since a second language is acquired through the influence of various complex factors. However, both John and his parents seem to feel that these worksheets helped support his learning.

During the interview with John, I asked him if there was any other direct instruction from his parents. He remembered a very important way that his mother influenced his SLA, especially in his academic reading. According to him, his mother forced him to read American history and sociology texts, check the vocabulary that he did not know, and memorize the words every day during the last summer vacation when he was in the fifth grade. He stated:

Last summer, my mother made me memorize English words which I did not know while reading English social study and history books. I think the words I memorized last summer still help my understanding of these courses. It seemed that I memorized 25 or 30 words a day during the whole summer vacation, which still plays an important role as an asset for my reading comprehension.

During the interview, he smiled all the time remembering those days. He said, “I am still surviving in class thanks to the vocabulary that I memorized last summer.” It seems that parents do not think of their help and involvement as a form of instruction. However, the current research includes all types of parent-child interaction in the category of direct instruction if their interaction and involvement occur on a daily basis and involves directing the children in activities such as the ones mentioned by John and his parents.

Until recently, most research has viewed a teacher’s instruction at school as the only form of explicit instruction. I have developed a different view of instruction in the current study, based on Vygotsky’s Socio-Cultural Theory, which includes mother-child interaction in the category of direct instruction.

Minsu’s Family

Father’s grammar and reading instruction. Unlike other families, Minsu’s family established a clear division regarding parental roles for their children’s literacy education. In the individual interview, Minsu’s mother said her children were very lucky when compared with those in other families because they were

able to continually support their children's literacy education both in Korea and in the U.S., with no period of disruption due to the family's having to be separated.

She reflected:

To my happiness, my situation was much different from that of other women graduate students. Most of them came to the U.S. as single mothers because their husbands have to financially support them in Korea. However, my husband was a visiting scholar, and he took charge of my children's education as well as household chores when I was busy with my doctoral coursework.

She is correct regarding the single mother's dual difficulty, which results from their having the responsibility for both their own coursework and their children's education in the U.S. As a single mother, I actually had little time to attend to my children's SLA due to my adaptation to the new class environment as well as the papers and reading assignments I had to complete. In addition, I was emotionally depressed due to the stress caused by my studies, loneliness, and melancholy. However, Minsu's mother did not have such difficulties thanks to her husband's generous support of her studies and their children's education.

Before I conducted an individual interview with Minsu's mother, I vaguely thought that her children's intelligence, social skills, and early exposure to the host country had made them such fluent English speakers. I was surprised to hear about Minsu's parents' efforts to increase their children's English literacy as well as Korean literacy during the interview.

Regarding her husband's support of their children's English literacy, Minsu's mother stated:

As soon as we arrived in the U.S., he made a tight schedule to support our children's SLA: (1) He helped with the children's homework after school; (2) He taught the children English grammar utilizing the American English grammar book on a daily basis; (3) He helped with the children's reading comprehension by using a sentence-by-sentence translation; and (4) he had them read English story books or comic books on a daily basis, which helped my children establish study and reading habits. He employed a traditional method of instruction, ignoring our children's resistance, which I think is a very effective way to treat beginners at L2 learning.

When asked if there was any resistance from her children regarding their father's rigid instruction in grammar and sentence-by-sentence reading, she reflected:

Of course, our children complained a lot and resisted their father's rigid rules for their SLA. They resisted for the first several months when they lacked English knowledge. Initially, they felt bored and refused to study. However, they gradually become accustomed to their father's rigid instruction as their knowledge grew, and that knowledge helped their reading comprehension.

I asked her how her husband responded to his children's resistance. She said:

My husband seemed to realize the importance of literacy, so he made them follow the systematic plan he had made to scaffold our children's SLA in spite of their resistance early in his instruction. He taught our children English grammar using schoolbooks borrowed from the library. His grammar instruction paralleled his reading and writing instruction. He instructed our children using a traditional method of teaching, that is, a Spartan method. There was a time that it took an hour for him to teach one sentence to the children due to their resistance and lack of English knowledge.

Disregarding their resistance in the early stage of his direct instruction, Minsu's father forced his children to read books consistently on a daily basis, explaining the grammar in each sentence. His efforts helped increase their knowledge of English, which seemed to facilitate their children's studies as well as their SLA. Minsu's mother stated that Minsu's father's instruction efforts led to their children's good reading habits, and eventually they continued reading regardless of their father's presence or absence.

I asked her what made her husband decide to intervene in their children's second language literacy by using this Spartan method of instruction. She answered:

My husband instructed our children for the first year in the U.S. to facilitate their adjustment into the mainstream. My husband thought that the ESL programs provided by American schools were not sufficient for our children's quick adaptation to their studies and SLA. He thinks that being

strong in English means more than speaking and listening. He thinks reading and writing should be developed along with those two skills. Finally, when asked about her own perspective on her husband's direct instruction, she replied:

I really appreciate my husband's efforts to assist our children's SLA.

Without his consistent instruction, our children would not have entered the mainstream so quickly. I think it is very important to give children freedom and provide a natural atmosphere regarding SLA, but sometimes strong parental involvement through direct instruction is needed.

When asked which was the most beneficial of the various strategies employed to foster their children's SLA, she was quick to say that her husband's grammar and reading instruction in the U.S was the most beneficial. She said his book choice, his consistent and rigid instruction, their children's regular and required reading, discussions after reading books, and the regular grammar tests he gave made their children's knowledge of English and culture grow rapidly.

Jeny's Family

Father's grammar instruction. Jeny's younger brother, Jimmy, had a very gentle, quiet personality. Whenever I saw him, it seemed as if I was seeing my younger son. The two children had a very close relationship. Their language level seemed similar. Actually, I could not estimate their level of SLA, judging by their speaking ability. This is because they rarely speak English in public or among peers. As I mentioned in the previous section, Jeny's family came from the area

called Kangnam in Seoul, the capital city of Korea, an area known for its heated competition and high level of family concern regarding children's SLA. When Jeny first arrived in this town, her native-like accent might have been seen as a result of a high level of motivation for English learning in that area. However, compared with Jeny, her younger brother Jimmy was less fluent. Rather, he seemed to have considerable difficulty in speaking and keeping up with his peers at the beginning stage of exposure to the mainstream. I was curious about differences between these two children who are acquiring English in the same family.

When asked if one of Jeny's parents had provided direct instruction for their children's SLA, Jeny's mother said that she and her husband were not actively involved in her English learning, except for the interaction through mother-child reading of books and other play-centered activities. However, she revealed that her daughter was exposed to instruction in English grammar and conversation through private tutoring and private language institutes. Therefore, she said that her daughter did not need to receive any direct instruction by parents in the U.S. However, parental negligence of Jimmy's English in Korea led his parents to worry about his adaptation and academic success at the American school. Therefore, his father decided to become involved in Jimmy's English grammar instruction. During their first summer vacation in the U.S., Jimmy's father started teaching English grammar to his son employing a traditional methodology and a Korean grammar textbook called *Sungmoon Basic English*, which has been employed as a text for English grammar at secondary schools

and in most private language institutes in Korea for many years. Jeny's mother reflected on those days in the individual interview:

For the first six months, my husband was too busy with his coursework in the MBA program to care about Jimmy's English. Therefore, he spent his summer vacation supporting Jimmy's English. He usually taught Jimmy English grammar for seven to eight hours a day for two months, using a Spartan method of teaching.

I could not believe that a sixth grader could endure his father's all-day instruction in second language literacy activities. I asked Jimmy's mother whether Jimmy resisted his father's direct instruction or not. Her response indicated that Jimmy's tolerance of parental involvement reflected his personality:

At first, he resisted his father's involvement in his English. In addition, my daughter and I were somewhat pessimistic about his father's direct instruction. Specifically, we were worried about whether his father's coercive way of teaching might negatively influence Jimmy's perspective on English. However, Jimmy has a personality that does not strongly resist parental authority, which led his father to continue this direct support of Jimmy's English.

When asked what perspective on English education made her husband continue his direct instruction in spite of the limited resistance Jimmy showed, she answered that her husband had the conviction that his support would facilitate his son's adaptation to the mainstream and reduce his difficulty regarding English. She said they felt that their son was having difficulty at school due to a lack of

English vocabulary and grammatical knowledge, which they assumed might negatively influence Jimmy's comprehension in class. Their assumption that their son's problems were caused by English and Jimmy's father's conviction that his help would facilitate his son's adjustment into the mainstream seemed to be the major factors in their involvement in Jimmy's SLA.

When asked to what degree her husband's direct teaching helped Jimmy's facilitation and adaptation, she stated that her husband's intervention in their son's grammar acquisition was a very positive factor contributing to their son's English, although she could not estimate the degree of his influence. Based on her experiences with her children, she revealed her perspectives on parent's direct teaching as follows:

Many people believe that children can acquire English as time passes without strong parental involvement in the host country. I disagree with their perspective based on my experiences with my own children. This is because I believe that parental concern and support facilitate children's SLA, although the effect of those efforts appears slowly. It takes too long for older children to acquire English without parental concern and support for it in the host country.

Although it is not possible to conclude that family influence is a major factor in children's development of a second language, the current study shows repeatedly how strongly some parents believe their support to be a significant element facilitating their children's SLA.

Sam's Family

Father's writing instruction. During the individual interview, I could not elicit any comment on direct instruction from Sam's family members. However, during participant observation, I saw Sam's father helping Tom with writing. He had been asking Tom to write five or more sentences a day since Tom entered elementary school and began to show an interest in writing English. Sam's parents did not view this intervention as direct teaching because his father did not teach English grammar or reading comprehension by translating each sentence as Minsu's and Jeny's fathers did. I also agree with Sam's mother that such minimal intervention cannot be regarded as direct instruction. However, I have included Sam's father's help with Sam's assignments and Tom's English composition in this category because his help was being provided on a daily basis.

Jung's Family

Jung's family spoke a great deal about interaction through mother-child reading of books. She said she did not provide any direct instruction regarding English in Korea or in the U.S. because Jung was too young to approach English through direct instruction.

Table 5 summarizes the data regarding direct instruction in the six participant families. Note that Sam and Jung are grouped together, since neither family employed direct instruction for SLA.

Table 5

Summary of Data Description for Category II: Parent-child Interaction through Direct Instruction

	Sun	John	Minsu	Jeny	Sam, Jung
	Direction Instruction (DI), English (E)				
When	After 6 months in the U.S.	1 st grade before coming to the U.S., Summer Vacation (SV) in the U.S. 1 st grade, before coming to the U.S.	From the first months in the U.S.	No After 6 months in the U.S. during Summer Vacation	No special direct instruction
By whom	Aunt	Mother	Father	Father	
How	Spartan method	Traditional method	Traditional and Spartan method	Traditional and Spartan method	
What	Reading, All subjects	Phonics, Reading Vocabulary, Reading Social studies, History	Grammar, Structure, Reading comprehension	Grammar	
How long	4-5 hours a day	1 or 2 hours a day 2 or 3 hours a day in SV	3 hours a day	7-8 hours a day in SV, 1 hour a day after that	
Total period of DI	6 months	3 years 2 years	1 year	2 months intensively and continues thereafter	
Child's response	No resistance	No resistance	Strong resistance in the beginning stage	Mild resistance	
Reported influence of DI on SLA	100% improvement in English and academics	No difference in reading. Facilitated comprehension of subjects. Invoked an interest in reading. Provided E knowledge for survival.	Very effective when children's E is a low level. Established study habits. Quick adjustment into mainstream.	Facilitated adaptation to SLA.	
Parents' perspective	Without parental concern and interaction it's hard to expect a good result from DI by parents.	Parents' consistent concern and DI should go side by side.	Parents' strong intervention is needed when children's E is a very low level. Exposure to mainstream and ESL programs are not enough to help with quick adaptation.	Parents' strong conviction is needed regarding DI. Exposure to mainstream alone cannot guarantee good result unless it occurs in infancy.	

Category III: Parent-Child Interaction through Audio-Visual Tools

Each family's interest in their children's SLA was affected by their children's grades, characteristics, socialization, the parental perspective on SLA, and so forth. When asked if my participants' children indicated a special interest in SLA, parents' answers were different depending on each child's age, personality, and sociability. All said that the younger child in their family showed more interest in audio-visual tools than reading for L2 literacy. However, when the child was very social, parents viewed sports or outdoor activities as major factors influencing his or her adaptation to the mainstream. Daughters and younger children in a family seemed to have more interest in watching TV or animated movies in English. Parents said that they repeated songs and scripts from the movies, dancing and acting while watching as if they were the main characters.

Sun's Family

According to the individual interview and participant observation, Sun showed great interest in songs and children's programs on TV. Her mother said that she really enjoyed watching TV. Many parents are opposed to children's long-term exposure to the programs on TV because they think some programs negatively influence their children. However, in terms of SLA, many parents discussed the positive effect of TV programs. Sun's mother stated, "The TV programs on the children's channels are very interesting and sometimes educational. My daughter seemed to acquire spoken English by

singing songs and repeating expressions on TV.” She also stated that she provided various audio-visual tools that assisted Sun’s SLA. However, in keeping with her policy of not pressuring her daughter, she emphasized that she provided them not as study tools for SLA but as play tools. She revealed that she spent most of her free time watching English video tapes with her daughter at home. She said her daughter watched movies or cartoons for two or three hours a day, repeating the scripts and singing the songs. Instead of increasing her daughter’s stress by questioning her on movie contents or asking her questions about English expressions, she let Sun enjoy them, and sometimes they enjoyed watching them together, giggling with each other.

In addition to the audio-visual tools Sun’s mother provided for her daughter’s SLA as a form of play, her job also seemed to influence Sun’s listening and speaking. When Sun was very young, Sun’s mother was teaching in the private language institute, and she had to listen to English tapes to prepare for her classes on a daily basis. She assumed that her daughter’s exposure to the sounds of English at home via audio tapes and videos since infancy might have facilitated her daughter’s SLA.

John’s Family

As mentioned when describing parent-child reading in the discussion of Category I, John showed a special interest in reading. According to John’s mother, John’s book reading was connected to his movie watching. She said her

son would choose movies which were based on books that he had read and compare the content of the books to that of the movies. John's younger sister, Mary, showed more interest in audio-visual tools. She liked to watch TV and listen to music. However, her mother worried that her interest in audio-visual tools would not help her to build a consistent reading habit. She said, "Mary is less patient than her older brother in reading and studying, which led her to a lack of reading."

Besides providing audio-visual tools, John's parents took their children to the movies on a monthly basis. In America, she said, the whole family sometimes watches movies together. Their interest in audio-visual tools led to an interest in music, and both children joined the American church orchestra. Based on my observation, they had musical talent and represented their schools. What was more, as mentioned in the section concerning Category II, their children continued to use worksheets for two more years before they came to the U.S. The worksheet programs provided audio tapes for phonics and short stories on a weekly basis.

The children also used audio-visual tools provided with the worksheets. She believed that her children's knowledge of phonics lessened their initial rejection of English by working as a shock absorber and helping to facilitate their reading rather than by improving their speaking. When asked about the influence of audio-visual tools on SLA, she stated that she did not think children's watching English videos could help their SLA without parental interest and involvement.

Minsu's Family

Minsu's mother didn't mention much about the effect of audio-visual tools on her children's SLA. She said her children were not consistently exposed to audio-visual tools, not even TV. However, she made an effort to show interest by sitting with her children when they did watch movies or TV programs. After watching, she would discuss the content and cultural issues in the movies with them; however, she did this in order to show her interest in what her children were doing, rather than to monitor their progress. She reflected:

I did not force my children to watch movies or listen to tapes in English. But, when I invited them to do that, I stayed with them, listening and singing together in a natural way. I talked with my children regarding the content, culture, or situations during or after watching the movies or reading the books, not to check their comprehension, but to show my interest in their activities and my maternal love for them.

Jeny's Family

Throughout the whole interview, I felt that Jeny's SLA was directly connected to her use of audio-visual resources. According to Jeny's mother, Jeny has been exposed to English since she was 18 months old, starting with audio-visual resources:

I turned on the video (a Walt Disney cartoon) every day, and she repeated the music and words. Her sense of music also seemed to develop along with a sense for the language. She thought of it as a form of play.

When Jeny entered kindergarten, Jeny's mother stayed home to take care of her two children because she was allowed three years of maternity leave. Her strategy for using audio-visual tools looked more developed than the one she had employed in her daughter's infancy. She utilized English books and audio tapes together. However, she did not use them as study tools for SLA. She reflected:

I had her listen to the audio-taped stories, which were recorded in Korean and English. Rather than forcing her to memorize English words and expressions, I let her play in the English-rich environment.

Her effort didn't stop there. She extended her strategy to puzzle games for English words and sentences. She also intentionally provided many opportunities for Jeny to show her talent regarding English in public. She remembered that people called Jeny a genius when she showed off her English in front of people. Her step-by-step strategies using audio-visual tools by combining them with English books appeared to have been very systematic and to have produced desirable results regarding Jeny's SLA.

When Jeny entered elementary school, Jeny's mother shifted her strategy from mother-child interaction through reading or watching animated movies to English worksheets. However, she had to go back to work after her maternity leave as an elementary school teacher, which gradually decreased her involvement in Jeny's English. At the end of fourth grade, Jeny was sent to the private language institute, which is described in my discussion of Category IV. However, Jeny's mother argued that two years of grammar-centered English

lessons by private language institutes had rather spoiled the native-like English accent her daughter had acquired through consistent exposure to audio-visual tools. When Jeny became a middle school student, Jeny's mother changed her strategy again regarding Jeny's SLA, shifting from instruction at private language institutes to worksheets. She said, "keeping a good accent was more important than learning grammar or getting good grades in English at school." However, her earlier concern about Jeny's grades in English at school had led to Jeny's connection with both the private language institute and the worksheets. Jeny's mother revealed:

While Jeny was studying at home with the advanced level worksheets and audio tapes provided with the worksheets, she kept on going to the private language institute to keep good grades in English at school because school English was grammar and reading comprehension-centered rather than speaking-centered.

The following episode at Jeny's school revealed how fluent an accent Jeny had already acquired in Korea, as well as illustrating an interesting facet of the children's views on language success. Both Jeny's mother and Jeny recounted this anecdote in their interviews. Jeny reflected:

My classmates thought I was a foreigner due to my native-like accent. My teacher made me read the English text as a model reader. However, I intentionally distorted my accent to disguise my native-like accent before class, because it made me different from my peers.

Regarding Jimmy's English, his mother said he was also exposed to English worksheets from second grade, continuing to use them for two years. However, she explained that she did not expect the same result her daughter had showed because he was less patient at listening to the tapes or completing the assignments required by the worksheets, and she also did not exert much effort to improve her son's English. Her experiences with her two children regarding audio-visual materials indicated that children in the same family can show different results, although their parents employed the same strategy and the same materials. This is presumably at least in part because each child's motivation and interests are different.

Regarding Jeny's success in SLA with the help of audio-visual resources, she argued that it is more important for parents to consistently expose their children to the sounds of English as a form of play than to force them to take private lessons or send them to the private language institute. Jeny's interest in audio-visual materials continued without her mother's involvement, since she had some knowledge of English which motivated her to learn more. Jeny's consistent exposure to the sounds of English due to her mother's efforts led her to an interest in English pop songs. Since fifth grade, she had enjoyed listening to American pop music. Jeny's mother reflected:

She has loved pop songs very much since the fifth grade. She used to collect music CDs and give them to her friends as birthday gifts. She did not seem to know the meaning of the pop songs, but she seemed to enjoy them as a form of play rather than study. She enjoyed repeating the songs,

and I didn't force her to use a dictionary to look up unfamiliar vocabulary words.

She added that Jeny's interest in English and pop songs led to her interest in playing a musical instrument. She has been studying the violin since she was six years old, and she used to teach her class pop songs for school choir competitions. Jeny's interest in English again took her further, from music to movies. According to Jeny's mother, Jeny watched almost every movie she was allowed to see, including both Korean and foreign films, which exposed her to various foreign cultures. She made it a rule to watch two movies, buy music CDs, and get new books whenever she completed her school mid-term and final exams in Korea. Jeny's mother concluded that reading English books, listening to English story and song tapes, and watching movies seemed to have together influenced her daughter's English.

Sam's Family

When asked how and for how long Sam and Tom were exposed to English in Korea, Sam's mother said that her children were first exposed to English through English video tapes in a natural setting. According to her, Sam showed more interest in outgoing activities such as sports rather than indoor activities such as reading books or watching English movies on video. Although Sam and Tom were rarely exposed to written resources for their SLA such as English books, she said they have been exposed to English through audio-visual tools such as TV programs, video games, and

animated movies, both in Korea and in the U.S. She said that Tom's exposure to audio-visual tools made his English accent much more native-like when compared with that of his older brother, Sam. In addition, she said Tom approached English without any stress caused by studies at school because his English education started with Head Start in the U.S. She attributed Tom's natural acquisition of English to his age and talkative personality, as well as to these audio-visual tools and social activities. She stated:

He is very talkative and tenacious in asking questions. He also enjoys watching videos and cartoons on TV, becoming absorbed in them. He repeats the dialogue of the characters in movies and cartoons, and mimics their gestures and motions as if he were the characters he sees. He memorizes the dialogue and quotes in real situations when he plays with his American peers and those Korean peers who are fluent in English.

During participant observation, I frequently observed him talking to himself while watching TV or animated movies as if he were the main character. He repeated the dialogue and sang songs to the background music. In addition, when he played with his peers, he was observed to quote movie lines while mimicking the scenes from movies and TV cartoons. Based on her experiences with her sons, Sam's mother viewed these audio-visual resources as very positive tools for her children's SLA in the U.S.; however, when she was in Korea, she had viewed the same tools pessimistically regarding their potential impact on her children's SLA. She reflected:

We bought our children English video tapes and story tapes in Korea and my children watched video tapes for one hour a day. However, they did not pay attention to audio tapes without my insistence. It seems that listening tapes was not of great help for my children's SLA because of their lack of concentration and my lack of concern.

She suggested that children's exposure to audio-visual tools in the mainstream produce much more effective results regarding their SLA because the children can encounter similar situations and environments in reality and have opportunities to practice quoting dialogue from the movies with their peers in the U.S. She argued that children's exposure to English videos, audio tapes, and private language institutes in the home country is less effective for learning English due to the lack of opportunity to practice the language in EFL settings.

Jung's Family

Jung's encounter with English started through audio-visual tools. Jung's mother stated in the individual interview that she had bought video tapes, story tapes, and DVDs for English movies when Jung was two or three years old. She let him watch educational TV programs or cartoons to promote L2 literacy for one or two hours a day while in Korea. According to her, her son really enjoyed playing with the help of audio-visual tools, but once he acquired the Korean language, he strongly resisted watching English video tapes. So, she said she could not continue to expose him to English audio-visual tools for SLA any more at that point in Korea.

Regarding the effect of using audio-visual resources for children's SLA, she viewed audio-visual media, especially TV, as very positive, although people say that long exposure to TV is harmful for children's education. Based on her experiences with her son, she believed that audio-visual tools improved her son's accent, speaking, and listening.

Table 6 summarizes each family's use of audio-visual resources as tools.

Table 6

Summary of Data Description for Category III: Parent-Child Interaction through Audio-Visual Tools

	Sun	John	Minsu	Jeny	Sam	Jung
	Audio-visual tools (AVT), English (E),					
When	From infancy to present	From elementary before coming to the U.S.		From 18 months old to present for Jeny Inconsistently	Inconsistently Since coming to the U.S.	From age 2 or 3 to present
How often	Regularly, For fun	Regularly, Intentionally, Educationally	Inconsistently, For fun	Regularly, Intentionally, Educationally	Regularly, For fun	Regularly, Intentionally, Educationally
How long	2 or 3 hours a day	1 hour a day		1 or 2 hours a day		1 or 2 hours a day
What	TV, Videos, Audio-tapes	Audiotapes	TV, Videos, Tapes	TV, Videos, Audiotapes, Puzzles	TV, Videos	TV, Videos, Audiotapes
How	Repeat songs and dialogue			Jeny repeats songs and dialogue	Repeat songs and dialogue	Repeat songs and dialogue
Influence on SLA	Acquire native-like sounds and spoken E. Quick adaptation to culture and E.	Become accustomed to E sounds. Reduce a negative sense of E. Facilitate E reading		Acquire native-like sounds and spoken E. Quick adaptation to culture and E	Acquire native-like sounds and spoken E. Quick adaptation to culture and E	Acquire native-like sounds and spoken E. Quick adaptation to culture and E
Parents' perspectives	AVT are educational and draw children's interests. Have to approach AVT as play.	Parental concern and AVT have to go side by side to get a good result. TV is not beneficial for good reading habits. AVT invoke musical talents in children.	Parental concern and AVT have to go side by side to get a good result.	Parental concern and AVT have to go side by side to get a good result. AVT invokes musical talents in children.	AVT help to acquire native-like sounds and spoken E when the child is young. Watching TV is more effective for younger children in the ESL setting.	AVT help to acquire native-like sounds and spoken E when the child is young.

Category IV: Parent-Child Interaction through Utilization of External Facilities

Category IV covers parents' experiences with private tutoring, private language institutes (PLI), and worksheets for their children in Korea. In Korea, there are innumerable PLIs, many of which employ native speakers of English. PLIs are the easiest way to obtain access to English outside school in Korea. Participants for the current study said that many parents do not hesitate to pay for their children to receive private tutoring at home in spite of the high cost (from \$500 to \$1000 just for English per month). The high cost spent on children's private education has been a very controversial issue in Korea for a long time. Although there have been contradictory views on the benefits of private tutoring and the PLI, there have been no other alternatives to replace them. In this section, I explore how my participant parents utilized those services and what perspectives they have on them.

Utilization of External Facilities in Sun's Family

Sun came to the U.S. right after the first semester of first grade in Korea. She had been exposed to quite a bit of English through reading books and viewing audio-visual tools at home, as covered in the previous sections. Although Sun's mother worked for the PLI in Seoul, she did not send Sun to those facilities. When asked what kind of strategies she used for Sun's SLA outside the family, she said that her daughter was never exposed to private education in Korea for English. However, based on her experiences as an English instructor, she argued for the positive effect of private education:

I didn't expose my child to any English education outside our family because she was so young. However, if she had been in upper elementary school or in secondary school, I would have done so. I don't think parents' direct instruction in English grammar or other skills at home can be successful unless they are qualified teaching professionals in English. I think the best results can be achieved when both professional instruction and parental concern go together. Based on my experiences, the children whose parents show concern for their children's progress and assignments in English seem to do better than those who don't attract family concern.

As an English instructor who had once worked in a PLI, she had a very favorable perspective on the effect of instruction by qualified teaching professionals.

Utilization of External Facilities in John's Family

For John's family, I included worksheets in Category II as a means of direct instruction rather than in Category III, Parent-Child Interaction through Utilization of External Facilities, due to John's mother's involvement in her children's SLA on a daily basis. According to her, her children received regular second language education through worksheets and through the story books and audio tapes provided with them. John's mother believed that her children could acquire knowledge of the sound system of English through exposure to these worksheets.

When asked if John's parents had sent their children to a PLI or exposed them to private tutoring in Korea, they said that their children were

exposed to English in Korea via both of these strategies for a short period of time:

My children went to the PLI for English conversation for two months where they were able to take English-only classes conducted by native speakers. They also received private tutoring eight to ten times for two hours each by a Vietnamese tutor who spoke fluent English.

When asked why their children were given these supports for their SLA, John's father stated that he felt their children needed early exposure to second language speaking environments rather than grammar. He said he tried hard to give his children as many opportunities to be exposed to English as possible. As a result, their children had few negative feelings or other difficulties regarding English when they arrived in the host country. Their children's experiences with foreigners in Korea seemed to make their adaptation to the American culture and language easier and faster.

John's mother said that their children were sent to the PLI for one and a half years after they entered elementary school in Korea. When asked why they stopped sending their children to the PLI, John's father gave three reasons: (1) Sending children to the private language institute is expensive (*financial restriction*); (2) it is time-consuming for parents (usually their mother) to drive them to the institute when it is not conveniently located (*geographical restriction*); and (3) it is hard to find a qualified institute with qualified teaching professionals (*concern for quality*).

However, John's parents stated that they would have sent their children to the PLI for a longer period if they had lived in a big city with qualified language institutes staffed by qualified English teachers, for they might not have been able to resist the mass psychology prevalent in Korean society—the tendency to follow the majority, losing one's own educational philosophy and perspectives.

Regarding my question about what strategies most helped their children's SLA, John's parents' responses were somewhat different based on each parent's unique experience with their children's SLA. John's mother viewed worksheets as a very effective tool for children's SLA when parental concern was given. However, John's father saw children's exposure to foreigners via English-only classes in the PLI or private tutoring as an important factor in reducing culture shock and facilitating the children's adaptation to the U.S. However, both parents agreed that the benefits of the PLI and private tutoring for children's SLA could not surpass that of parent-child interaction.

Utilization of External Facilities in Minsu's Family

In Minsu's family, I did not find any special tendency to utilize external facilities for their children's SLA. Minsu's parents only exposed their children to the language institute of the university where their father worked for only one month. Unlike other families, their children had no experiences with worksheets, private language institutes, or private tutoring. Minsu's mother revealed that their children's SLA was developed within their family without any help from outside

because she and her husband believed that family involvement is more important than the exposure to external facilities for children's literacy.

Utilization of External Facilities in Jeny's Family

The effects of audio-visual tools and worksheets cannot be assessed separately in Jeny's case because she had been exposed to both from infancy on. The effect of worksheets on Jeny's SLA was discussed to some extent in the data description for Category III. This section covers details regarding worksheets, the private language institute, and private tutoring provided for Jeny and Jimmy's English.

Jeny had been exposed to worksheets since she entered elementary school. Her mother thought that her daughter's English could be more effectively developed through the utilization of more professional materials. In addition, the audio tapes provided weekly with worksheets attracted Jeny's mother's interest because she was looking for good English study materials that her daughter could use by herself. In addition, a tutor offered by the worksheet company visited each learner's house weekly and checked the learners' progress or helped them to solve problems regarding the worksheets. Jeny's mother thought the worksheet program was appropriate for her daughter because she could not spare much time once she returned to work after three years of maternity leave. She said Jeny faithfully carried out her assignments regarding the worksheets with no parental intervention, thanks to study habits established through interaction with audio-visual tools and mother-child reading of English books.

However, at the end of fourth grade, Jeny's mother sent her daughter to the PLI called Hak-won due to her concern about Jeny's future university entrance exams. She said Jeny received grammar-centered instruction at the PLI for two years. However, as noted earlier, she felt that her daughter was losing her native-like accent due to long exposure to grammar-oriented lessons led by Korean teachers in the Korean language. She explained:

I thought the lessons in the PLI spoiled Jeny's native-like accent rather than improving it because she had acquired it through consistent exposure to audio tapes, English movies, and cartoons.

Judging that keeping her good accent was more important than acquiring grammar, Jeny's mother faced a dilemma. In the end, she decided to continue to send Jeny to the PLI for grammar, but also to continue with the worksheets for advanced reading, listening, and maintenance of a native-like accent. In addition, a private tutor visited her house and instructed Jeny in grammar two times a week for two hours for the two years from sixth to seventh grade. In America, she has taken TOEFL lessons from a native speaker for an hour twice a week since she arrived in the country.

Jeny's mother's concern about Jimmy's English was relatively low when compared with that focused on Jeny because she thought her efforts and support for Jeny's English had not brought the expected results in Korea. She explained that her perspective and beliefs regarding children's SLA had shifted from *the earlier the better* to *after the mother tongue*. Due to this shift in perspective on

SLA, Jimmy was exposed to English later and was supported mainly in his Korean literacy in the early years.

There was no private tutoring for Jimmy, but he did go to the PLI as a fourth grader. His mother sent him to the PLI affiliated with the worksheets that he was using. He took courses in English grammar and reading comprehension for several months there until the family left for the U.S. Discussing the programs provided by the PLI in Korea, Jimmy's mother said:

He took English-only classes three times a week. Each lesson lasted three hours, and Jimmy continued there for six months. I exposed him to English-only classes in order to reduce any feeling of resistance regarding English in the host country. He did not seem to dislike his exposure to it, but I don't think his English improved.

She confessed she did not see any visible improvement in her son's English through the PLI. In addition to his experience at the PLI, she said Jimmy joined an English animation video script-repeating program for two hours each week for seven or eight months.

Utilization of External Facilities in Sam's Family

Sam came to the U.S. after completing the third grade in Korea. According to his mother, he was exposed to English through the PLI for two and a half years in Korea, from first grade to third grade, before he came to the U.S. He studied grammar and English conversation for two hours twice a week. The lessons consisted of two steps: for the first period, a Korean

instructor taught him English grammar, and for the second period, a foreign instructor taught him English conversation. When asked the effect of the exposure to the PLI for their children's SLA, his mother stressed their contribution in terms of cultural experience, but seemed less convinced about their influence on his language or academic preparation:

Exposure to English and experiences with foreign teachers in Korea removed an awkward mood between foreigners and him, reducing his experience of culture shock. When he entered the mainstream, he had difficulty in academics conducted in English rather than communication with peers for the first year.

Compared with my younger son, whose communication with American peers still appeared to be strained, Sam seemed to communicate with them easily. Before the completion of the current research, I cannot conclude that the difference between these two children regarding English is caused by that of exposure to English in Korea, although my younger son was never exposed to English in Korea, which I feel may have prolonged his silent period regarding English. Sam's mother asserted that spending time with foreign teachers in Korea must have reduced culture shock for her son, physically and linguistically. However, she was not convinced that exposure to English via videos, audio tapes, and the PLI in Korea had led to effective results regarding SLA.

I think the term *adaptation* should be considered separately from language proficiency, because children show individual differences when adapting to different aspects of the host country environment, such as the language, culture,

studies, friends, and activities. It is generally hard to say that any one factor facilitates either children's adaptation or their language development. Instead, one must look more closely at specific factors: acquisition of the four skills in English, adaptation to the new culture, and academic achievement broken down by different subject areas. For example, my younger son's adaptation to speaking is very slow, but he has had very little difficulty with the American school system and studies.

Like my son, Sam's younger brother, Tom, was not exposed to English at all in Korea except for the English alphabet. However, his speaking seemed fairly natural, and his accent was native-like. This is because he started his English education with Head Start in the U.S. His mother's statement in praise of natural learning here is interesting in the light of the strong preference for formal learning shown by most of the parents:

He has a better accent and better fluency than his older brother because his exposure to English through plays or TV watching was natural, and he did not approach English as an academic subject.

Utilization of External Facilities in Jung's Family

When asked if Jung had ever been sent to a PLI or if he had received private tutoring at home, Jung's mother said that Jung had never been exposed to either one for English. However, she revealed that Jung had been exposed to the PLI and worksheets for his intellectual development and to learn the Korean language. He studied the Korean language, math, and the Chinese language

through worksheets. At the same time, he started a creative play program to develop his intelligence for three years, from age four to age seven.

Table 7 summarizes each family's utilization of external facilities for their children's SLA.

Table 7

Summary of Data Description for Category IV: Parent-Child Interaction through Utilization of External Facilities

	Sun	John	Min-su	Jeny	Sam	Jung
	Native speaker (NS), Korean teacher (KT), English conversation (EC), Korea (K), Grammar (G), Korean language (KL), English (E)					
Private tutoring	No	8 to 10 times by a fluent speaker of EC	No	Jeny in K: From 6 th to 7 th , 2 times a week for 2 hours a day, G by a KT	No	No
				Jeny in the U.S.: For 1 year, 2 times a week for 1 hour a day, TOEFL by a NS		
Private language institute		1 and a half years from 7 th to 8 th in Korea. EC from a NS		Jeny: From 1 st to 6 th Grammar, Structure, school English	Sam: From 1 to 3 times a week for 2 hours a day, G by a KT, EC by a NS	For 2 years from 5 to 7 years old for the KL.
				Jimmy: During 4 th for 6-7 months, Intensive E course, 3 times a week for 3 hours a day, G by a KT, EC by a NS. During 4 th for 7-8 months, Movie Script	No	
Worksheets		2 or 3 years from 1 st to 3 rd in Korea, Phonics		Jeny: From 1 st before coming to the U.S.	No	
				Jimmy: For 2 nd Inconsistently		
Influence on SLA & parental perspective	Unsure of positive effect for private language institute or tutoring if the instructor is an expert and parents' concern go together.	Reduced negative feeling on the new language, culture, and people. Rapid reading, Quick adaptation		Jeny: No difficulty regarding SLA in the U.S. Far exceeded American peers. Participation in various school activities. Easily made American Friends. Private English education by a KT spoils a native-like accent.	Can remove awkward mood regarding Culture & people rather than English language. Easily communicate with American peers.	
				Jimmy: Struggled for the first six months due to language barrier.		

Category V: Parent-Child Interaction through Socialization and Acculturation

This section covers the efforts each family has made for their children's socialization and acculturation and how these two factors may have affected their development in Korea and in the U.S. First, I will define the two terms. In the current study, *socialization* is defined as parents' efforts to expose their children to friends, relatives, and other people and facilities around them. For example, birthday parties, family get-togethers, movies or concerts, and community activities can be included in these efforts. Actually, socialization and acculturation are inseparable. However, in this study I limit *acculturation* to parents' efforts to help their children acquire cultural knowledge through trips at home and abroad, visits to or invitations from foreign families, movie watching which introduces various cultural factors, and so forth. In practical terms, these two factors sometimes overlap because children can be socialized through acculturation.

Socialization and Acculturation in Sun's Family

When I asked what efforts had been exerted to help Sun's socialization and acculturation in Korea and in the U.S., Sun's mother had a very casual response. She stated that she did not need to exert any effort to make Sun social or socialized in Korea because she was born social. All that she did for Sun's acculturation was go to the movies, which Sun enjoyed. She said once a month she took her to the movie theater, and they watched movies at home every day. She said she had to calm her daughter down because she had a social, talkative, and active personality (the effect of children's personality is covered in the

section on Category VIII). She also said that this type of personality was restricted by teachers and adults in Korea. However, it seems that Sun's sociability and talkativeness were not considered problems in the U.S. even though these characteristics had been viewed negatively by Korean teachers and adults. Sun's American teachers praised her active participation and outgoing behavior, encouraging instead of restricting these personality traits.

Socialization and Acculturation in John's Family

Before participating in the individual interview for the current study, these parents were not conscious of goals associated with their efforts to take their children to the concerts, movies, or plays; they did not connect these activities with the concepts of socialization and acculturation but rather saw them as naturally and closely related to their daily lives. When asked about their children's activities in Korea, John's parents said that they participated in the church Sunday school and Bible study every week:

We didn't belong to a specific social group in Korea. However, we went to church every Sunday. Every Wednesday, the church had a program for children, so they participated in that program regularly for a couple of years. Many relatives lived near my house, so families frequently got together with their children.

They also took lessons in sports (Tae Kwon Do), dance (ballet), and music (piano). In addition to John's parents' efforts, the kindergarten program played an important role in their children's socialization, taking them on various cultural

places for field trips and allowing them to participate in various activities. Besides that, John's aunt used to take John and Mary to concerts, movies, and plays because John's parents had full-time jobs as a professor and a librarian, which made it difficult to spend time arranging their children's socio-cultural experiences in Korea.

When asked what efforts they had exerted to help with their children's socialization in the U.S., they connected socialization to school activities. They said that in the U.S., socialization could be achieved through activities provided by the school rather than through family influence, because their children were willing to participate in almost all activities at school, from sports to music to book clubs. I also asked them if there had been out-of-school activities for socialization and acculturation such as movies, exhibitions, trips abroad, going to American church, visiting foreigners, and so forth. John's father talked about family trips in this respect:

Our family has taken trips to eastern regions of America. We went to New York for three nights and four days. We went to Niagara Falls, Washington, Philadelphia, Gettysburg, Luray Cavern, etc. In addition, whenever I went to a conference, I took my family along. We went to West Virginia and North California University. I wanted them to experience culture rather than English because they had few chances to speak to native speakers during the trips.

Jeny's mother said, "The trip to California made my children knowledgeable regarding cultures around California, which drew their interest and facilitated their

understanding in social studies.” Generally, they believe that their children’s experiences with native speakers on trips abroad facilitated their adaptation to culture rather than their English.

Socialization and Acculturation in Minsu’s Family

As seen in the previous sections on Minsu’s family, Minsu’s parents seemed to find solutions for their children’s literacy within the family rather than by depending on facilities or programs out of home. For socialization at home, Minsu’s parents provided frequent opportunities for their children to talk to or send e-mails to relatives in Korea. They also involved their children in family events such as relatives’ birthday parties. In addition, they had their children attend Sunday school and church services regularly. For acculturation abroad, Minsu’s mother said that her children had the opportunity to stay in the Philippines for two months when their family went there due to her husband’s business. Minsu and Minhee were sent to kindergarten and came to experience different cultures and the local language there.

However, in the U.S., like John’s family, they had their children join various activities at school and in the community such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, orchestra, band, and various sports. Minsu’s mother said her children frequently invited American peers over and were invited to their birthday parties. Although Minsu’s family went to American church in the U.S., Minsu’s mother does not think that churchgoing had an influence on her children’s socialization because there were few of her children’s peers at church. In addition to their participation

in various activities and churchgoing, she said that her children felt very comfortable in making friends with their American peers due to their outgoing personalities. She said they often talked on the phone and attended sleepovers once a month in American homes.

Regarding the effect of acculturation on SLA, she thought that frequent access to foreign cultures provided a beneficial influence on children's SLA because their prior experiences in foreign environments helped to reduce their culture shock later in the host country.

Socialization and Acculturation in Jeny's Family

When asked what efforts Jeny's parents have exerted to help their children to be socialized and acculturated in Korea and in the U.S., Jeny's mother related this question to the special features of the area they lived in Seoul. According to her, her children had more opportunities to be exposed to foreign cultural events in Seoul than in this small American town. She said that Seoul is an area where all the international cultures are represented, and that among them, the American culture is dominant due to the importance of English as a global language. However, more cultural events do not always mean more exposure to them because there are many people who are indifferent to such events for various reasons. Jeny's parents must be among those who made best use of the advantages offered by the capital city regarding their children's acculturation. Jeny's mother intentionally exposed her daughter to these opportunities by frequently taking her to exhibitions, plays, movies, and various

events held in Seoul. However, regarding Jimmy's acculturation, she said her son's reluctance to go such events caused him to have relatively fewer opportunities than his sister. As compared with other children in other families, she conceded that even her son probably had more frequent opportunities.

Regarding socialization, Jeny's family seemed to take full advantage of the locality. In addition to the cultural events offered in Seoul, Jeny's mother exerted efforts toward her daughter's socialization and acculturation by utilizing a facility in her village. According to her, there was a big church near her house, and she made Jeny participate in most events provided by the church. It seems that Jeny's mother exposed Jeny to the church events not for Christianity but for socialization since she is not a Christian. When asked how often her children were exposed to social and cultural experiences in Korea, she said they went to the movies once a week and enjoyed other experiences, so they had more opportunities than the children in other families.

When asked about socialization and acculturation in the U.S., Jeny's mother related these to the children's ability to speak English. According to her, those who have more fluency in English tend to join social and cultural activities with more enthusiasm here than in the host country.

In America, my daughter is willing to join as many social events as she can until she feels exhausted. Her positive and willing participation seems to originate from complex factors: her confidence in English and her knowledge of music and other subjects, which were acquired in Korea.

However, she stated that her son has been less socialized in the U.S. due to his quiet personality and low fluency in English. She stated:

My son only makes friends with his Korean peers. His lack of knowledge of English and his quiet personality seem to make it hard for him to contact American peers, and he feels less confident at school as compared with his sister.

Among the participants, Jeny's parents seem to be the ones who made the best use of the opportunities available for their children's acculturation. She said her husband tried hard to help their children experience foreign cultures through travel, so they went to New Zealand and Australia for two weeks while living in Korea. Later, in the U.S., to overcome the restrictions of living in a small town, they turned their eyes to other states of the U.S. and traveled to many states during their children's vacations. She said, "The longest trip lasted a month or so to look around the western region of America." From her statement, it can be deduced that Jeny's parents have made great efforts to enrich their children's socialization and acculturation. Although the locality of Seoul and their family finances were favorable for Jeny and Jimmy's socialization and acculturation, they would not have enjoyed these social and cultural experiences at home and abroad without considerable parental effort and concern.

Socialization and Acculturation in Sam's Family

When asked what efforts they have made to help their children's socialization and acculturation progress both in Korea and in the U.S., Sam's

mother said she and her husband did nothing special for their children's socialization in Korea. She said she actively participated in the PTA (Parent-Teacher Association), since she believed that her close relationship with the teachers and school might influence her son's confidence when interacting with his teachers and peers. She also said her family frequently took trips to almost all attractions in Korea, which she believed accustomed her children (especially Sam) to Korean local cultures and foods. However, she conceded that no particular effort was taken for her children's exposure to foreign cultures in Korea. However, in America, Sam's family seemed to have made more efforts to assist their children in socialization and acculturation. She said Sam saw new movies with his American friends whenever they were shown in the theater. Besides going to movies, his father, who was in the M.A. TESOL program, sometimes invited international students to their house which she said helped reduce her children's awkwardness with foreigners.

Meanwhile, her younger son Tom made friends with an American boy living in the same apartment complex. She said American peers seemed to have the greatest influence on Tom's fluent speaking and native-like accent as well as on his socialization and acculturation through outdoor play, watching TV and playing computer games indoors, and a family friendship between the American family and their own. They frequently took trips to eastern and western regions in America, utilizing the children's vacations just as John's and Jeny's families did in the U.S.

Socialization and Acculturation in Jung's Family

Jung's mother's response regarding her only child's socialization and acculturation in Korea and in the U.S. was similar to that of Sun's mother. When parents have a very social and active child, it seems that they do not feel they need to make much effort to assist his or her socialization. Due to Jung's active and talkative personality, she stated that she had to restrict her son's sociability since he was sometimes unable to control himself at school and in public places, both in Korea and in the U.S. In America, she provided Jung with many opportunities to participate in various activities such as swimming, soccer, and ice skating at least once a week. However, the family's reason for Jung's participation in these activities was different from that of other parents. She revealed that her son joined many activities not for socialization but as a means for release of his fully-charged energy level.

When asked if Jung had been exposed to cultural events, Jung's mother's response sounded similar to that of Jeny's mother, who came from Seoul, the capital city of Korea:

In Korea, I used to take him to the city educational center on a monthly basis to show him musicals, plays, and movies. However, in the U.S., I cannot provide him with many opportunities to join such cultural events because of our location, where fewer cultural programs for children are provided when compared with those in Seoul.

Jung's mother provided Jung with many opportunities to experience new and foreign cultures through family trips. She said her trips for Jung's

acculturation started when he was three years old. Over the years, she has accompanied Jung on her trips in Korea and in the U.S. She said, “We have been to New York, Hawaii, Chicago, Canada, Boston, Harvard, Yale, MIT, Washington, D.C., Columbia, Brazil, and so forth.” In considering the relationship between acculturation via trips and children’s SLA, she held the view that her children’s travel experiences would create memories and be of great help for their SLA in the future. She explained:

Although my son was too young to express what he learned via trips in Korea, he seems to be aware of cultural differences among the countries and states that he has visited; this shows up in his participation in class discussions in the U.S. as he has grown.

When asked what social groups or organizations she belonged to in Korea and what influence those social groups had on Jung’s SLA, she said she didn’t belong to any specific social group in Korea. However, in the U.S, she lived with other Korean families in a house for a year before becoming independent. She said her house was the center of the community, attracting frequent visits from Korean students and families. She reflected on those days, suggesting that her son’s contacts with other children may have affected his English, even though the gatherings were specifically attended by Korean friends:

It seemed that people got together two or three times a week at my house.

They brought their children along, and my son was surrounded by other

children all the time. Children who were exposed to English for a long time frequently used English, which must have influenced my son's SLA.

In addition to getting together at her house, she said she and her child went to a Korean church every Sunday and joined the Bible study every Friday evening, and that an American Bible teacher came to her house every Saturday morning. She believed that her son's socialization through Korean kids speaking English in her house, a center for community gatherings, had a great influence on his SLA by breaking down language barriers during the period when his English had not developed yet. Through the individual interview and participant observation, I also noticed that Jung's English seemed to have improved greatly during a short period of time as compared with that of other children.

Table 8 summarizes the data through parent-child interaction through socialization and acculturation.

Table 8

Summary of Data Description for Category V: Parent-Child Interaction through Socialization and Acculturation

	Sun	John	Minsu	Jeny	Sam	Jung
Period	Before kindergarten to present	Before kindergarten to present	Before kindergarten to present	Before kindergarten to present	Before kindergarten to present	Before kindergarten to present
Types						
Movie theaters	Regularly, once a month	Inconsistently	Inconsistently	Very frequently Inconsistently	Inconsistently	Inconsistently
Concerts, musicals, plays	Rarely	Frequently by children's aunt	Inconsistently	Very frequently Inconsistently	Inconsistently	Regular, Once a month,
American school	Many activities	Many activities	Many activities	Many activities Reluctant	Many activities	Many activities
Travel in the home country	Rarely	Rarely except for kindergarten field trips	Sometimes	Sometimes	Regularly to find attractions foods	Frequently since 3 years old
Travel in the host country	Rarely except for visits to aunt's home	Frequently for vacations: East, West, south of U.S., father's conferences	Frequently for vacations: East, West, south of U.S.	Frequently for vacations: East, West, south of U.S.	Frequently for vacations: East, West, south of U.S.	Frequently for vacations: East, West, south of U.S.
Church	In the U.S. Regularly, Sunday service, Bible Study, Sunday School	In Korea Regularly, Sunday service, Bible Study, Sunday School	In Korea Regularly, Sunday service, Bible Study, Sunday School,	In Korea Join most Church events In the U.S.: Inconsistently Inconsistently	In the U.S. Regularly, Sunday service, Bible Study, Sunday School,	In the U.S. Regularly, Sunday service, Bible Study, Sunday School
Get-together with relatives and other families	Rarely	In Korea frequently to visit relatives	In Korea frequently to visit relatives In the U.S., Frequently Friends. Exchanges cards, e-mail, and letter with relatives.	The host country does not always provide rich environment for its culture.	Frequently In Korea & in the U.S. In the U.S. Frequently Friends & Korean people Sometimes International students	The host country does not always provide rich environment for its culture.
Influence on SLA Parents' perspectives	No positive influence	Facilitate adaptation to culture and study	Beneficial effect on SLA	Beneficial effect on SLA	Facilitate adaptation to culture	Beneficial effect on SLA

Category VI: Perspectives on Early English Education

In this section, I cover specific strategies mentioned in other sections; however, at this point, the goal is to relate these to the notion of age—that is, to report the family’s views on the importance of early experience with the language.

Sun’s Mother’s Perspectives on Early English Education

When I asked about the influence of age on children’s SLA, Sun’s mother’s responses were very positive, reflecting her daughter’s early exposure to English in Korea and in the U.S. Sun came to the U.S. as soon as she completed her first semester of first grade in Korea. Here, she entered first grade again. Due to her age and her personality, Sun was not self-conscious when she talked to peers and teachers or to the people in the mall or at the local super-center. Sun’s mother said:

My daughter did not seem aware of others’ stares and thoughts regarding her English. She actively approached American peers and teachers at school without feeling ashamed in spite of her awkward English when we first arrived in the U.S. She consistently asked questions and responded to others. Even when we went to the local super-center, she asked the people there questions.

Sun’s mother said that Sun seemed more self conscious now at the age of 11, although she speaks English with a native-like accent and fluency. She described her general perspective on the effect of early English education as *the earlier, the better*. Regarding the question of how early English education for Sun affected

her SLA in the U.S., Sun's mother stated that: (1) Sun adapted to the American culture and language within a few months; and that (2) she could speak native-like English with the same fluency as her peers within a year without feeling pressured in her studies. However, she emphasized that the progress in her daughter's English resulted not only from her age at arrival, but also from various additional factors; mother-child interaction through reading English books and listening to audio-visual materials starting in infancy, her active and talkative personality, and her aunt's direct instruction right after her joining the mainstream.

John's Parents' Perspectives on Early English Education

John's mother stated that it is very important for children to learn the basic concepts of English when they are young. She said her children were exposed to the sounds of English at an early age, and they also acquired the basic concepts of English through worksheets with audio tapes in Korea. She believes that such long-lasting training and repetition through worksheets were of great help for her children's early adaptation to the sounds of English, aiding listening comprehension rather than speaking. John's mother spent much time in parent-child interaction through worksheets, unlike other parents who depended on a tutor visiting on a weekly basis to practice with the worksheets. She believes that her children's early adaptation to the sounds of English reduced their resistance to the speaking of English, which facilitated their adaptation to study and to the school environment in the U.S.

However, John's father's perspective on early English education is rather different from his wife's. He thinks early English education in Korea barely affects SLA, except for an improvement in a child's English accent. Instead, he argued for the effect of early exposure to English through various experiences with foreigners. He stated that his children's opportunity to meet foreigners through a private language institute and private tutoring as well as on trips helped them quickly adapt to the American culture and people by reducing their strangeness when they arrived in their new surroundings. He stated conclusively that for early English education to have a desirable effect, various additional factors should be combined. Rather than overemphasizing the effect of age on SLA, he said that the child's individual study attitudes, personality, parental concern, and feedback from adults should also be considered as relevant factors along with early exposure to English.

Minsu's Parents' Perspectives on Early English Education

Minsu's family came here in August, 2004 when his mother began work on her doctoral degree. Minsu was nine years old, and his younger sister, Minhee, was seven years old. Minsu's parents believe in *the younger, the better* regarding SLA. Especially, Minsu's mother thinks that their family was fortunate because they were able to provide their children with the opportunity to study abroad before puberty. In puberty, according to her, children become very sensitive in many ways, and they become self-conscious in front of others, feeling guilty and ashamed when they make mistakes. She also observed that the children of

single mothers or those living in dormitories or with host families must feel severe isolation and emotional difficulty originating from the difference in culture, difference in language, and the separation from close friends and family. Since these difficulties are also more pronounced at puberty, she again felt that it was best for children to arrive in their host country at a younger age.

Regarding psychological conflicts during adolescence, she cited the problems that may arise from the family's separation. She stated that if children at puberty or adolescent age cannot get any psychological advice from their parents, close friends, or relatives speaking the same language, it is more likely that they will suffer severe psychological confusion and disorder. She added again that a father's influence is very important, especially for boys, because fathers can give a great deal of help and advice to their adolescent children based on their own experiences as men. She said puberty is the time when children establish their beliefs and philosophies of life. Living abroad without a parent, especially at that age, can lead such children to develop a very extreme, negative, or sometimes distorted perspective about life and other people.

Minsu's mother's story reminded me very much of my own experience. I came to the U.S. for my doctoral degree with my two sons and without their father, because he had to support us with his work in Korea—my older son was 14 and his younger brother was nine years old at that time. We call such fathers *orphan fathers*, as described earlier. If someone asks me what was most difficult about studying abroad with my sons as a single mother, without hesitation I would say that witnessing my adolescent child's psychological confusion and

conflict was the hardest of all. Life with an adolescent son struggling with emotional turmoil can lead to a similar degree of emotional conflict for a single mother when the child is isolated from his peers and adults of his own gender.

Minsu's mother divided the effect of age on SLA into three categories; very young children, children before puberty, and adolescents after puberty. Despite her belief that language acquisition proceeds most smoothly at young ages, she cautioned about the need to establish a solid grounding in their own culture before approaching a new one:

I felt lucky that my children were able to come to the U.S. before puberty.

During puberty, I think everything might seem strange and hard to them.

But if children are too young, I think the early age might cause them to learn English so fast that their Korean language and culture are destroyed.

Therefore, I think the age when children know their own traditions and culture is better than too early an age of exposure or exposure after puberty.

Generally, she agreed with the view of SLA, stating *the earlier, the better*.

However, she disagreed with very early exposure to the host country for English, warning that this can cause loss of identity, emotional trauma, or psychological confusion. I wanted to know her perspectives regarding her children's early English education in Korea. She repeated her cautionary words about bringing in English too precipitously into a young child's life:

I exposed my children to English when they were young because I thought they had to be accustomed to the sounds of English.

However, parents have to avoid emphasizing English more than our own language, culture, and tradition. Too great an emphasis on English seems to make children's identity weaken, their emotions unstable, and their culture subject to the foreign one. What matters regarding English is not to force them to blindly pursue it but to show parental love and concern for what the children are doing.

To summarize her perspective on early English education, she felt that parents have to approach children's SLA with a belief that learning another language and the cultures connected to it is more beneficial for children living in this multi-cultural world, rather than implanting an English-only or English-is-everything perspective in their children's minds.

Since early English education has been a very controversial issue in Korea for a long time, I asked for her opinion regarding the national policy regarding SLA. She said that learning English should not be perceived as simply the mastery of a spoken language, since it also involves issues of identity. Thus, she argued that early English education should not be mandatory, but should be something that is flexible. She also argued that early exposure is important, but the valuing of education generally has to precede English education. She stated that in her opinion, parents must instruct their children to have independent and flexible values rather than forcing them to hold a one-sided view of English and the host country: namely that English can solve everything.

Jeny's Parents' Perspectives on Early English Education

Parental perspectives on early English education seem to change depending on educational settings. When children are exposed to English in Korea (an EFL setting) at an early age, parents do not seem to be convinced of the positive result of their efforts because it takes so long for them to see results. Jeny's mother described her experience of Jeny's early exposure to English in Korea:

I believe that I felt skeptical about early English education through my experiences with my daughter because I could not see quick results. Thus, my philosophy and belief regarding English education began to shift from favoring early English education to delaying until the children want it.

However, in the U.S (an ESL setting), Jeny's early adaptation to the American culture and school system as well as to English changed her skeptical view on early English education into a positive one. What is more, her son's slow adaptation to life with his American peers, academics, and the English language, when compared with his sister's progress, made her believe that her efforts to promote her daughter's early English education had been correct. She revealed that she now regrets not encouraging her son's interest in English earlier in Korea. Based on her own experience as a mother with two children studying abroad and a teacher who encountered many students who left school for study abroad, she summarized her views on children's English education this way:

Starting English before children speak and read their mother tongue, early and without parental concern for and parallel education in their first

language, may not be a good idea because English should be learned after children acquire their own culture and language.

This statement by Jeny's mother recalls the very similar position taken by Minsu's mother and reflects a general sense of skepticism among the participant families with regard to early English education.

When asked about her perspective on the concept *the earlier, the better*, she emphasized that early exposure to the sounds of English is important, but that earlier in general does not always mean better. She argued that when children can read Korean and show interest in English, this is an optimum time for English education to begin. She revealed that her daughter's Korean language adaptation was so fast that she could speak and read it when she was three years old. Therefore, she noticed that her daughter had excellent language aptitude, which convinced her that Jeny could learn English as a second language at an early age.

One important point that should not be overlooked among her statements is her belief that the degree of children's SLA corresponds to that of the parents' concern and efforts to help their children achieve it. For example, she believes that her small degree of effort and less concern for her son's SLA, compared with that of her older daughter, was a factor in making his adaptation to English and the American culture much slower than his sister's.

Jeny's mother's perspectives on early English education can be summarized in four points: (1) Children should be exposed to English not as a study but as a form of play; (2) Earlier does not always mean better; (3) Early

English education must be accompanied by consistent parental concern; and (4) A child's interest and language aptitude should be considered in plans for early English education.

When asked to tell stories or episodes regarding early English education at her school or with her neighbors in Korea, she spoke about a child whom she had met at a private language institute. Her story reveals how important it is for parents to have the right perspective on early English education:

I saw a child hiding under the table in a private language institute, refusing to receive the early English education enforced by his parents. Many parents in Korea force their children to receive early English education because they are afraid of their children being left behind in competition if they do not receive it. Not only is it hard to instruct those resistant children in English, but also such parents will not achieve the desired result regarding their children's SLA.

When asked how children are exposed to English in Korea, she said that children have easy access to English education and English courses in the private language institutes, which are divided depending on the children's individual levels and skills in English (speaking, listening, writing, and reading). However, she stated that parents and children often do not achieve the desired results considering the money and time invested for their children's SLA, since English is not used outside the class in an EFL setting. Finally, she noted that parents sometimes decide to send their children to host countries such as

America, Australia, or Canada (to an ESL setting) when they reach fourth or fifth grade. Commenting on this trend, she said:

When I was taking charge of those grades as an elementary school teacher in Korea, I saw at least seven or eight children in my class leave school for early study abroad or for emigration for their English education. They usually went to America or Canada, especially since the 2002 Korea and Japan World Cup. Four or five children in grades two or three left Korea to experience foreign cultures and customs with their parents, using their summer or winter vacation. It is a trend for Korean children to study abroad when they are fourth or fifth graders and to come back to Korea right before their entrance to middle school.

She came from the area called Kangnam in Seoul, where early English education and early study abroad are the most hotly debated. Her story demonstrates the competitive educational situation regarding English in Seoul. Considering that my sons were the only students in their schools who went abroad for SLA in my town in 2004, I realize how pronounced the gap is between local areas and the capital city regarding SLA and parents' perspectives on this issue.

Sam's Parents' Perspectives on Early English Education

Sam's father was an English teacher in Korea. According to Sam's mother, her husband had seen many students fail English courses in spite of their early exposure to the language. She said his experiences with students at school

influenced his perspective on early English education, which was reflected in his son's English education:

My husband is an English teacher, so he tries not to burden our children.

He wants our children to be gradually exposed to English as a form of play and fun rather than forced them into cramming education which ignores children's excitement and interest.

She went on to reflect on her husband's views on early English education. With a teacher's insight, her husband seems to believe that the children who are exposed to English early in Korea appear to do well in English before secondary school. However, there is no big difference among adolescent peers, in spite of early exposure to English, possibly because the effort these students have made decides whether they succeed or fail at English from senior high on.

I agree with this last comment, since I also have seen many such cases in Korea as an English teacher. Parents can provide their children with expensive study materials and private tutoring, or send them to expensive language institutes for SLA, but it is hard for parents to monitor and check their children's progress consistently over time. In particular, the student's own determination and motivation would seem to come into play increasingly by the secondary school years.

Sam's mother revealed that when her husband considered study abroad, they put as much weight on their children's English education as on his master's degree as factors in their decision. She also stated that although they were not sure of their decision when newly arrived in the U.S., they now think they were

right because of their children's quick adaptation to the American school system and American culture. The following statement describes her satisfaction with American education overall rather than English learned in Korea specifically:

If my children had been in Korea, they might not have experienced the education which makes them relaxed and free compared to that of Korea.

In Korea, children feel so stressed due to extra curricular lessons for English, math, and other various skills outside school as well as formal curricula at school.

According to her, the social climate in Korea causes parents to follow other families' examples regardless of their own children's interests and aptitude. Thus, she raises a concern that became a recurring one in this study, citing the level of stress associated with Korea's highly competitive environment. She revealed that she and her husband may not be much different from other parents once they return to Korea because she feels it would be difficult to ignore the prevalent mass psychology regarding SLA.

Jung's Mother's Perspectives on Early English Education

When asked how age affects children's SLA, Jung's mother said that study at an early age positively affects SLA, based on her own experience with her son. She particularly emphasized the effect of age when children are exposed to English in the host country rather than in Korea. Like Sun's and Jeny's mother, she believes exposure to English at an early age helps children to

reduce shyness and fear when they encounter foreigners at school and in the community. She said:

My son came to the U.S. when he was seven years old, and he was immersed into the mainstream as a first grader, which I think must have reduced his fear and shyness in terms of English and relationships with people. If he had been exposed to the host country in grade three or four, he might have felt ashamed and fearful about making mistakes in front of peers and teachers. Instead, he has the courage to talk to peers and respond to others without any hesitation and fear because he is young.

She brought up a common theme when she reflected on the dominating social atmosphere in Korea, which demands that children be exposed to English at an early age. She feels that this societal bias has led to a mass psychology which urges parents to follow the prevalent social norm regarding English rather than to formulate their own philosophy. Therefore, she added, children who are even younger than her son are exposed to English in various ways, such as worksheet programs or English-only kindergarten, which costs \$700 or \$800 a month. Some attend kindergartens which provide English programs conducted by native speakers of English. Finally, some children go to a private language institute or receive private tutoring. In contrast to these, she spoke in favor of early immersion in a host country. She said that her son's four months in the U.S. seemed more effective in improving listening and speaking when compared with the progress made by his peers in Korea who have been exposed to English for four years:

I came to America not only for my master's degree but also for my son's English education. In Korea, the heated competition and concern about children's English is beyond description. Almost every kid in the big city starts English education at four or five years old or earlier. However, it's hard to say that those children acquire the amount of knowledge of English that correspond to the time and money spent on early education. Regarding the benefits of early exposure to English in the host country, she said that she believes children can acquire colloquial and pragmatic English faster at an early age because schooling in the early grades mostly consists of play rather than academic knowledge. It follows that she would favor an ESL setting for children's early SLA since it allows them to acquire English in a natural atmosphere at school with a minimum of academic stress. However, she does not view the EFL setting as a negative one if a similar environment for SLA is provided. She viewed the two problems regarding English in an EFL setting as children's lack of exposure to English outside the class and the lack of qualified teaching professionals of English.

Table 9 summarizes the data regarding parental perspectives on early English education in each family.

Table 9

Summary of Data Description for Category VI: Perspectives on Early English Education

	Sun	John	Minsu	Jeny	Sam	Jung
	English (E), Korea (K), Early English Education (EEE), First language acquisition (FLA)					
Age at exposure to E in K	3 months old	4 years old	5 years old	18 months old, 1 st grade	1 st grade	2 or 3 years old
Age at exposure to E in the US	1 st grade	4 th grade 3 rd grade	3 rd grade 1 st grade	9 th grade 5 th grade	3 rd grade Head Start	1 st grade
Age influence on SLA in K	Invisible, long wait time to see the result	Invisible, long wait time to see the result	Invisible, long wait time to see the result	Invisible, long wait time to see the result	Invisible, no big difference	Invisible, long wait time to see the result
Age influence on SLA in the U.S.	Visible, native-like accent, fluency, quick adaptation, no shame	Early adaptation to school and culture by reducing culture shock and resistance to E.	Removing feeling guilty and ashamed regarding E.	Visible, native-like accent, fluency, quick adaptation without language barrier and culture shock	Visible, native-like accent, fluency, quick adaptation without language barrier and culture shock	Visible, positive effect, reduce shyness and fear, native-like accent, fluency
Parental perspective on EEE	<i>The earlier, the better.</i> EEE should go with parental concern.	<i>The earlier, the better</i> for sounds, Rarely produce fruits in K, have potential for SLA	Before puberty, but after FLA is proper.. EEE should go with parental concern.	Vague and skeptical about the effect of EEE in Korea. Positive effect of EEE in the U.S.	<i>The earlier, the better</i> in the U.S. for a native-like accent and fluency. Earlier makes no difference in Korea.	<i>The earlier, the better</i> in the U.S. Earlier is better when the similar environments are given.

Category VII: Background Knowledge

The influence of background knowledge on SLA was briefly mentioned in my discussion of Category II, relating it to the effect of direct instruction from family members. This section covers in detail the influence of background knowledge acquired in Korea and in the U.S. on children's SLA in the host

country. Since it is difficult to draw a clear line between English background and knowledge in content areas, this section will inevitably refer to factors like early English exposure; however, the goal here is to look at the interaction between language acquisition and development in more general content areas.

The Influence of Background Knowledge on SLA in Sun's Family

As described in the section on Category II, Sun was exposed to English by her mother since she was three months old in Korea. She was also exposed to intensive English education through her aunt's Spartan teaching methods for several months right after she arrived in the U.S. Regarding my question to what extent she feels that Sun's background knowledge supported her SLA in the U.S., she said that during the first few months, she could not see whether her reading for Sun in Korea was having a great influence on her SLA and schooling in the U.S., even though Sun's adaptation was very fast and she did not appear to have difficulty regarding English. However, Sun's mother did feel that her daughter's SLA and ability to solve problems regarding her studies increased almost one hundred percent after her aunt's direct instruction (more details regarding direct instruction by Sun's aunt was covered in Category II).

As an English instructor at a private language institute in Korea and a mother raising a daughter in the U.S., she had a perspective on background knowledge of English and other subjects regardless of where the knowledge was obtained. On the subject of study in general, she held not only the view *the more, the better*, but also *the earlier, the better*. She believes that students who are

highly successful in English do better in other areas at school, since they can spend more time and energy on other areas, thanks to the time spared and the reduced stress regarding English. However, she emphasized that parental concern should go parallel with children's early exposure to English and other knowledge in order to get more desirable effects.

The Influence of Background Knowledge on SLA in John's Family

When asked about the relationship between background knowledge acquired in Korea and SLA in the U.S., John's parents answered this question, relating this issue to children's academic success in the host country:

The period of exposure to host countries does not seriously matter, although it cannot be deniable that earlier exposure helps a child to acquire a native-like accent. However, accent does not mean everything regarding SLA. Accent is just one part of English. For those exposed when older, their knowledge acquired in Korea can be a basis for their academics in the host countries. Their previous knowledge facilitates the process and speed of knowledge acceptance in the U.S. once children's English reaches a certain level to study in an American class.

Thus, John's parents argued for a positive relationship between knowledge acquired in Korea and SLA in the host country; they presented examples based on their experiences: (1) Their son began to have confidence in math after he felt confidence in English, seemingly because he could apply his knowledge acquired in Korea to solve narrative math problems written in English, which

would have been difficult when his English was not developed during the beginning stage of his stay in the U.S.; (2) Their children's knowledge of phonics seemed to reduce their rejection of English, working as a 'shock absorber' in the transition to school in the U.S. They believed this early training also helped facilitate their children's reading of books more than their speaking; and (3) Their prior knowledge of other fields such as science and history facilitated their understanding of those subjects in American schools.

I asked how their children had acquired background knowledge in other fields and how such knowledge has affected their study in mainstream classes. They took science as an example:

Our son has subscribed to newsletters online for three years. He put his name on the mailing list for a science magazine published by the Korean Science Institute on a weekly basis. Through reading those newsletters, he seems to be building his knowledge of science. My daughter also subscribed to the same magazine on her brother's recommendation. The knowledge accrued through these articles facilitates their understanding in science class in spite of the difficult scientific terms in the English texts.

I asked about the relationship between background knowledge of English acquired in Korea and SLA in the host country. John's mother said that their children's reading comprehension of some English books seemed to occur rapidly when they had read the translated version of the books in Korea. However, she confessed that she had no strong belief about the connection between L1 reading and L2 acquisition before they came to the U.S. Rather, she

seemed only to possess a vague belief that consistently reading books to her children might provide the potential for SLA in the future.

John's father distinguished the effects of background knowledge acquired in Korea and in the U.S. He said that if his children had been in Korea, his wife's consistent reading of books to them would not have influenced their SLA or facilitated their English reading comprehension that much, as compared to the benefits of this activity in the host country. Still, in addition to mother-child reading, he said his son had obtained a considerable background in science, world history, and common sense through reading books in Korea. He argued that the knowledge they acquired in Korea must have had a great influence on their children's study and SLA in the host country.

The Influence of Background Knowledge on SLA in Minsu's Family

When Minsu's family came to the U.S., their older son's English level was similar to that of my younger son. In contrast with Minsu and Minhee, who are fluent in English and participate in various activities at school and in the community, my younger son still feels uncomfortable when speaking English. I cannot conclude that my younger son's long silent period is due to non-exposure to English in Korea or to a lack of background knowledge in English. Except that my son did not experience book reading or formal instruction at home in Korea, there are many similarities between my family and Minsu's. However, Minsu's and my son's English levels appear very different, especially when speaking. What then could have caused the big difference? I explored the differences

between the two children based on their background knowledge. When the children in our families were first immersed into the mainstream, their English proficiency seemed similar for the first six months to a year; Minsu's mother revealed that her children also had to struggle with English during that period of time. Minsu's mother reflected on her feelings about her children's difficulty experienced in those days:

I thought I should have paid more attention to their L2 literacy in Korea.

They could only write the English alphabet when they came to the U.S.

For the first six months to a year, they seemed to have psychological difficulty rather than just low general achievement at school. I think their basic academic level was similar to that of their American peers. I thought

I should have encouraged them to take English lessons in Korea when I saw the psychological stress originating from their lack of English fluency.

Just as I did, Minsu's mother also must have worried during her children's silent period in the U.S. She confessed that her children seemed to stay silent for 6 months, and she assumed from their statements that they could not understand what their teachers and peers said for the first six months. She connected their problems with their possible weakness in background knowledge in English and other areas. As soon as Minsu's parents noticed their children's difficulty in their studies, their father decided to become involved in their studies and SLA. He continued his direct instruction of English grammar, reading, and writing for a year during which time, according to Minsu's mother, the children acquired considerable knowledge of English. She believes strongly that her children's

background knowledge acquired through their father's direct instruction in the U.S., has been of great help to support their children's academics at school. She also believes that when their children acquired a certain level of English knowledge with the help of their father's direct instruction and the exposure to the mainstream, their background knowledge acquired by reading books began to function as a facilitator for their understanding of the texts and teacher's instruction, having a synergistic effect. Basically, they see a mutually reinforcing relationship between language development and progress in academic studies.

The Influence of Background Knowledge on SLA in Jeny's Family

Recall that Jeny is the child who has the most knowledge of English and fluency in speaking among the students in the local Korean community. Her native-like accent and fluency surprised the Korean community, and even impressed her American peers and teachers. When asked what perspectives Jeny's parents have regarding the relationship between background knowledge of English acquired in Korea and SLA in the U.S, Jeny's mother said:

In the early stage of SLA in the U.S., I was not quite sure that her early English education in Korea had much influence on her SLA in America. It seems that she had some difficulties for a month, not due to language, but due to the shifts in culture and environment. It took a month for her to adapt to the new culture, school, and friends rather than to English. She had no difficulty in doing her projects and assignments, to say nothing of

her studies while at school. She solved her problems regarding English and schooling independently.

Her knowledge of English and other areas, acquired through early exposure to English and consistent reading, began to positively influence her academics once she adapted to the American school system and culture.

In contrast with Jeny's quick adaptation and academic success, Jimmy made slow progress regarding English and cultural adaptation. Their mother attributed Jimmy's slow adaptation to late and inconsistent exposure to English in Korea. She confessed:

His lack of English knowledge made it hard for him for the first six months. He did not seem to understand anything regarding English in class, which made him unable to use his background knowledge to assist him in other areas.

After watching his son's struggle for the first six months, Jimmy's father decided to become involved in his English acquisition. He used a Spartan teaching method to help Jimmy improve his English during the summer vacation. Jimmy's mother revealed that her husband's intensive teaching of English grammar and his attention to his son's vocabulary at home helped Jimmy increase his knowledge of grammar, which somewhat reduced his resistance to English. She also considers exposure to the mainstream as a major factor that helped with her son's improvement regarding English. Jimmy's mother mentioned the supportive effect of background knowledge acquired in Korea, as had Minsu's mother in the previous section. According to her, after Jimmy's English reached a certain level,

allowing him to understand the texts and teachers at school, his knowledge of subjects learned in Korea began to be reflected in his studies in the U.S., helping him to further overcome the language barrier.

However, she responded rather negatively regarding English as a formal subject in Korean public schools. She said that formal English education at school starts in the third grade in Korea, but the school did not provide any special program for the children who were very advanced in English like her daughter. She argued that a child's personality and characteristics are more important than language itself in children's SLA. She believes that active, sociable children can easily adapt to the new environment, make new friends, and learn English quickly.

Her response indicated a very positive relationship between knowledge obtained by reading books in Korea and SLA or schooling, citing her daughter's experience as an example:

My daughter did not need to take private lessons or go to a private language institute for Korean literacy at school in Korea, thanks to her consistent reading. She was a top student in various events and tests in and out of school in Korean language and literature, including essay writing. Her Korean reading and the knowledge she derived from frequent reading seemed to facilitate the speed of her English acquisition. For example, her reading comprehension was very good because she had considerable knowledge in various subjects. In America, her knowledge of

various fields as well as English became a major factor in her quick adaptation to the mainstream.

The Influence of Background Knowledge on SLA in Sam's Family

When asked if her children's academic achievement at school and general knowledge acquired in Korea affected their SLA, Sam's mother discussed her older son's experience with foreign teachers in a private language institute in Korea. She believes that knowledge of English acquired in Korea facilitates children's adaptation to the new culture and environment, reducing culture shock and the child's resistance to English itself. She believed her son's contact with foreign teachers for two years in the private language institute helped to reduce his awkwardness and preconceptions when he encountered his American peers and teachers in the U.S.

When asked if English knowledge obtained through family help had an influence on SLA or schooling in the U.S., she was very cautious in responding because their children did not obtain much knowledge of English through their parents' help in Korea. This is because they are boys who preferred outgoing activities, and they were young before they came to the U.S. She said:

I might have thought that family support would have a great influence on children's SLA if my children had been in higher grades. However, my children were young when our family came to the U.S. So I am not sure

that exposure to English in Korea had an influence on my children's SLA in the U.S.

Based on her comments, I can assume that she may have felt subtle social pressure on this point, even though she and her husband have tried hard to respect their children's opinion and personality regarding English education.

The Influence of Background Knowledge on SLA in Jung's Family

When asked if her child's academic achievement and general knowledge acquired in Korea affected his SLA, Jung's mother said that she does not know about the relationship between academic background knowledge and SLA because her son came to the U.S. after only three months of exposure to the Korean elementary school. She was also very cautious in estimating the effect of English knowledge obtained in Korea on SLA in the U.S. because her son was not exposed to much English other than through movies or cartoons. She assumed that her support through mother-child reading of books in Korea and in the U.S. has helped her son's English reading comprehension in the U.S. She said that reading awakens interest in English and promotes children's motivation, and knowledge accrued through various types of family support can be a strong basis for children's academic success and SLA in the U.S., as it provides background knowledge in various subjects at school and facilitates their understanding.

Table 10 summarizes the data regarding each family's reported efforts to help their children accrue background knowledge for L1 and L2 literacy.

Table 10

Summary of Data Description for Category VII: Background Knowledge

	Sun	John	Minsu	Jeny	Sam	Jung
	Background Knowledge (BK), Korea (K), Grammar (G), English Conversation (EC), School English (SE), Vocabulary (V), Reading Comprehension (RC), Quick Adaptation (QA), Academic English (AE)					
Reading Korean books (RKB)	Regularly since 3 months old	Regularly since 2 or 3 years old	Regularly since 2 or 3 years old	Regularly since infancy Inconsistently since 3 years old	Occasionally	Regularly from 2 or 3 years old to 1 st grade
Reading English books (REB)	Regular since 3 months old	Occasionally	Regularly since 5 years old	Regularly since 18 months old Occasionally since 1 st grade		
Private tutoring (PT)	No	For 2 months in Korea for EC.	No	Regularly from 6 th grade to 7 th grade for G & SE No	No	No
Private language institute (PLI)	No	Regular from 1 st to 2 nd Regular during 1 st grade	No	Regularly from 1 st grade to 6 th grade for G Regularly during 4 th grade for G & EC	Regularly from 1 st grade to 3 rd grade for EC No	
English worksheets (EWS)		Regularly from 1 st grade to 3 rd grade for phonics. Regularly from 1 st grade to 2 nd grade for phonics.		Regularly from 1 st grade to 8 th grade for phonics and reading Inconsistently from 2 nd grade to 3 rd grade	No	No
Audio-visual tools (AVT)	Regularly for fun	Occasionally for fun	Occasionally for sounds	Regularly since infancy Occasionally for fun	Occasionally for fun Regularly for fun	
Direct instruction by family (DIF)				No For a year in the U.S. by father	No	No
Trips and events (TE)	Rarely	Frequently for culture	Frequently for culture	Frequently for culture		
Sources of BK (8)	KBR, EBR, AVT, DIF (4)	KBR, PLI, EWS, DIF, TE(5)	KBR, EBR, DIF, TE (4)	KBR, EBR, PT, PLI, EWS, AVT, TE (7) PLI, DIF, TE (3)	PLI, TE (2) AVT, TE (2)	KBR, EBR, AVT, TE (4)
Influence of BL on SLA	QA to everything	QA to sounds, difficulty for first 6 months	Difficulty for first 6 months in the U.S.	QA to everything Slow adaptation to E and culture	Difficulty for first 6 months in AE.	

Category VIII: Children's Personal Characteristics and Language Aptitude

Characteristics and Language Aptitude in Sun's Family

When asked what causes variation among children in SLA, Sun's mother differentiated SLA from school achievement. She argued that children's characteristics have a great influence on SLA, and children's positive, talkative, or other characteristics are likely to facilitate SLA, especially in terms of their spoken English. However, she stressed a now familiar issue namely that speaking fluency is different from academic success, although those two factors go together in many cases. According to her, Sun was so talkative and active that others called her "hyper." Finally, she said her daughter's consistent talking from morning to night might have great influence on her linguistic success in the U.S.

When asked how Sun responded to her American peers and teachers, Sun's mother said that her active and talkative personality caused her stress when she could not make herself understood in English. Rather than being depressed due to her lack of English, she would ask, "Mom, why don't my friends understand me when I speak?" She also said Sun wanted to talk about how she felt about things to her American peers, which surely motivated her to speak in English. Based on her experiences with her daughter, Sun's mother came to believe that children's characteristics play a very important role in their progress as speakers as they acquire a language.

Besides personality characteristics and language aptitude, she believes a child's age plays an important role in SLA as it relates to personality. According

to her, Sun seemed unaware of others' stares, and she actively approached her American peers and teachers at school without feeling ashamed about her awkward English when she first arrived in the U.S. Sun's mother believes that various factors go together to produce the best results regarding SLA: children's age, characteristics, language aptitude, and background knowledge.

Characteristics and Language Aptitude in John's Family

When asked what factors most influence children's SLA, John's father first pointed out language aptitude as a major factor. He believes that children are born with a talent for language, that is, an inborn sense. He distinguished fluency in English speaking from knowledge of English, arguing that:

The speed of spoken English (fast or slow) only shows the possibility of SLA, not the knowledge of it. The ability to express oneself precisely is more important than speaking fluently and imprecisely.

Regarding adaptation, he believes that John's rate of knowledge integration is much faster than that of his younger sister, Mary, because the background knowledge of English he acquired in Korea formed the basis for successful academics and SLA in the U.S. John's mother said that a child's social personality can be very beneficial for SLA because her daughter is very social, which seems to be of great help to her communication with American peers. Her son is less social and speaks less fluently. However, she said his lack of speaking fluency has not affected his academic ability, arguing that his sincere

and quiet personality has worked as a beneficial element for his academics. She stated:

John is very quiet and slow in speaking. In his studies, he is very patient and steady. He has a strong personality to investigate what he does not understand in class or in study at home. He has the personality to actively and voluntarily participate in various activities. However, he is very introspective about making friends. He does not seem to have many Korean or American friends. The low number of invitations to his birthday party shows his lack of sociability in making friends.

Thus, John's quiet but consistent personality affects his speaking and his academics both negatively and positively. His quiet and introspective personality does not appear to be beneficial for verbal English or making friends, but the same personality affects him positively as a student, helping him to successfully do research and complete projects. In contrast, his sister, Mary's social and talkative personality positively affects her speaking but negatively affects her study. John's mother said:

Regarding interpersonal relationships, Mary is very social and likes to play with her Korean and American peers. She is not so patient or consistent in her studies. She is very talkative in both languages. However, her rapid speech does mean that her English is better than her brother's. Actually, her comprehension and writing are much slower than her brother's.

Characteristics and Language Aptitude in Minsu's Family

When asked what factors differentiate children regarding SLA, Minsu's mother pointed out that she sees a child's personality and characteristics as major factors. She believes active children have a tendency to do things earnestly, and they also take an active role in learning English. She related my question to her children's Korean language acquisition. According to her, the behavior regarding spoken Korean and spoken English are closely related in that children who are talkative in Korean appear to be talkative in English as well.

When asked what characteristics her children have and how such characteristics have affected their SLA, she said Minsu is active, but his active personality works differently depending on the situation. Therefore, she argued that it is hard to determine whether a child is generally active or not. According to her, Minsu was very active in reading Korean books, which led to an active English reading habit in the U.S. She revealed that:

His active characteristic in reading helps increase his vocabulary, his understanding of the American culture including jokes and humor, and the ability to express his views on various issues.

She also thinks that her daughter's inborn language aptitude has facilitated her ability to learn a second language. She revealed that Minhee beautifully articulates the Korean language and has a good Korean accent, which she thinks was inborn rather than acquired by effort. She also said her daughter's habit of reading Korean might positively influence her English accent. In addition to language aptitude, she said her daughter's feminine personality helps her to

make friends with American peers at school. She said, “Her delicate feminine characteristics seem to attract her American peers at school.” However, she said Minhee is very active and masculine when she plays sports, displaying a very tenacious, energetic attitude. Therefore, she argues, it is hard to determine which factors in children affect their SLA most, because various factors in children function together in their SLA, and their personalities shift based on situations and activities.

Characteristics and Language Aptitude in Jeny’s Family

When asked what makes children different regarding SLA, Jeny’s mother pointed out three factors: (1) a child’s personality, (2) the family environment, and (3) the degree of concern the child has for the language. Among those factors, she put a priority on the child’s personality. She said that active children achieve SLA faster than passive, inactive ones. And she placed the second highest priority on the child’s family environment: the degree of parental concern for their child’s SLA, the parents’ lifestyle, the relationship between parents, and their literacy habits such as reading books and newspapers on a daily basis. Finally, she emphasized the importance of the child’s own language aptitude for SLA.

When I asked about the characteristics her children have and how those characteristics affect their SLA, she answered my question based on her experiences in Korea and in the U.S. Her daughter, Jeny, is very quiet and feminine. However, she believes that Jeny’s quietness does not indicate passivity. She stressed Jeny’s determination in this statement:

Although she is quiet, her words have a point and her concentration is higher than that of other talkative girls. Whenever she has difficulty while reading and studying, she makes an effort to solve those problems and she has to find the answers.

As an example, her mother said when Jeny missed some words while listening to the tapes provided along with the worksheets she used in Korea, she used to stop the tape and listen to it repeatedly until the sound became clear to her. She argued that her daughter's persistent drive to know and to solve problems helped to establish her study habits. In contrast, her son's quiet personality exerts quite a different effect when it interferes with his making American friends and slows down his English speaking.

Characteristics and Language Aptitude in Sam's Family

During the individual interview with Sam's mother, I asked what characteristics her children have and how those characteristics affect their SLA. She said that Sam is very social and outgoing. Whenever he was playing at the apartment playground before kindergarten, he was surrounded by other children, becoming the leader of the group. She believes that his sociable personality has had a great influence on his ability to make friends in the U.S. In addition, she said he likes to both watch and play sports, which fostered a good relationship with American peers even before he acquired spoken language. Since acquiring English, he has introduced Korean games to them and explained the rules of the games, which seems to attract his American peers to him. His good relationship

with American friends through sports and games has a great influence on his SLA. He has considerable knowledge of players and their team names as well as sports rules, which were acquired by watching sports on TV. His knowledge of sports fostered his listening while he was watching sports games on TV, positively affecting his SLA in this area, according to his mother. However, she also distinguished between English language, where Sam succeeds very well, and academic work, where he seems less motivated.

To summarize, the family's views include three ideas: (1) Sam's social and active characteristics seem to reduce culture shock and help him make American friends; (2) his personality and the American school system go together well, positively affecting his relationships with peers and teachers; but (3) his personality does not appear to have a positive influence on the quality of his academic knowledge or the establishment of good study habits.

Sam's mother said that her younger son Tom is very talkative, careful, and tenacious. When he watches TV or animated movies, he reflects on it constantly. He carefully observes characters' motions and words and repeats the dialogue of the characters or mimics their gestures and motions as if he were the character. She also said that his mimicry goes along with memorization of dialogue which allows him to use them later in real situations.

Characteristics and Language Aptitude in Jung's Family

When asked what characteristics Jung has and how these characteristics affect SLA, Jung's mother said that children's characteristics have a great

influence on their SLA based on her own experiences with Jung. According to her, children who are outgoing and talkative can succeed at SLA because such personality characteristics positively influence their verbal fluency by reducing shyness and fear. Such children can also progress well in their cognitive development, thanks to their active thinking and questioning.

When asked why children have differences of aptitude of learning languages, she pointed out genetic features as the first factor influencing children's language acquisition. According to her, the child who is born talkative can acquire language rapidly due to his or her intolerance of silence. Secondly, she considered personality characteristics, stating that active, outgoing children easily approach speakers of English because those children are adventurous and positive, not only in language but also in other aspects regarding English.

Through participant observation, I noticed that Jung is very social and active. He rarely sits quietly when he plays games, watches TV, or does assignments. He wants to become involved in his peers' work and tries to help his peers, whether or not they requested his help. He seems to be eager to participate in every part of life. Although this personality causes some trouble, it is true that he speaks English very fluently despite his short stay in the U.S. He naturally switches languages depending on the other speaker. Or he mixes languages for his convenience. His outgoing and talkative personality surely facilitates his adaptation to the language and culture.

Table 11 summarizes the data regarding a child's characteristics and language aptitude in each family.

Table 11

Summary of Data Description for Category VIII: Children's Personal Characteristics and Language Aptitude

	Sun	John	Minsu	Jeny	Sam	Jung
	Personality (P), Language Aptitude (LA), Adaptation (A), Quick Adaptation (QA), English (E), Korean Language (KL), Spoken English (SE), background knowledge (BK)					
Personality	Very social, active, and talkative	Quiet, sincere, tenacious, but not passive	Social, active, but quiet depending on situation	Quiet, tenacious, but not passive	Very social, active, and outgoing, surrounded by peers	Very social, active, talkative, outgoing, and competitive
		Social and active	Usually feminine, but masculine in sports	Very quiet and unsocial	Talkative and tenacious	
Language aptitude	Excellent	Average	Average	Excellent	Average	Excellent
		Good	Excellent	Average	Excellent	
Influence on SLA	P and LA facilitated SE and A to new cultures and school system	Tenacious P helped to build good study habits and led to academic success	Active P in reading books increased knowledge in various fields and vocabulary, which facilitated comprehension/ expression.	Tenacious P helped to build good study habits and led to academic success.	Social P helped reduce culture shock and make friends, which facilitated SE.	Social P helped reduce culture shock and make friends, which facilitated SE with a native-like accent
		Active and social P and LA helped build SE.	Feminine P and LA drew peers, which facilitated SE and helped her develop a native-like accent.	Quiet P did not help him make friends and increase SE.	Social P helped him increase SE and good accents	
Parental perspectives	Various factors contribute to successful results, fluency in SE is different from academic success, and SE is the basis of SLA	LA is a major factor for SLA, children are born with LA, social Ps control SE, sincere Ps controls academic success, SE is just a possibility of SLA, and lack of fluency does not mean lack of knowledge.	P is a major factor for SLA, active children are dedicated in leaning languages, and Ps are flexible and changes depending on situations	Three major factors lead to SLA: P, LA, and family environment Active children acquire SL quickly, quietness does not mean passivity, and the same P causes a different result if other P traits are missing.	Social P helps SE, but does not help build study habits	P is a major factor for SLA.

Category IX: American Community, School System, and Adaptation

American Community, School System, and Adaptation to SLA in Sun's Family

When asked how much Sun liked the American culture and school system, Sun's mother revealed that her daughter was so Americanized that she resisted her mother's suggestion that they go back to Korea after her doctoral degree. She said Sun even suggested that her uncle should adopt her when her mother returns to Korea. She said Sun has a very good impression of the American school system in contrast with her negative impression of the system in Korea. She explained the reason:

My daughter was very active and talkative, and her behavior was considered negatively based on social and cultural criteria from the older generation's perspective. Teachers tried to suppress her free expression and behavior in kindergarten and elementary school. Even at home, relatives advised me to control her behavior and talkativeness. On the contrary, in the U.S. teachers praise and encourage her active behavior without any constraint. As a result, she has wanted to go to school here even when she was sick.

Within a short period of time at Korean school, Sun must have built up a negative impression of Korean school and culture.

When asked about programs provided by the community, many parents talked about their experiences at the library. Sun's mother said, "We had never used libraries in Korea because we had no library near my house." However, she said that the relationship between their lives and the library is now very close.

She stated that she takes Sun to the library every evening because she has to study, and there is nobody to take care of her daughter at home. She believes that the library is the best place for her daughter's education because it is quiet, comfortable, and pleasant.

To summarize, in Korea parents can rarely utilize libraries due to the inconvenience of access and lack of facilities. However, in the U.S. they have easy access to libraries, partly because the parents themselves are students, and the community library also provides various reading programs as well as books. She believes that libraries provide children with frequent opportunities to participate in various reading programs, facilitating the children's adaptation to American culture and school systems, to say nothing of the benefit for their SLA.

American Community, School System, and Adaptation to SLA in John's Family

When asked if John and Mary were doing fine at school considering their brief exposure period in the U.S., their mother said that they were doing fine, actively participating in various activities provided by the school and community. She listed the activities in which her children were active at that time. The variety of these activities was enough to explain her children's satisfaction with programs in the U.S. She said:

John joined the Boys' Chorus, Bell Choir, Orchestra, Band, and School Patrol. He also helps kids as a student kindergarten teacher, and as a teacher assistant. He works in the school's broadcasting station and participates in a book club. Mary also joined the book club, Orchestra,

Chorus, and Bell Choir. She also helps her peers as a teacher assistant at school.

She said that her son's active participation in various activities provided by the school and community has helped his English improve so much that he no longer needs to take ESL lessons provided by the school for international students. She added that John has little difficulty in any of the four skills of English or with his academic subjects. However, she said her daughter still takes ESL lessons and has some difficulty in academics because of her lack of background knowledge acquired in Korea, although her speaking is more fluent than her brother's:

Mary's pace with academics is slower than her brother's. However, her sociable and talkative personality seems to make relationships with American peers easier. In contrast, her brother's quiet, sincere personality seems to make the relationship with American peers harder.

From her perspective, it appears that the American school system and programs provided by the school and community have a great influence on children's SLA, increasing children's rate of adaptation to the mainstream. However, she notes that the same systems and programs seem to have less of an effect on speaking, since they do not change children's inborn characteristics; they cannot make quiet children talkative and fluent in English.

American Community, School System, and Adaptation to SLA in Minsu's Family

Minsu and Minhee were born in the U.S. during their father's first stay for his doctoral degree. However, they were not exposed to the American culture or English because their principal caretaker was their mother, who stayed home. Minsu's mother explained that their exposure to the host country and the knowledge of the American culture and educational systems that they acquired during this period taught them how to educate their children in the U.S. She said:

Our knowledge of the American community and school system reduced our culture shock and provided a stable environment for our children when we came back to the U.S. again for my doctoral degree.

In addition, Minsu's family visited America several times before their second extended stay in the U.S. Minsu's mother said their frequent visits to America helped their children feel comfortable with the culture by reducing its strangeness to them. To summarize, their birth in America and their frequent visits to America seemed to reduce both the parents' and children's culture shock. Their knowledge of the American school system must have facilitated their children's participation in various activities that eased their adaptation to the host country.

When asked how Minsu and Minhee had reacted to the American school system, she revealed that her children had considerable difficulty during the first year, but that this was due, not to culture shock, but to their lack of English skills. Besides the school system, she said the teacher's role is very important in that

they help with L2 learners' adaptation. She reflected that her daughter's teacher's kindness and encouragement helped her acquire confidence in language and in school activities.

Based on previously acquired knowledge of the American school system and activities provided by the school and community, she said she and her husband quickly enrolled their children in various activities to foster their adaptation. Therefore, children in Minsu's family joined the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts as soon as they entered the mainstream, while some other Korean students and their parents were reluctant to join school activities due to their fear of the new language and culture. Minsu's mother had come to the conclusion that parents who have previous experience and plentiful information on the host country and who provide positive support might have a positive influence on their children's SLA.

When asked what differences exist between Korean school and American school, Minsu's mother talked about the teachers' attitudes and instructional methods. She stated that her children like American school, citing their having bad memories of Korean school. According to her, teachers in Korea sometimes shouted at students, threatening them or inflicting corporal punishment without presenting any solution to the problem. However, she said their children believe that American teachers are fair and try to respect students' opinions. Regarding school curricula, she said in Korea most children go to the private institutes to take lessons in English, math, music, art, martial arts, etc. after school because parents think school is not sufficient to meet their children's needs. However, in

America, the school curricula were so effective that parents did not need to depend on private lessons for their children's activities or study, she said. Accordingly, she said parents trust the American school system and its curricula and they take a positive role, helping the teachers and school by participating in PTA and other school activities and events.

American Community, School System, and Adaptation to SLA in Jeny's Family

I asked Jeny's mother how her children were doing in their American school. She said they were doing fine. However, in contrast to Jeny's quick adaptation to the American school system and language, her younger brother, Jimmy had relatively slow adaptation because of his lack of English knowledge and his quiet and introspective personality.

She said Jeny seemed to enjoy American school more than Korean school because the former provided various activities and practices rather than forcing memorization. She pointed out that the Korean school system is teacher-centered and provides fewer activities to attract student participation, unlike the activity-centered American high school. She stated:

Rather than pursuing knowledge, American school encourages students to participate in various extracurricular activities and volunteering.

Activities help ESL learners to be exposed to various cultures as well as English and to facilitate their adaptation. In contrast, Korean high school is memorization-centered, test-centered and entrance exam preparation-centered.

From an elementary teacher's perspective, Jeny's mother thinks there is not much difference between an American elementary school and one in Korea. She stated that school teachers are very kind and listen to parents and students in both countries. In both countries, children can participate in many activities, but quiet and unsociable boys are reluctant to participate in activities, regardless of the country.

American Community, School System, and Adaptation to SLA in Sam's Family

Unlike her younger son Tom, Sam's mother said her older son, Sam approaches English with two purposes: to communicate and to achieve academic success. She said American schools and communities provide many opportunities for children to join activities in order to overcome culture shock and improve their communicative English. Based on her experiences with Sam's SLA, she believes that the children's degree of satisfaction with American school depends on their level of proficiency in English. According to her, Sam seemed happier and more satisfied with his American school and peers once he acquired the necessary English for casual conversation. She said:

His ability to speak English at school made his school life happier, and his academic weakness due to the language barrier began to disappear. His enjoyment of American food makes his schooling easier and happier, too.

When asked if her children liked the American culture and school system, she said that her younger son went to Head Start before kindergarten for three months, which provided an education appropriate for his level. After this, he went

to kindergarten, where he could experience English education through play. Therefore, she reflected that Tom was able to keep up with his peers, happily participating in various activities even when his English was at a very basic level. In addition, she said he played with American peers in the playground for four to five hours a day, which seemed to be helping him acquire English in a natural environment.

Thus, even though her younger son could not understand what his peers said during play initially, he gradually came to understand them in that context, acquiring English by using and applying the expressions that he heard from his peers during play to similar situations/contexts he encountered at school and in play with other children. In other words, play-centered and activity-centered American education seems to facilitate younger ESL learners' SLA (especially spoken English) in natural settings. Sam's family also makes good use of libraries, both in the university and in the community. His mother described the ways they utilize libraries in the U.S.:

1. The community free library provides free reading programs for children from K-4 and various literacy events as well as books and videotapes.
2. Volunteering college students help children with reading and assignments once a week. Sam has participated in that program for a year and a half. Tom has also been in the program for three semesters.
3. The elementary school district provides a free reading program for children selected from each school during the summer vacation, three times a week for three weeks. This reading program consists of

reading, discussion, and presentations, which are provided by M.A. and Ph.D. students. Sam participated in the program after three semesters in the U.S, which helped him feel confident when giving presentations in front of people.

According to Sam's mother, programs provided by community libraries and community school districts benefit both Korean parents and their children since the parents can save money and time as well as effort by using various programs provided free for their children's SLA. She said such programs are also beneficial for the children because they increase their interest in reading in a natural way through various strategies such as discussion and presentation.

When asked to what degree the programs provided by schools and communities helped with her children's SLA, she said that activities such as literacy programs and sports in the U.S. were much more effective than early exposure to English in Korea, and making friends with American peers also provided good opportunities for Sam to improve his English.

Parental responses to the American community and school system differed based on their children's characteristics and the parents' beliefs. Sam's family seems to have received more benefit from programs and activities provided by the community and school when compared with other families because her children's social personalities facilitated their active participation in those programs.

American Community, School System, and Adaptation to SLA in Jung's Family

When asked how her son has responded to American culture and the school environment, Jung's mother said that he seems to enjoy life both at school and in the community, easily entering the mainstream. However, when asked if her son liked American school, she said he did not seem to like it, not because of the system or activities, but because of the long school day. In Korea, children in grades K to 3 go to school at 8:30 am and come home at 1:00 pm. However, in the U.S., children go to school at 8:10 am and arrive at home around 4:00 pm. They have to stay three hours longer here than in Korea, which may make an active, outgoing child like Jung feel bored and impatient. However, Jung's mother really appreciates the long time schedule of American elementary school because she has to study and take courses in the graduate program.

However, she added that except for the long school day, Jung generally feels comfortable with the American school system, the language, and his American peers. Like other mothers in the study, she also enrolled her child in various activities and programs to help develop his second language literacy.

Table 12 summarizes the data regarding the children's responses to American community, school system, and adaptation in each family.

Table 12

Summary of Data Description for Category IX: American Community, School System, and Adaptation

	Sun	John	Minsu	Jeny	Sam	Jung
	School Activities (SA)					
Community facilities and programs	Frequent visits to the library, participation in programs, vital to daily life	Frequent visits to the library, participation in programs, vital to daily life	Frequent visits to the library, participation in programs, vital to daily life	Frequent visits to the library, participation in programs, vital to daily life	Frequent visits to the library, participation in programs, vital to daily life	Frequent visits to the library, participation in programs, vital to daily life
School activities, systems, and teachers.	Participated in various SA, very satisfied, teachers encourage students' behavior by giving freedom of expression	Participated in various SA, very satisfied	Participated in various SA, very satisfied, teachers are fair and respect children's opinions, curricula are effective, trust in SA.	Participated in various SA, very satisfied Barely participated in SA, satisfied	Participated in various SA, very satisfied.	Participated in various SA, not satisfied due to long school day
Influence on SLA & parental perspectives	Very positive Influence on SLA, facilitating adaptation to American culture	Very positive influence on SLA, facilitating adaptation to American culture, SA do not change children's inborn personality.	Parents' knowledge of American school systems and community programs helps children's permeation into the mainstream	Good systems do not change children's inborn personality, there is no big difference at elementary school among two countries.	Helps to overcome culture shock and improve communicative English.	Positive influence on SLA.

Category X: Identity, Motivation, and Retention of English

This section covers how parents feel about their children's maintenance or loss of identity as Koreans, what efforts they make to retain their Korean language and culture in the U.S., and what motivations their children have regarding SLA.

In Korea I saw many parents implanting their motives for learning English into their children's minds: English is very important to get entrance a top level university, to get a job, to succeed, to make money, and so forth. The children's exposure to their parents' and society's messages seemed to affect their own motivation negatively, leading them to develop an inaccurate perception of English. This occurs because parents and society have the tendency to value physical and material benefits when they communicate their perspectives on English.

Identity, Motivation, and Retention: Influence on SLA in Sun's Family

When asked what motivations Sun had regarding English and if the motivations have affected her SLA in Korea and in the U.S., Sun's mother said that Sun did not seem to have any particular goals regarding SLA because she came to the U.S. when she was only 8 years old after completing the first semester as a first grader.

However, she said that Sun feels as though English were her first language because her early exposure to American education has weakened her sense of her Korean identity. Sun's mother believes that her daughter's native-like accent and fluency in English has sometimes caused Sun to misjudge her own identity. Thus, she argued that language itself has an influence on a child's identity because an education conducted in English with Westernized methods of instruction in the host country has a great influence on the establishment of a

child's identity. This is especially true when the child is young and his or her exposure period is prolonged.

Her comments revealed a strong view about the effect of children's language fluency on their identity. She said Sun became upset when she spoke Korean to Sun in front of her American peers when she visited Sun's school. She judged that Sun became upset at her mother's speaking Korean in front of American peers because it demonstrated the loss of her Korean identity.

When asked what strategies she used to retain her daughter's first language and socio-cultural and academic knowledge, she stated that she has not made any efforts in this direction due to her busy schedule as a doctoral student. To be more honest, she confessed that she did not see the necessity, since they plan to return to Korea after she receives her doctoral degree. However, she said that she has begun to make some efforts to retain Sun's Korean. She has recently shifted her perspective on retention of the Korean language and made her daughter take an interest in reading and writing the Korean language:

I planned to delay her education in Korean traditions and cultures as well as the Korean language because I thought such education would be possible anytime once we return to Korea. However, I have recently begun to see the need for the Korean language, and I have decided to help her retain it. Therefore, I have been sending her to the Korean language class provided by a Korean church since October, 2006.

She said that it is very important for children to be aware of their identity as Koreans. However, she revealed that she does not want to force or pressure Sun to be Korean because she wants Sun to be a world citizen with multi-identities, living in the global village. She argued that parents' forcing their children to adhere to one identity as Koreans leads them to develop a narrow view of the world.

Identity, Motivation, and Retention: Influence on SLA in John's Family

When asked what motivates John and Mary to learn English, and whether these motives affect their SLA in Korea and in the U.S., John's mother said that her children do not seem to have any strong conscious motivation regarding SLA because they are young. In addition, she said she and her husband do not emphasize any particular motive with regard to English. However, she said that her children do have some short term motives for learning English: they do not want to lag behind at school, and English will help them lead a happy school life.

When asked if she feels afraid that her children will suffer a loss of identity due to their long stay in the U.S., she said she and her husband rarely worry about it because they will surely return to Korea soon. However, she said they do worry about some other Korean children's identity loss when their stay in the host country is prolonged. She mentioned the main reason for this loss of identity: exposure to American culture, school, and language. She noted that children (regardless of their nationality) are educated to have a sense of patriotism toward the host country every morning through the national anthem and the pledge of

allegiance to the flag. What is more, she said international children are likely to lose their identity because there is no special curriculum at school to help them retain their identity; all children unconditionally follow the general curriculum designed for mainstream students.

When considering the question of Korean parents' efforts to aid the retention of their children's identity, she said they barely pay attention to fears of their children's possible loss of identity because they are sure that they will return to Korea after John's father receives his degree. She said that she and her husband believe that their children will naturally recover aspects of their Korean identity once they are exposed to the Korean culture, language, and school system.

Identity, Motivation, and Retention: Influence on SLA in Minsu's Family

When asked what motivates Minsu and Minhee to learn English and whether the motivation affects their SLA in Korea and in the U.S., Minsu's mother said that Minsu is strongly motivated to learn English, citing three goals:

1. He wants to communicate with peers and make friends with them.
2. He wants to read English storybooks.
3. He wants to play games written in English.

She said her daughter is similarly motivated to make American friends, communicate with them, and read English storybooks.

When asked if she feels afraid her children will experience loss of identity caused by their long stay in the U.S., she said that she does not worry about it at

all because her family is certain to return to Korea after she receives her doctoral degree. Rather than worrying about it, she explained that she expects her children to grow into world citizens:

They were born in America but returned to Korea before they were exposed to American culture or its language. They came back to America again for my doctoral studies. I think they have both identities, Korean and American. I also want them to have an international identity, which does not mean that they will be allowed to lose their Korean identity.

Her perspective on her children's identity sounds similar to that of Sun's mother. They both want their children to have a multi-identity as international people.

Identity, Motivation, and Retention: Influence on SLA in Jeny's Family

Jeny's mother's response to the question on what motivates Jeny and Jimmy to learn English, and whether these motives affect their SLA in Korea and in the U.S., sounds rather different from those of other parents. As frequently indicated in the previous sections, Jeny came from the area where the competition regarding English is most heated, the Kangnam neighborhood in Seoul. Jeny's mother's perspective on her children's motivation to learn English appears to reflect the social climate of that area as well as her own philosophy as an elementary school teacher. She argued that parents have to instill desirable motivation regarding English in their children when they are young. She believes that parental encouragement makes children more interested in the language that they are studying. Therefore, she said that she frequently explained to Jeny

why she has to study English. She talked about what jobs her daughter could have related to English and why English is needed in her life. She said that Jeny seemed to agree with her rationales for SLA and listen to her encouragement although she was very young, so this must have influenced her motivation regarding English. She said Jeny has four clear sources of motivation: She wants (1) to be a diplomat, (2) to enjoy pop songs and movies, (3) to experience different cultures through reading books, and (4) to participate in various activities and make friends with native speakers. It seems that practical and idealistic goals are proportionately harmonized in her motivations.

When I asked what strategies Jeny's family uses to retain their children's first language and socio-cultural and academic knowledge, Jeny's mother said that she is not worried about the retention of their mother tongue because their children came to the U.S. after they had acquired knowledge about the culture and language of Korea. In fact, surprisingly, she goes further than other parents in her desire to promote the second language: "I want their English to be developed to the degree that they lose their mother tongue." Her response seems to represent how desperately Korean parents want their children to acquire fluent English. However, in spite of this strong statement, she clearly gave evidence that the family has taken steps to retain their Korean socio-cultural knowledge. For instance, she pointed out that their family had brought some world history books and science books from Korea, and she asked her children to read those books whenever they have spare time.

When I asked Jeny's mother if she felt afraid of her children's loss of Korean identity in the U.S., she said she is not worried about it because they came to the U.S. after their children's Korean identity had been established. She disagreed with the parental attitude that places emphasis on English in order to influence their children's identity. She believes that children can acquire English more easily when they learn it after realizing who they are and know their country and language. The following statements demonstrate that she has provided a natural atmosphere for her children to retain cultural and historical knowledge of Korea at home and abroad:

In Korea, my son joined a history discussion group which sparked his interest in Korean history. We enjoyed watching historical dramas together.

In America, I have them read history books brought from Korea. Our family also watches a Korean historical drama on the Internet, and we enjoy discussing it and debating.

Identity, Motivation, and Retention: Influence on SLA in Sam's Family

When asked about Sam and Tom's motivation to learn English and whether their motivation affects their SLA in Korea and in the U.S., Sam's mother said they actually do not seem to have any motivation regarding English. When I asked her about loss of identity, she said that she rarely worried about it because her children were surrounded by Korean people and used the Korean language at home and in the Korean community, ate Korean food, sometimes watched Korean dramas or movies, and read Korean history books which were brought

over from Korea. The following statements, however, reveal how desperately she and her husband desire their children to be fluent speakers of English:

Rather than worrying about my children's loss of a Korean identity, my husband and I hope that their English is improved so much that they almost lose their mother tongue. That's because we don't think their native-like English influences their identity as Koreans.

Unlike what might be the case with families who have immigrated to the U.S., my participant parents do not seem to worry about their children's loss of identity because their stable jobs in Korea guarantee their return to the home country. Unlike other Asian people, Koreans in this town are very gregarious. Many of them live in the same apartment complex, and they frequently visit each other. In addition, graduate students get together in the library, studying and talking about their routines in Korean.

The gregarious nature and stable jobs of my participant parents seem to reduce their concern about their children's loss of identity, especially in cases where their children came to the U.S after a few years of elementary school education in Korea. However, parents like Sam's with a pre-school child do seem to worry about the cultural confusion between two countries rather than about the child's loss of identity. Sam's mother said:

Rather than worry about their loss of identity, I worry about my younger son's prospective application of American culture to Korean teachers and elders. In Korea, the tones and expressions of language between peers and elders such as relatives, teachers, and older neighbors are different.

We should not call an elder by name, and we have to use more polite expressions when addressing our elders.

There is a big difference in the form of address for elder people between the two countries. Korean children are not allowed to call elders by their given name, but American children are sometimes allowed to do so when the relationship is very close. Sam's mother worries that such a trivial difference may cause confusion and trouble for Sam because it may take time for him to become accustomed to the correct way of addressing his elders.

When asked what strategies Sam's family uses to retain their children's first language and socio-cultural and academic knowledge, Sam's mother said that they brought some Korean books with them to retain the children's socio-cultural and academic knowledge. They had them read those books, while trying not to create stress over the reading. In addition, she said her husband pays attention to their children's math because the levels and contents in math in the two countries are different for children in the same grade.

Identity, Motivation, and Retention: Influence on SLA in Jung's Family

When asked what types of motivation Jung had regarding English and if the motivation affected his SLA in Korea and in the U.S., Jung's mother said that her son did not have any specific types of motivation regarding SLA because he was a young boy who did not even understand the meaning of the word.

Regarding my question about whether she was worried about Jung's loss of identity, she echoed the other parents' responses, saying that she was not

worried about that because they would go back to Korea right after she earned her degree. In addition, she said her son had a good impression of Korea, so he is eager to go back.

When asked what strategies she used to maintain her child's first language and socio-cultural and academic knowledge, she said, "At home, we use Korean. I made him keep a diary in Korean for the first year in the U.S." However, she revealed that Jung was losing his ability to command the Korean language day by day: he was forgetting the Korean spelling system and his Korean expressions sounded awkward after six months in the U.S. So, she said he refused to keep the diary in Korean, and she had to allow him to keep it in English. To provide plenty of knowledge in various fields, Jung's mother made Jung read Korean books at home on a daily basis during their first year in the U.S. However, as his English reading comprehension improved, she began reading three or four English books before bedtime, a practice she had continued for the past six months. In addition, she supported his math on a daily basis to prepare for the time when he would return to Korean elementary school.

Table 13 summarizes the data regarding the influence of identity, motivation, and retention on SLA.

Table 13

Summary of Data Description for Category X: Identity, Motivation, and Retention of English

	Sun	John	Minsu	Jeny	Sam	Jung
	Loss of Korean Identity (LKI), Motivation (M), Retention of English (RE),					
Loss of identity	Barely paid attention to LKI due to their decision to return to Korea, English fluency made Sun feels as if English were her first language	Barely paid attention to LKI due to their decision to return to Korea	Barely worried about LKI	Never worried about LKI because their Korean identities were established before they came to the U.S.	Barely worried about LKI due to gregarious trait of Korean people Some worried about LKI due to his early exposure to the U.S.	Barely paid attention to LKI due to their decision to return to Korea
Sources of motivation for SLA	No specific motivation due to her young age	No specific motivation due to their young age. Do not want to lag behind at school. Want to lead a happy school life.	Strong motivation to communicate with peers, read English books, and to play games written in English	Has a strong motivation to be a diplomat and to enjoy American culture No specific motivation	No specific motivation due to their young age	No specific motivation due to his young age
Parental perspectives	School education and a long stay have an influence on children's LKI. Multi-identities	Exposure to American culture, school, language, a long stay influence children's LKI.	Multi-identities	Parents have to instill a desirable motivation in children's minds.	Native-like accent and fluency do not influence LKI.	N/A

Data Comparison

In the previous sections of data description and interpretation, I covered family influence based on parent-child interaction to promote their children's literacy building. I also explored the parents' experiences and perspectives concerning general issues in children's SLA. In the following sections, I compare data among families, finding similarities and differences as well as individual

characteristics for each family. To reduce confusion originating from frequent use of participant children's pseudonyms during the data comparison process, I have prepared Table 14, which recalls the children's pseudonyms in each family.

Table 14

Pseudonyms of the Participant Children in Each Family

Family	Sun's	Minsu's	John's	Jeny's	Sam's	Jung's
Older child	Sun	Minsu	John	Jeny	Sam	Jung
Younger child	None	Minhee	Mary	Jimmy	Tom	None

Category I: Parent-Child Interaction through Reading Books

Similarities in Families

Five of the six families showed many similarities in parent-child interaction through reading books. Parental book reading started when their children were very young, ranging from 3 months to 2 or 3 years old. They usually spent 30 minutes to an hour a day reading, and their interaction was regular. They also employed similar strategies in reading these books. They read the books aloud for their children and stopped when their children were old enough to read without their parents' help, except in Minsu's and Jung's families. Among family members, mothers usually took charge of the reading, though fathers sometimes found time to help with their children's book reading.

Individual Traits in Families

Families showed individual traits regarding English book reading. Among the six families, Sun's and Jeny's families started reading English books as a form of play when their children were in infancy: Sun was three months old and Jeny was 18 months old. They provided a natural, rich English environment while their children were still acquiring the Korean language. That is, they exposed their children to two languages simultaneously and naturally from infancy on. In contrast, families that started reading English books late have continued the practice in the U.S. on a consistent and regular basis.

Influence on SLA and Parents' Perspectives

Among the six families, John's and Jeny's families said that reading Korean and English books facilitates English reading comprehension in the U.S. Other families were very skeptical regarding any visible result of Korean and English reading in Korea. However, they all agreed that reading English books facilitates reading comprehension and establishes good reading habits in the U.S.

Parents revealed various perspectives regarding parent-child reading of books: they felt that it enhances emotional stability in children and rapport in the family, awakens children's interests and imagination, and develops logical thinking and the potential for future SLA. In addition, they all agreed that reading books helps children establish good reading and study habits.

Category II: Parent-Child Interaction through Direct Instruction

Individual Traits in Families

Direct instruction by parents was given to the children in four families except for Sam's and Jung's families. There were few commonalities among those families regarding their motivation and strategies in this area. Except for John's family, the other three families employed a traditional teaching style (what I have called a Spartan method), and their instruction lasted over three hours a day.

Among those three families, Minsu's and Jimmy's fathers focused on English grammar and reading comprehension. Their instruction was teacher- and text-centered, and they disregarded their children's resistance. Minsu's father's instruction started as soon as they arrived in the U.S. and lasted for about one year on a daily basis, which was the longest period of instruction by parents among participant families. Jimmy's father exposed his son to his teaching for seven or eight hours a day during his first summer vacation in the U.S., which was the longest instruction period per day among participant families.

In Sun's family, Sun's aunt took on this role, instructing Sun and her own daughter together right after Sun's exposure to the mainstream. This was of great help in reducing the children's resistance. In John's family, John's mother took on this role, and she instructed her children with the help of English study materials (worksheets) provided by an EFL/ESL publication company in Korea, focusing on phonics and reading on a daily basis. She also instructed his older

son during his summer vacation in the U.S., focusing on vocabulary and reading based on school history and sociology texts.

Similarities in Families

The commonality here is that the instruction by family members was done after the families came to the U.S. except for John's mother's phonics instruction in Korea (she also taught her son during the summer vacation). In addition, except in John's case, the families started direct instruction within six months of their children's exposure to the mainstream. The family instructors were all very rigid, and their teaching sessions were long, ranging from at least three hours to eight hours a day. What is more, they all employed a traditional teaching method, ignoring their children's responses to their teaching.

Influence on SLA and Parental Perspectives

All families who provided direct instruction by family members agreed that their efforts had a great influence on their children's SLA, facilitating their reading comprehension. They also believed that their help facilitated their children's adaptation to the mainstream. In particular, John's mother's instruction, based on textbooks such as American history and sociology, provided considerable knowledge and vocabulary for those subjects at school. Sun's and John's families said that direct instruction by a family member was not likely to produce good results without the parents' frequent involvement in what their children are doing regarding English. Minsu's and Jeny's families argued that significant

parental involvement should be initiated when their children's English level is low and they struggle with English in the host country. They strongly believe their support through direct instruction helped with their children's quick adaptation to study in their American schools, more so than with spoken English.

Category III: Parent-Child Interaction through Audio-Visual Tools

Similarities in Families

Except for Minsu's family, all of the children were exposed to audio-visual tools on a daily basis, although their exposure periods varied. For audio-visual tools, parents used English story cassette tapes, videotapes, DVDs, and television. The children's responses to these tools were similar. They repeated songs, lines of dialogue, and gestures while watching and listening to the audio-visual tools. They were exposed to those tools for one or two hours a day in Korea and in the U.S. Especially in the U.S., parents did not prevent their children's access to those tools because they thought their children could take advantage of such tools to develop their English speaking and listening.

Individual Traits in Families

As shown in Category I for parent-child interaction through reading books, Sun's and Jeny's families exposed their children to audio-visual tools for SLA much earlier than other families did. Their children had enjoyed watching TV and movies and listening to stories and songs, not only for the purpose of education, but also as a form of play since infancy. Among the six families, three said that

they allowed their children to use those tools intentionally for educational purposes, for early SLA. Sun was exposed to English listening more than the children in the other families because her mother was an English instructor who had to listen to English every day for her class preparation at a private language institute.

In a family with two children, siblings showed different responses to audio-visual tools depending on their gender, age, and characteristics. Usually daughters showed more interest in audio-visual tools, repeating songs and lines of dialogue. However, boys like Sam and Jung, who are very talkative and active, showed considerable interest, actively responding by repeating songs and gestures. It seems that each child's personality (rather than gender) may be an important factor in children's receptivity to such tools.

Influence on SLA and Parents' Perspectives

Parents in the four families whose children were exposed to audio-visual tools and actively responded to them argued that their children could acquire a native-like accent and fluent spoken English as well as quick adaptation to the American culture through using these tools. In Korea, English cassettes and videotapes seemed to play an important role in SLA, but in the U.S, parents seemed to believe that children's daily exposure to television programs facilitates their language acquisition and cultural adaptation.

Category IV: Parent-Child Interaction through Utilization of External Facilities

Similarities in Families

The patterns for utilization of educational facilities outside school were generally confined to three: private tutoring, private language institute, and worksheets. John's, Jeny's, and Sam's parents sent their children to private language institutes for English grammar and conversation. The lessons consisted of English-only classes by native speakers and grammar classes by Korean instructors. The children had been exposed to such facilities for one or two years before they came to the U.S., which parents believe helped reduce their children's culture shock and lower the language barrier. The children in John's and Jeny's families studied with English worksheets regularly. They started using these worksheets when they entered elementary school and continued until they came to the U.S. Their parents felt they could help their children acquire a native-like English accent with the help of audiotapes provided with the worksheets on a weekly basis, rather than to improve their grammar or spoken English.

Individual Traits in Families

John' and Jeny's families provided opportunities for their children to receive private tutoring and take lessons in the private language institute, but their purposes were different. John and Mary received private tutoring and went to the private language institute for English conversation; however, Jeny's tutoring and exposure to the private language institute was for English grammar. They also had different lengths of exposure to it. Jeny was continually exposed to

both kinds of extra instruction for a much longer time (5 more years) than the children in John's family (one or two years).

Influence on SLA and Parental Perspectives

Among the younger children who arrived in the host country without the help of outside instruction for SLA in Korea (Sun, Minsu, Minhee, Tom, and Jung), Sun had the least difficulty in permeating the mainstream due to her early exposure to reading English in Korea. She acquired a native-like accent and fluency without having had any exposure to educational facilities in Korea. In contrast, Minsu and Minhee had several months' struggle with English when they entered the mainstream, although they eventually acquired a native-like accent.

In spite of one or two years of exposure to private language institutes for English conversation with native speakers, John, Mary, Jimmy, and Sam had a period of struggle with English due to the language barrier. This period lasted six months or more, and all participant children except Sun and Jeny seemed to pass through this period regardless of their exposure to English through facilities and programs outside school in Korea. In Jeny's case, her earlier and longer exposure to those facilities may have helped remove the language barrier very rapidly and reduce culture shock in the early stages, although she entered secondary school in the U.S. as the oldest among my participant children.

It does not seem that these children's exposure to extra instruction is seen as having been in vain, because the parents agreed that their children's experiences with native speakers in English conversation class helped them to

reduce culture shock and adjust to the language and people in the U.S. However, in Jimmy's case, he did not appear to enter the mainstream easily; his mother felt that this was due, not to his lack of experience with foreign teachers in private language institutes in Korea, but to his inborn quiet and less social personality.

My younger son was never exposed to English in Korea. He had never encountered foreigners or foreign cultures. He had never studied English grammar or conversation in Korea. However, considering his non-exposure to English, he has been doing very well comparatively speaking, because children who had a few years of experience with English and with native speakers still suffered a period of struggle for the first six months in the U.S. Although I felt sorry that I did not expose him to English when I saw him experiencing a long silent period regarding spoken English, I do not regret my decision to prevent his exposure to those external facilities for SLA. Rather, I regret my negligence in not reading books with him in Korea.

Category V: Parent-Child Interaction through Socialization and Acculturation

Similarities in Families

With the exception of Jimmy, the participant children in all families actively participated in various school activities such as reading programs, musical activities and sports. Except for Sun's family, they frequently took trips while living in Korea and in the U.S. In addition, all families attended church both in Korea and in the U.S. John's and Minsu's families went to church and had their children attend Sunday school and Bible study on a regular basis in Korea. In the

U.S. they go to an American church, although the children do not attend Sunday school or Bible study. In contrast, Sun's, Sam's, and Jung's families go to Korean church in the U.S and send their children to Korean Sunday school and Bible study on a regular basis.

Individual Traits in Families

Jeny's and Jung's families came from Seoul. They agreed that the host country does not always provide rich environments for cultural experiences. They said they had enjoyed the cultural advantages of living in the capital city. In addition, they had easy access to cultural materials in Korea because there are large stores which sell items to introduce international cultures, especially American culture, such as pop songs, Hollywood movies, musicals, plays, etc. Jeny also said in the interview that her interest in American pop songs has decreased from what it was in Korea due to this small-town setting, where stores and events cannot keep up with the variety of a capital city like Seoul.

Regarding socialization through church, Jeny's mother had her daughter join every event held in the church near her house in Korea to aid in her socialization and the development of her talents, although she is not Christian. In the U.S., Jeny goes to a Korean church and participates in musical activities, playing the violin in the service and singing in the church choir.

Influence on SLA and Parents' Perspectives

Sun's family has rarely taken trips, in Korea or in the U.S. due to her mother's busy schedule and financial difficulties. However, even without the cultural experiences of travel, Sun speaks English as if she were a native speaker. Thus, Sun's mother has the perspective that socialization through trips or other strategies is not necessary to support children's language learning if the children are very talkative and social. She believes that children's personal characteristics influence their SLA more than other factors. However, other parents believe that their efforts to assist their children's socialization will foster the children's adaptation to culture, although they might not increase language skills.

Category VI: Perspectives on Early English Education

Influence on SLA and Parental Perspectives

All of these parents felt skeptical about the success of their efforts to teach their children English at an early age because there was no way to measure their children's progress and development regarding English in Korea. Of course, there were standardized English tests such as the TOEFL and TOEIC, but they thought their children were too young to take those tests, and they did not see them as necessary. Instead, they vaguely hoped that their efforts to provide their young children with English educational activities would increase their potential for later SLA in a host country. They also believed that early exposure to English in Korea and in the host country played an important role in their children's SLA.

Without any effort to promote SLA in Korea, children such as Mary, Tom, and Jung, who were exposed to English in the host country from Head Start to first grade, spoke English as if they were native speakers in spite of only a one or two-year stay in the U.S. Their parents were convinced of the benefits of early exposure to a host country for SLA, especially in terms of spoken English and a native-like accent.

With the children who were exposed to English early in Korea and also immersed into the mainstream in the U.S., the effect of age on SLA was considered very noticeable. Sun, who was exposed to English the earliest in Korea, speaks English most fluently with a native-like accent. However, Sun cannot keep up with Jeny in writing or reading comprehension; Jeny had also been exposed to English since infancy in Korea before she came to the U.S. In addition, Jeny acquired English grammar as well as considerable knowledge from reading Korean books and attending school in Korea. This made her more organized, coherent, and knowledgeable in her English speaking and writing than those who have the same fluency and a native-like accent like Sun. In line with the view about an English accent (*the younger the exposure, the better the accent*), Jeny has a native-like accent and fluency, probably due to early exposure to the sounds of English in Korea.

When considering the sounds of English and accent reduction, John's, Jeny's, and Sam's parents agreed that earlier exposure is better regardless of the setting (EFL or ESL). Sun's and Jung's parents agreed that earlier is generally better regarding English. However, Sun's mother pointed out that

earlier exposure to English should be monitored by parents, and Jung's mother argued that earlier exposure to English in Korea can produce a result similar to exposure in a host country, provided the same conditions and environments that exist in a host country are given to children.

Minsu's mother's view on early English education was different from that of the other parents. She argued that there is a proper time for children to be exposed to English, and it is after the acquisition of their mother tongue and native culture are well-advanced, or after puberty. If children are exposed to English at an early age, their sense of identity and knowledge of the mother tongue may be negatively influenced. In addition, children who are exposed to English in a host country at puberty or as adolescents, unaccompanied by parents or with a single parent, may experience severe psychological conflicts caused by their fluctuating and unstable emotional status. This adds to the language barrier and culture shock they experience, making SLA and adaptation more difficult.

Category VII: Background Knowledge

The strategies used for children's acquisition of background knowledge are varied. Some children are barely exposed to English other than through reading books, whereas some are exposed to almost all strategies. All parents argued for the effective result of background knowledge on their children's SLA.

Similarities in Families

Regarding background knowledge acquired through reading books, Sun's and Jeny's families demonstrated similarities, although Sun's reading of English books started a year earlier than Jeny's. Both families exposed their children to both Korean and English reading, which must have had a positive influence on knowledge accumulation in the fields concerned as well as SLA. Although their reading of English books seem late when compared with Sun's and Jeny's, Minsu's and Jung's parents also read them English books on a daily basis in Korea and in the U.S., which almost certainly helped increase their general knowledge as well as their language skills. According to the individual interviews with Minsu's and Jung's parents, their children have had little difficulty in reading comprehension since their English went far beyond the struggling level; the parents attribute this at least in part to the knowledge they acquired through reading books at home.

John and Jeny both received private tutoring in English in Korea, but their exposure periods and contents of the lessons were quite different. Jeny received tutoring for much longer than John, and she learned English grammar rather than conversation, while John took an English conversation class for a much briefer period of time. John, Mary, Jeny, Jimmy, and Sam attended private language institutes, but for various periods of time. As indicated in the section describing private tutoring, Jeny spent the most time (around six years) at a private language institute, which means that she was more familiar with English grammar and structure than the other children.

Individual Traits in Families

Although children in several families depended on similar resources and facilities to acquire knowledge in English and in other fields, the time invested differed, depending on each child's gender and age, the characteristics of the children and their parents, and finally, their location. Among elementary school children, Sun spent the most time in reading books and using audio-visual tools to acquire English and knowledge in other fields, probably because she was young and a girl. In addition, due to Sun's social, talkative personality, her mother was less concerned with arranging family trips or events to support her acculturation. However, Jung's mother spent a great deal of time arranging family trips for her son's acculturation. Although Sun and Jung have similar characteristics, their families' parental perspectives on trips are different: the former did not view trips as helpful for her children's acculturation or SLA, but the latter saw trips as having a positive effect. It seems that parental propensities and characteristics are also reflected in their choices for their children's English education.

Minsu's family seemed to make the most use of direct instruction to support their children's SLA in the U.S. As a result of Minsu's father's instruction in grammar and reading, Minsu and Minhee easily entered the mainstream, keeping up with their American peers earlier than other Korean children of the same age with a similar background in English, according to Minsu's mother. In Sun's family, her aunt, who had been living in the U.S. for over seven years with her daughter, a fluent speaker of English, provided Sun and her own daughter

with very rigid instruction for six months right after Sun's exposure to the host country. Sun's aunt's efforts had a great influence, not only on Sun's SLA, but also on her studies at school, Sun's mother stated.

It is an easily accepted view that the younger child in a family is more likely to adapt to the language and culture of a host country due to the effect of age. However, this general theory about the effect of age on SLA does not seem to apply in Jeny's family because the older child, Jeny, adapted much faster, surpassing her younger brother Jimmy in accent, spoken fluency, reading comprehension, listening, and writing, which can be explained by the effect of Jeny's background knowledge, experience and personality. As indicated in previous sections regarding Jeny, she made considerable progress in English and other fields in Korea through reading books in English and Korean. Her younger brother Jimmy has relatively less knowledge in every field compared with his sister Jeny due to his inconsistent reading practice and less diligent attitude toward using other resources for SLA in Korea. Their parents seemed to exert more effort to build Jeny's knowledge, due to her positive attitude toward reading and study, as well as her inborn language aptitude.

The main claim of the theory of the effect of age on SLA is that younger learners may have a more native-like accent than older learners. Considerable research to confirm the effect of age on SLA has been conducted, and the findings have showed a correlation between age and accent. It cannot be said that the research and its findings were wrong; however, it can be said that the way researchers in this tradition have tended to approach L2 learners is

problematic. Many researchers consider an L2 learner's age at exposure to the host country as a starting point for their research, minimizing the importance of the efforts of L2 learners and their families at their home countries. In addition, most of these researchers have depended on quantitative data to measure L2 learners' accent and fluency. The current study was conducted qualitatively, exploring less visible strategies and stories of families regarding their children's SLA. I had strongly believed the concept regarding SLA that states *the younger, the better*. However, my experiences with my own children and other Korean children in the U.S. made me realize that younger arrival in a host country is not always better. Jeny and my older son are examples which show that older is sometimes much better than younger in practical terms regarding SLA in a host country. This can be explained by the effect of background knowledge accrued in home countries through reading English books, watching movies, listening to story and phonics tapes, private tutoring, private language institutes, direct instruction by family members, and more.

*Category VIII: Children's Personal Characteristics and Language Aptitude
Similarities and Individual Traits in Families*

Sun and Jung showed similar personalities and language aptitudes. They were so social and talkative that their parents had to restrict their talking and behaviors in public. However, those characteristics worked very beneficially for their SLA because they had little shame or fear when they talked with others in the U.S. They did not wait for American peers to communicate with them at

school. Instead, they approached the American children first because they felt stressed when they could not make themselves understood to their friends.

The two children in a family can have different characteristics, as seen in John's family, and this personality difference can influence their process of language acquisition. For example, John is very quiet and sincere, which is not helpful for his spoken English. On the other hand, his younger sister Mary is very social and talkative, which has influenced her fluency in spoken English and her relationships with American peers.

Children may show different characteristics in different contexts. In Minsu's family, the two children are generally social and talkative, but they change their personalities depending on the situation. Minsu is usually very social and talkative, but when he starts an important project, he becomes quiet and focused. Minhee is social and feminine with her girl friends. However, when she plays sports with boys, she becomes very competitive. Therefore, it seems very hard to define children's personalities outside of specific situations and contexts.

Influence on SLA and Parental Perspectives

Parents generally agreed that personality has a great influence on SLA. However, the perspective of each parent is different at a certain point. For example, Sun's and Jeny's parents agreed that various factors combine to produce good results in English: personality, language aptitude, parental concern, family environment, and more. John's father argued that less social and talkative

children are less skilled at speaking English, but their lower fluency does not imply a lack of knowledge or failure at school. Jeny's mother also argued that a child's quietness does not imply passivity. She also pointed out that the same personality can lead to a different result when other attributes are missing in a child. For example, her two children are both very quiet, but her daughter Jeny has a very diligent personality, so she always completed her assignments in English on schedule in Korea. However, her son Jimmy was less diligent, so he made slower progress in English, compared to his sister Jeny. For the highest achievement in SLA, it seems that children's personalities and other attributes must work in harmony.

The Relationship between Children's Personality and Writing

Parents with a less social, quiet child argued that their child's personality is not closely related to his or her academics or accuracy in speaking and writing. However, some parents with a social and talkative child argued that their child's personality has a close relationship with academics and SLA. I compared several children's writings in order to paint a qualitative picture of what these parents' children seem to be doing when they write.

Table 15 shows excerpts from the writing of five children whose parents referred often to their personality type in the kinds of ways just mentioned.

Table 15

The Comparison of Children's Written Artifacts

<p>1. My younger son: Very quiet and less social</p> <p>I think "Freedom is not free" mean [means] people are not free <u>even they ended the war</u> [after the war ends], when you come out from jail, and the 38th parallel. Even [even if] the war is [has] ended, north Korea is still poor and starving, there is still [the] 38th parallel, and only Kim Il Sung had a lot of money. If you come out of prison, some people are still poor, there is a war going on, and when you go in the jail. [The] 38th parallel is freedom, but not free, because you still have to defend you [your] country, not enough rest, and one of the country [countries] might start a war again.</p>
<p>2. John: Very quiet and less social, consistent reading</p> <p>[The] Coal industry became important because all important industries in the 1800s needed heats [heat] from fire. Coal is a rock that burns and it is made by carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen. Coal became an industry that everyone needed. It burned much longer and powerful than woods. By these benefits, ordinary people used coal to heat their homes and everywhere they used for woods.</p>
<p>3. Sam: Very talkative and social</p> <p>This summer I learned about humpback whales. Humpback whales eat plankton. Crill and seaweed. Humpback whale [whales] lived [live] in bottom of the see [sea]. Nhon humpback whales talking [talk] to other Humpback whales. They used saunding [use sounds] and singing. Humpback whale [whales] has [have] big body and small eyes. I like learning about humpback whales.</p>
<p>4. Mary: Very talkative and social</p> <p>I read a book call Harvey's Hideout. It was about <i>mouskrats</i> [muskrats]. They were <i>brothere</i> [brother] and sister just like me and Jake. <i>There</i> [their] names were Midred and Harvey. Harvery was building a raft. He was hammering and Midred did not like the loud noise so they got into a big fight and started to yell bad things to each other. There father made <i>tham</i> [tjem] <i>right</i> [write] a <i>promis</i> [promise] not to fight five hundred times. They are still mad at each other. The <i>nexst</i> [next] day Midred said she was going to a big party. Harvey said he was going to a secret <i>bub</i> [?] the truth was they were <i>bouth</i> [both] alone.</p>
<p>5. Tom: Very talkative and social, exposed to English from Head Start</p> <p>Go to the upstairs [upstairs] and find a hole. And you find the hole? And there is another one find a Harry's room and kill the Harry and go to the downstair and hide the treasure map and go to upstairs again and find the blue ball and get the Harry's power and go to a downstair and get the treasure map and go upstairs and kill the skeleton and get the skeleton power and put it in the blue all and go to downstair and There is demanto and attack the demanto and attack the skeleton to and attack the skeleton and demanto and do war and hide at the coat and shoot the arrow and fight with the sword and if you fight longer then your <i>gurabe</i> [?] dead. —The end—</p>

The bold faced words indicate the child's grammatical errors and the italicized words indicate the child's spelling errors. I underlined the words that sounded awkward. Tom's writing was actually transcribed by me, following his request for me to write it down because he preferred to talk rather than write. To crosscheck my evaluation, I had two outside readers edit the English style of the written artifacts.

Of course, no definite generalization can be drawn from such a small data sample. However, some intriguing patterns do emerge from examining even these short writings. As the bold faced works indicated, the social and talkative children (Sam and Mary) tend to make frequent errors in spelling or tense. Their English is not academic but communicative. It sounds as if they were participating in active conversation. Mary personalized her writing by connecting the situation of her story to her real life.

However, quiet and less social children's writings look very different from their counterpart. John made few mistakes in spelling and his tenses remain coherent in his short piece on the coal industry. His writing is simple, organized, and idealized. It also looks academic, not conversational. His ideas are synthesized, not complicated. It seems that his consistent reading helps him determine his voice. His writing supports his parents' argument that a quiet child can speak and write more accurately, even if the child's fluency in speaking is very slow.

My son's writing also reveals his personality, which is less talkative, but sincere and careful. It seems that he wants to write serious sentences, but his

English is not at that level. His ideas are complex and deep when he speaks of war and economic factors in history, although his English is still not at the stage to adequately carry such ideas. Thus, his writing sounds awkward, and it lacks logical connection. However, his careful and sincere personality led him to make few mistakes in spelling. As a mother, I can conclude that his lack of reading and knowledge of English works negatively against him as a coherent and logical writer. However, it seems that he has amazing potential to be a good writer if rich reading and knowledge in English are provided.

Through Tom's adventure story of the treasure map (six years old), we can see that he is a very imaginative child. It seems that he is living in his own world, talking to himself. His thinking seems to be in and out of reality. Although his writing does not sound academic, it is very sequential and coherent and sounds like storytelling. His writing agrees with his mother's statement that he is very imaginative, is a good storyteller, and sometimes confuses reality and the world of fantasy.

In conclusion, unlike some parents' arguments about social and talkative children, it is hard to find a positive relationship between social personality and writing skill. However, we can tentatively conclude that John's parents' argument may have some validity and that some children who enjoy reading may develop good writing skills in spite of their low fluency in speaking.

Category IX: American Community, School System, and Adaptation

Similarities in Families

Parents favored community facilities and programs to develop their children's SLA. They were especially interested in the library and its programs, which seems to reflect their present situation as master's or doctoral students. They think of the library as an integral part of their lives, both for their course work and for their children's education. Particularly for the children living with a single parent, the library plays an important role both as a source of educational materials and programs and as a substitute for child care, allowing their children to study and play in a safe environment.

Most parents viewed the school system and teachers favorably because their children received many benefits from school by actively taking part in various events and programs. They also thought schools gave an equal opportunity to every child without any discrimination in grades due to gender, nationality, or social and financial status. Above all, they appreciated the American school system since it provided a complete program without placing any financial burden on parents, contrary to the Korean school system where more benefit goes to excellent and talented students, and parents feel pressured to pay for tutoring and other types of support.

Individual Traits in Families

Sun showed the greatest preference for the American school system and teachers. According to her mother, Sun is so satisfied in school that she resists

the idea of going back to Korea. She especially likes the freedom of expression she has at school and has a negative memory about Korean school, where her free expression and talkativeness were frequently restricted.

Jung's opinion of the American school system was different from his mother's. Jung was very young, and it was hard for him to endure a long school day (from 8:30 am to 3:30 pm) compared with that in Korea (from 9:00 am to 1:00 pm). However, the long elementary school day was viewed positively by single mothers in M.A. and Ph.D. programs, since it gave them more time to study.

Influence on SLA and Parents' Perspectives

Parents generally argued for the positive effect of the programs provided by the community and school for their children's SLA. They said that exposure to various activities in the community and at school facilitated their children's adaptation to the culture and people as well as to spoken English. They agreed that the activity-centered programs helped to reduce their children's culture shock, improving their communicative English.

Minsu's family used the programs most actively among the participant families. According to them, their first stay in the U.S. during Minsu's father's doctoral degree (when their children were in infancy) allowed them to acquire considerable knowledge about the American school system and various programs provided by schools and the community. During their second stay in the U.S. for Minsu's mother's doctoral degree, they were able to help their

children quickly and easily enter the mainstream because they were familiar with those systems.

Category X: Identity, Motivation, and Retention of English

Similarities in Families

The parents of my participant families rarely worried about their children's loss of identity because they all planned to return to Korea after earning a master's or doctoral degree. In addition, these parents believed that their daily use of the Korean language and enjoying Korean food at home and in the Korean community helped their children maintain a Korean identity in spite of their influence of American education. Most of my participant children going to elementary school did not seem to have strong explicit motivation to learn English, although some parents were involved in their children's SLA through direct instruction in the U.S., which was not planned to instill motivation regarding English. Parents seemed to allow their children to enjoy their school activities and studies, which seemed to help my participant children acquire SLA in a natural setting in their host country.

Individual Traits in Families

Sun's and Minsu's mothers had unusual and interesting views of their children's identities. They do not want their children to be confined to the single identity of Koreans, although they do not disregard Korean identity. They want

the children to develop multi-identities as international citizens in order to survive in the globalized world.

Most children did not appear to have any specific type of motivation regarding English except for Minsu and Jeny. According to Minsu's mother, her son's social characteristics and his wish to continue his favorite hobbies may have provided him with his own independent motivation regarding L2 literacy. For example, his motivation to read English books, to make friends with American peers, and to play games written in English might facilitate his L2 learning.

Although Jeny was strongly motivated to read more English books, enjoy more American popular music, and participate in various activities provided by her school and in the local community, her real motivation for SLA was more future-oriented. Her mother said that her daughter's motivation was established by her consistent explanation of the purpose of SLA and the importance of English in the society, in the world, and in her own life. Accordingly, Jeny had developed the desire to be a diplomat, which seems to reflect parental, societal, and her own individual perspectives on English.

Influence on SLA and Parents' Perspectives

Parents generally appear to think that exposure to American education and a long stay in the host country have a strong influence on children's identity establishment. Sun's mother believed that her children's language fluency and accent affected their identity. Sun's early exposure to the mainstream and her long stay in the U.S. made her fluent in English. In addition, her fluency and

native-like accent reduced her Korean language ability. Although it was not frequent, Sun was sometimes confused about her Korean identity. Sun's mother's stories support her connection of the identity issue to language proficiency. She said her daughter showed a strong resistance to her mother's statement that they had to return to Korea after she completed her doctoral degree, and Sun also expressed a desire to marry an American man some day. Recall also that Sun once expressed anger at her mother for speaking Korean in front of Sun's American peers. However, other parents did not worry about their children's loss of identity in the U.S. because they were clearly returning to Korea after they completed their degrees. Some parents even wanted their children to speak English fluently enough as to allow it to weaken their Korean identity.

In the sections for data comparison, I compared data horizontally (among families) and vertically (among categories), based on the data analyzed and interpreted in the sections for each category. I primarily made efforts to find similarities among families, individual traits in each family, parental perspectives, and influence on SLA through data comparison. In the following chapter, I will answer my research questions based on the data analysis and comparison.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the data description and analysis, I answer the five research questions presented in Chapter I which were promoted by my curiosity and experiences with my own children in the U.S. These answers reflect my tri-fold stance as an ESL and EFL educator, a researcher in the field of TESOL, and a mother.

Research Findings

Q1. What Beliefs and Perceptions do Korean Parents Hold regarding the Issues that Make Their Children's L2 Learning Successful?

A1. SLA Succeeds Best with Consistent Parental Concern and Interaction.

As seen in the data description and analysis, the participant parents have made great efforts to help their children's SLA. Among those efforts, parent-child reading books for L1 and L2 literacy was revealed as the strategy on which parents spent the longest time and the most energy. The children who had been exposed to English books and audio-visual tools for the longest period since infancy in the home country (Korea) achieved the most outstanding results regarding their SLA in the host country (U.S.). They were able to speak fluent English with a native-like accent and adapt themselves to the mainstream culture within the shortest period among all participant children.

Nagai (1997) argued that children's early exposure to English in a rich environment does not always guarantee "native-like performance" (p. 7). However, my research showed that early exposure to English, accompanied by

parents' ongoing concern and interaction, had a positive effect on children's SLA and their integration into the mainstream American culture. Early exposure to English seems to have helped some participant children acquire a native-like accent and fluency; this result concurs with Oyama (1976) and Fathman (1975), although our starting points measuring SLA were different. Oyama (1976) and Fathman (1975) considered only exposure to English in the host country, while I included exposure in the home country in the form of parent-child interaction regarding L2 literacy. Another important finding of my research is that children who were exposed to English later in childhood but who consistently interacted with parents retained a good attitude toward L2 reading in the host country, quickly catching up with their counterparts.

A surprising finding was that some parents still read aloud to their older children in order to show the parents' interest in literacy and encourage more interest in reading books among their children. This practice reflects their position on the goals of reading, goals which go beyond the teaching of language skills. These parents believed that reading aloud brings emotional stability to children's minds and establishes family rapport, which in turn promotes the children's cooperation with their parents' instruction and advice regarding their literacy education. Families generally agreed that parental interest and interaction through parent-child reading of books helps children to develop good reading and study habits, which facilitates both L1 and L2 literacy.

A2. 'The Earlier the Better' is a Policy that Supports Accent and Fluency.

As indicated in data analysis, the children who were exposed to English at the earliest age through semiotic and audio-visual tools (Sun and Jeny) showed a native-like accent and a high level of fluency of English, as Oyama (1976) found: the earlier one is exposed to English, the better his or her accent will be. It was also revealed that these children experienced less difficulty adjusting to English when they arrived in the host country. Their adaptation was much quicker, and their culture shock was much less than that of other participant children. This was especially notable with older children who arrived in the host country as secondary school students (Jeny and my older son): both their knowledge of English, obtained through semiotic and audio-visual tools and English lessons, and their academic knowledge in other fields, obtained through formal school education and consistent reading, had a great influence on their SLA and academic success in the host country.

The term *earlier* should be qualified to reflect the setting where children are exposed to English: earlier in Korea (an EFL setting) vs. earlier in the U.S. (an ESL setting). The children who were exposed to English after elementary school in Korea via private language institutes did not show remarkable development regarding English in the host country, in spite of having one or two years of exposure to English in Korea. Older children who had not been consistently exposed to English from infancy had problems with language in the beginning stage of their stay in the host country, struggling with listening and speaking for at least six months to a year. This was true regardless of their

having been exposed to English in Korea through private after-school programs. In contrast, the children (Sam and Jung) who came to the host country at the age of seven or younger adapted to the language and culture quickly, even without any exposure to English in the home country, speaking English within a year with a native-like accent and fluency, able to mix and change languages depending on the situation. Their parents seemed to attribute this to the young children's immersion in the activity and play-centered curricula in kindergarten and the lower grades.

When young children came to the U.S. before kindergarten or right after elementary school, they easily entered the mainstream, soon speaking English with a native-like accent and fluency regardless of the strategies provided by their parents in the home country. Actually, many children who arrived at that age had not been exposed to English at all except for Sun, a girl who had been read to in English since infancy in Korea.

To summarize, earlier exposure produced better results in two cases: (1) when children were exposed to English on a daily basis for a long time, beginning with infancy in Korea; and (2) when the children arrived in the host country before or right after entering elementary school. In other cases, children tended to show similar responses to English, struggling with listening and speaking for the first six to twelve months. In other words, exposure to English in Korea had little noticeable effect, unless that exposure began early and was consistent over several years on a daily basis.

A3. Earlier is not always Better in Every Respect.

When English itself is put on a measuring scale, my participant parents appear to agree with the concept *the earlier, the better*. However, their perspectives on early English education were more specific and varied than this axiom indicates. The fever for early English education in Korea goes far beyond the level of mere language acquisition since the mastery of English is seen as a matter of survival. The fact that Korea has become the country with the largest number of international students in the U.S. as of September, 2005, indicates the value placed on English. In fact, I found that the parents' awareness of their children's needs may actually contribute to the increasing number of international students at the college level; my participant families had their children's SLA in mind when considering study abroad in the U.S. The goals of college degrees for the parents and SLA for their children seem to have played equal roles in the decision to study abroad, as indicated in the individual interviews and the group interview with parents. The dynamics of growth in the local Korean community illustrates my point here. When I first came to this small college town, two or three Korean graduate students had come with their elementary school-aged children. However, this number has tripled within three years.

My participant parents strongly opposed children's early study abroad without their parents. They insisted that children in such a situation would be likely to become addicted to drugs, to meet bad friends, to suffer from sexual harassment and abuse, and to fall into the trap of crime. As explanations for their anxiety, they cited children's lack of self-control and weakness in resisting

temptation, as well as their impulsive behaviors, which are likely to increase during puberty and adolescence. In addition, they argued that those children would be more likely to suffer severe emotional difficulties such as isolation, loneliness, depression, or melancholy, especially in puberty or adolescence, when their parents' love, advice, suggestions, and guidance are absolutely needed if they are to stay on the right track in life.

It cannot be denied that earlier exposure to a host country leads to a very positive effect regarding English acquisition. However, the parents expressed worries about the loss of Korean identity as well as the Korean language. The interview and observation results indicated that children who have been exposed to English for long periods in the host country show such negative side effects along with their fluency in English. This may have occurred because they were immersed into the mainstream before the language system of their mother tongue was cognitively imprinted and their identity was well established. For those children, the linguistic and cultural input provided by the local Korean community and their own family are not enough to recover their weakened identity and language because the exposure time to English through school education and mainstream environments far exceeds their day-to-day experience with Korean language and culture.

Still, participant parents ultimately did not seem seriously concerned about their children's loss of Korean identity or language destruction because they had a strong will to return to Korea after completing their degrees. They also seemed to believe that their children would recover any lost sense of their identity,

language, and culture naturally when they are exposed to the home country again. In contrast, some parents who have older children worried about their loss of knowledge in other academic fields while they are in the U.S. because these parents are aware that their children's language barrier may limit their progress when knowledge is provided in English. In addition, they believe that their children's reading rate and comprehension will affect their ability to keep up with their American peers, causing them to fall behind in acquiring knowledge.

Both Jeny and my older son entered the mainstream as secondary school students, but they were able to keep up with their American peers due to the knowledge they acquired through reading Korean books and to other aspects of their schooling in Korea. Their process of SLA indicates that earlier is not always better regarding SLA in the host country. But their success in language and academics cannot be entirely explained by their age at exposure to the host country; rather, this factor interacts with their ability to command the mother tongue and the amount of knowledge they had acquired in their home country. Kurlychek (1997) argued that the development of the first language must not be considered as irrelevant to the second language because mother tongue mastery later contributes to success in SLA.

Based on my experiences with my two sons and the current research, I have concluded that the lack of earlier exposure in the home country does matter in the host country, at least for children above nine or ten years of age who were not exposed to English in the home country; this effect may be particularly strong for those who have a very quiet personality. For these children, their introverted

behavior prevents their *practice* of communicative English (Bakhtin, 1986), which might be said to prolong what Krashen and others would call their 'silent period.' The new Dialogical Model of SLA based on Vygotsky's Socio-Cultural Theory and Bakhtin's heteroglossia indicate that "to acquire the target language is to acquire discursive practices (speech genres) characteristic of a given sociocultural and institutional setting" (as cited in Johnson, 2004, p. 179). This view supports the idea that active participation in interaction in the host country is important.

For children who can speak fluently within a year in the host country due to their inborn active and talkative personality, regardless of their exposure to English in the home country, it is hard to guarantee that fluency in speaking will be accompanied by academic success. Fluency and academic performance, surprisingly, do not go hand in hand. Some children who showed less fluency in spoken English actually achieved greater academic success than their more fluent siblings or peers. Vergne (1982) stated that children's length of stay in the U.S. correlates with school adjustment, self-esteem, the children's attitude toward school, and home adjustment. However, as shown for some children who participated in this research, a long stay does not guarantee fluency in spoken English. Regarding the academic success of children who lack spoken fluency, Chen (2003) stated that L2 learners' academic achievement is "a multidimensional phenomenon" and is "the product of a relational process" (p. 6). Some parents clearly distinguished spoken English from academic English. They believed that fluency in spoken English does not predict success at school,

although they agreed that a long stay in the host country promotes children's fluency and that early exposure leads to a native-like accent.

A4. Forceful Parental Involvement Is Sometimes Needed.

Most parents think that ESL programs are very beneficial for their children's speaking and writing and that the American educational system is more efficient than that in Korea because of their child- and activity-centered education, in contrast with the relatively teacher-centered and text-centered Korean way of teaching. However, the fact that they have to go back to Korea right after completing their degree seems to make them impatient regarding their children's SLA. Therefore, some parents decided to take more initiative in their children's SLA in order to shorten their children's adjustment time for academic work and language in the U.S. The chosen type of intervention tended to favor the more rigid, authoritarian teaching practices found in Korean schools.

Such parents are no longer mere observers regarding their children's literacy. They actively take part in activities to promote their children's literacy long before formal instruction starts. The current study indicates that there is a very positive effect when Korean parents become involved in their children's SLA via direct instruction in grammar, reading and writing. Regarding their strategies, the parents in this study showed similarities in this instruction: they employed grammar-centered methods and a Spartan style of teaching, disregarding their children's resistance. They believed that their involvement facilitated their

children's adaptation to academics and language, helping them develop good reading habits and increase vocabulary.

The fact that parents seemed to disagree somewhat on the use of these traditional methods with their children may reflect some changing trends in attitudes among Korean parents; however, this issue goes beyond the scope of the present study and is only mentioned here as an interesting contrast between different parents' views.

*Q2. How do Families Interact with Children to Support Their L2 Literacy?:
What Strategies do They Use to Support Their SLA?*

As indicated in the data analysis in Chapter IV regarding background knowledge, parental efforts to engage their children in language learning were quite intense, and their strategies in doing so were varied. Some children were exposed to many strategies provided by their parents, while others were exposed to very few. Among the various strategies, it was revealed that parents spent the greatest time and energy in reading books with their children to promote both L1 and L2 literacy. Most parents read books aloud or narrated them to draw their children's interest and to accustom them to Korean and English sounds. During or after reading, they would discuss these books together or ask the children questions about the contents, or ask their children to imagine upcoming scenes. However, most parents did not approach reading by monitoring their children's reading process or by forcefully checking reading comprehension. They said they tried to utilize reading as a playful way to encourage their children's L1 and L2 literacy. According to Kramsch (2004), linguistic signs are "created, used,

borrowed, and interpreted” (p. 133) by individuals engaged in purposeful action; the author further claimed that language emerges from socio-cultural activities. As Lantolf and Thorne (2006) suggested, a mother can provide an infrastructure for her child’s language construction.

Parental strategies differed depending on the child’s age, gender, order in the family, and the local resources and attitudes regarding SLA, as well as the child’s own inclination or interest. When a family had two children, parents generally showed more interest in their first child’s literacy, exerting great effort regardless of the child’s gender. This tendency again seems to reflect an interesting perspective shift among Korean parents, since traditionally, parents preferred sons to daughters and treated women as inferior. My participant parents tended to support a child, regardless of whether it was a son or daughter, when the child shows talent and aptitude in language or other fields.

Except for parent-child reading, which all the families practiced, the parents showed a clear contrast regarding their use of strategies for their children’s SLA. Some children were barely exposed to English other than through reading books and using audio-visual tools, but others were exposed to a range of activities provided by their parents. Families also differed regarding the length of exposure to English, ranging from one or two years to six or more years.

I found that the children’s exposure to various activities reflected their parents’ perspectives and experiences regarding SLA. Parents who enjoy reading themselves had a great influence on their children’s reading. Parents whose parents used to read books or news articles to them followed this pattern

with their own children. In contrast, parents who had negative perspectives on early English education based on their own experiences paid relatively less attention to their children's SLA compared with their counterparts. Also, parents who did not see visible results with their first child showed a decrease in their interest and efforts to influence their second child's SLA.

The data also showed that their parents' vocation had an influence on children's SLA. Parents whose jobs are related to English instruction provided a rich environment for L2 literacy, exposing their children to English on a daily basis. One parent whose job was a librarian in Korea also had a great influence on her children's L1 and L2 literacy in that she could choose books according to their developmental stages. Parental book choice correlated closely with reading choices in the host country; children showed a tendency to choose books that they had already read in Korea in a translated version.

Other aspects of family dynamics also played a role. Parents who enjoyed social outings and trips often took their children along on such trips, which fostered family closeness and affected their children's social development. These parents had a tendency to give their children considerable freedom regarding literacy, respecting the children's desires and interests.

Another interesting but predictable finding of this research is that local features of the family's place of residence in Korea seem to have a great influence on their children's SLA. In Korea, the districts in terms of English and education are divided into two regions: Seoul, the capital city of Korea, can be seen as a district of its own, as compared with other cities. The capital itself is in

turn made up of quite different districts, and this difference was reflected in the data.

Among my participants, one family came from a city near Seoul, and all of the others came from the capital city. The capital city is divided into two areas: Kangnam and Kangbuk. The former is the area where the fever for early English education is the hottest. Parents living in that area have easy access to facilities and private language tutors. In addition, in that area, public approval of early English education and study abroad has been prevalent for a long time. In this study, I found that the girl who came from Kangnam showed the most rapid adaptation to language and school with the shortest period of exposure time to the host country (about one month). The other children who came from Kangbuk and other surrounding cities all experienced several months of struggle with English after arriving in the host country, regardless of strategies used by their parents to support their learning of English in the home country.

Regarding educational facilities for SLA outside school, most children had attended a private language institute for English conversation for one or two years before arriving in the U.S. The parents believed that this study in private language institutes would help to reduce their children's culture shock rather than solving language barriers. As indicated in Chapter IV, children who had the experience of attending a private language institute still experienced difficulty speaking and listening to English for the first six months to a year after arriving in the U.S. Regarding private tutoring, one participant child was tutored for two years for grammar and English conversation in Korea. However, it cannot be

concluded that her exposure to a private language institute and tutoring led to her accent and fluency, considering her mother's comment that her daughter's experiences at those facilities damaged her accent.

The parents also stated that the study of phonics through worksheets did not seem to influence their children's spoken English, basing this claim on their children's struggle with English for several months after arrival in the host country. When parents depended on the worksheet materials alone without becoming personally involved in what their children were doing, they saw no improvement regarding their accent or basic understanding of English.

My participant children were exposed to English in Korea through various routes such as reading books, attending private language institutes, receiving tutoring, completing worksheets, and using audio-visual tools. Despite these efforts, parents stated that they could not see a visible result caused by their effort on behalf of their children's SLA in Korea due to the lack of assessment tools. Therefore, some of them changed their strategies for their second child or delayed efforts to promote his or her development in English. However, in retrospect, they now seem to believe that they were right in supporting their older children's SLA using these tools and strategies because they have been able to see the quick adaptation of these children to English and study in the U.S.

In addition to family efforts exerted in Korea, my participant parents have been extremely active in promoting their children's SLA in the U.S., utilizing programs provided by the community and schools or encouraging their children's SLA via their own direct instruction. Parents who had inside knowledge about

American schools and community systems—obtained during an earlier stay in the U.S. —helped their children quickly enter the mainstream through programs and activities provided by those two systems. They believe that these strategies helped their children acquire spoken English and cultural literacy more quickly.

Q3. To What Extent do Families Feel that Their Strategies are Successful?

It seems hard for parents to determine the degree to which their efforts have affected their children's SLA because language development happens socio-cognitively and is difficult to measure; at any rate, cause-effect relationships are extremely difficult to prove. Until recently many quantitative studies have attempted to measure L2 learners' SLA with empirical data. In the children's home country, language proficiency has frequently been evaluated by various text-based English tests, and the number of children taking the TOEFL or TOEIC tests is increasing. However, in the host country, the assessment criteria regarding English are different. Children are exposed to an English-speaking environment all day long, and their English is measured by various criteria such as speaking, listening, essay writing, reading, assignments, activities, school tests, and so forth.

To take an example, Sun's English was not accurately measured in Korea because her play-centered English was rarely evaluated. However, in the U.S., the situation was different. English was not a language of play anymore. It was an invaluable tool for survival at school. Her English was evaluated by her American peers, school teachers, community members, and clerks at stores.

Wherever she went, her English was measured—not so much formally, but by the reactions of others to her speech. She began to exercise her potential regarding English when she was drowned in the sea of English. When her potential encountered her aunt's Spartan form of instruction, it exploded, according to her family's account. In Sun's mother's view, the family efforts in Korea by both herself (the mother) and her aunt, combined with Sun's study in the U.S., produced multiple effects, bringing Sun great success linguistically and academically.

Jeny's mother could not measure her daughter's English in Korea either, although Jeny far out-performed her Korean peers at school. In addition, English tests in secondary school in Korea do not evaluate every aspect of students' English because those tests consist only of written items plus limited listening tests conducted with cassette tapes. However, in the U.S., from the beginning her English was measured by school assignments, projects, activities, essay writings, and more. Her family's influence on her English literacy began to be tested day after day with a rigid measuring ruler at school. In addition, her knowledge acquired by reading Korean books in the home country facilitated her English reading comprehension. Her mother said that her daughter's quick adaptation to the American culture and English surprised everybody in the Korean community, convincing her that she had been right regarding her efforts to increase her daughter's exposure to English in Korea.

Minsu's mother's efforts to promote English and Korean reading books in the home country and his father's efforts to improve grammar and reading

comprehension in the host country seemed to produce good results regarding their children's (Minsu and Minhee) SLA, facilitating their adaptation to language and study at school. Minsu's mother believes that without her husband's efforts during their first year in the U.S., their children might still be struggling with English. She believes that her husband's efforts, in particular, were a major factor in their children's survival at school.

Q4. Do Parents Think that Their Children's Individual Characteristics Lead to Differences Affecting Their Second Language Learning and General Academic Achievement?

Parents generally argued for a positive relationship between their children's individual characteristics and their verbal fluency. Whereas some argued for a positive relationship between verbal fluency and academic success at school, others who had quiet children argued against a connection. They argued that a quiet personality does not necessarily mean passivity at school activities. Rather, they claimed that their child's quiet personality and sincere attitude made him or her tenacious at finding solutions to any given question or for finishing an assigned project.

Following up on this, parents made a clear distinction between fluency and knowledge, even including 'linguistic' knowledge by implication. For example, John's father argued that John's fluency is much lower than that of his younger sister Mary, but that he speaks with more accuracy and knowledge. In addition, he pointed out that John's reading comprehension is much faster than his sister's and that he is more successful at school. Jeny's mother also argued that her

daughter Jeny is usually quiet, but she far surpasses her peers at completing projects and making presentations at school. Sam's mother revealed that Sam, her older son, is so social that he is constantly surrounded by peers, both in Korea and in the U.S. In addition, he is very active and likes sports very much, which she believes to be helpful in improving his verbal fluency in English. However, she does not think her son's social and active personality will lead to good study habits in the end. These consistent results, which held up when I examined the writing of the quiet and active children, suggest that we need to use caution in assuming that verbal and extroverted children are 'more successful' than their quiet, studious counterparts. A more realistic view would be that these two kinds of children learn to succeed at different parts of the language-use game.

In conclusion, these parents argued that verbal fluency and a native-like accent should not be the sole criteria to measure SLA because children's ability to express themselves involves a whole range of skills and abilities: the four basic skills in English (speaking, listening, writing, and reading) as well as the ability to solve problems at school, to finish given projects and assignments, and to express ideas competently in written form. Any child may excel at one or more of these areas while being weaker in others; thus, a blanket assessment of the child as 'fluent' is perhaps misguided.

However, parents of introverted or quiet children are the ones who seem to have come to this conclusion. Those who have social and active children have a different perspective on this issue. They believe that their children's

personalities give them easy access to friends, and they focus understandably on their view that their children's social and talkative personalities facilitate their spoken English which they believe provides the potential for academic success. They argued that social and active children show curiosity about everything and every event, and that encourages their motivation both to speak and to learn. They also believe that their children's outgoing personalities helped them to enter the mainstream easily since they made friends more easily through sports, school activities, and social communication.

Q5. How does Family Support Provided in Korea for Children's L1 and L2 Literacy Work for Schooling and L2 Learning in the U.S. Judging from the Family Members' Own Perspectives?

In a broad sense, two positive measures of children's language acquisition can be identified: verbal fluency with a native-like accent, and academic success at school. However, other factors can also be seen as relevant: (1) a decrease in resistance to English speakers, their language, and the American culture and school system; (2) an increase in communicative English and reading comprehension; and (3) achievement in arts, math, and computer skills.

Sun's and Jeny's parents' believed that family influence helped their children acquire a native-like accent and fluency and helped them to succeed at school within a short period of time. They felt that their children suffered little effect from language barriers or culture shock when they arrived in the U.S., and they attributed this smooth transition to the children's early exposure to English in Korea. In addition, Jeny's family's decision to help her acquire familiarity with

English grammar and structures through private tutoring and language institutes reduced her difficulty in writing school essays and assignments later. The knowledge she gained by reading English and Korean books in Korea facilitated both her reading comprehension and listening skills, which her mother feels led to her academic success. However, Jeny's mother regrets that she did not pay much attention to her younger child's English due to her skeptical perspective about the results of family involvement in SLA in Korea. She had been impatient at the invisible and delayed result of her efforts toward Jeny's SLA. But as a result of her decreased involvement in her son's English learning, she believes that it took him longer to become accustomed to the new language and culture. Finally, she believes her lack of concern and her son's reluctance to study English led to a longer adaptation time for him and a longer "silent period" when he came to the U.S.

Although Jung was exposed to reading English books late (during first grade in the U.S.) compared with Sun and Jeny, his reading comprehension far exceeds that of his Korean peers. His mother feels that this is due to her consistent reading to him in the U.S. Likewise, Minsu's father's support for their children's knowledge of grammar and English structures, as well as their reading comprehension, helped the children in Minsu's family to quickly adjust to the mainstream in the U.S. by reducing language barriers to academic study. As a result, Minsu's English was advanced enough to allow him to read news articles, understand their content, and even giggle at their humor as well as writing scripts for his own cartoons. John's mother used worksheets (which focused on phonics)

on a daily basis with her children, and this seems to have reduced their resistance to English sounds and facilitated their reading, as well as fostering their knowledge of basic concepts in English. Their ability to read English led them to read extensively, which promoted their reading comprehension in their academic work at school.

In conclusion, parents displayed a very skeptical attitude regarding the effect of their influence on their children's SLA in Korea. However, when their children showed visible results regarding English and adapted smoothly to the American school and culture, they began to believe that their efforts had not been in vain. In cases where parents had reduced their interest and support in SLA for their second child because they had not seen effective results, they began to regret their decision when the second child struggled with English for a long time.

Discussion

In this section, I discuss issues regarding children's SLA based on data collected for the current research and my own experiences with my two sons in the U.S. I set up five questions for discussion which cover both my research and my own experiences.

The Influence of Age on L2 Literacy

Much research has been conducted to investigate the relationship between acquisition of a target language and exposure age and duration of stay

in a host country. However, most research tends to dismiss or ignore exposure age and duration in the L2 learners' home country. In addition, family support for L2 literacy has also been neglected in the research on SLA. Like these researchers, I did not believe that exposure to English in the home country would have a great influence on children's SLA in the host country prior to my experiences with my two sons in the U.S. as a mother and as a scholar in the field of TESOL.

My younger son's long silent period and low fluency (he was nine years old when he came to the U.S.) and my older son's quick adaptation to English (he was 14 years old then) made me curious about the effect of age on SLA. Many researchers have argued that a child's age affects SLA, so I worried about my younger son's relatively slow adaptation to English when compared with the progress made by other Korean children with a similar amount of exposure time in the host country. I had a strong curiosity regarding this issue because of the unexpected result shown by my two sons, which provided me with a strong motivation for the current research. The concept of *multi-competent* language users (Cook, 1991; 1995; 1996) for L2 learners strongly attracted my interest regarding my younger son's experience because his lack of fluency does not show a close relationship with his academic performance. Considering his non-exposure to English in the home country and his quiet personality, I can assume that his brain is working more actively than his peers' in order to solve problems originating from language and culture.

My younger son and younger participant children for the current study showed that early exposure to English in the host country influences children's accent. However, my experience with my sons and the older participant children in this study indicates that a native-like accent does not always mean fluency or accuracy in English. For some children, age produces a positive effect on accent and fluency in verbal English, but for some quiet children, age does not explain their degree of verbal fluency because various other factors affect their verbal behavior (which is covered in the subsequent discussion). My experience and data collected in individual interviews and participant observation revealed that age alone does not produce good results regarding SLA in the U.S., since various factors such as children's personality, language learning aptitude, family support, and background knowledge should be considered along with age of exposure to the target language culture here in the U.S. Among those factors, background knowledge of English and other fields obtained through family influence in the home country was revealed as an important additional factor in children's SLA, judging from the family's opinions and my observations on the children's progress.

For example, Jimmy and my younger son could not keep up with their older sister and brother (Jeny and my older son) in their English. Since age would have predicted that they would succeed (they were five years younger than their siblings), we must conclude that other factors must have impeded their progress—for instance, their lack of knowledge of English grammar and in other academic fields. Jeny and my older son were able to overcome language barriers

due to age, probably due to their prior experience with English and academic subjects in their home country. However, some younger children, like Tom, Jung, and Minhee, whose exposure to the mainstream occurred before the age of eight, showed a very positive relationship between age and verbal English. They could speak English fluently with a native-like accent within their first year in the U.S.

Thus, there seems to be a complex relationship between early exposure and success. For younger children who are exposed to the mainstream in first grade or earlier, their exposure age to the host country seems to have a great impact on their accent and fluency, perhaps in part because of their play- and activity-centered education. However, for older elementary school children in the third grade and above, their personality and knowledge of English should be considered along with exposure age as factors influencing SLA. For quiet children in their teens, age can work rather negatively regarding SLA because adolescent self-consciousness may prolong the silent period. Later, for secondary school children, school life is more challenging, which means that new arrivals at this age will have a difficult adjustment at school without background knowledge in English and other fields acquired in advance. Thus, a major factor influencing secondary school children's academic success in a host country is prior knowledge in English and other fields, which can serve as a basis to narrow the language gap between them and their native-speaking peers.

Family Influence on Children's L1 and L2 Literacy

Through data collected and analyzed in the current research, I found that family influence on children's L2 literacy had different effects, depending on parental perspectives on English, the parents' own experiences with literacy, parental educational level and career, and the social environments where English was used by the children.

For example, Minsu's and Jeny's fathers took active roles in their children's SLA, supporting their grammar and reading comprehension through direct instruction. Sun's mother's career and her hobby of reading had a strong influence on Sun's SLA through consistent reading of books. Jung's mother's practice of reading books in Korea and in the U.S. led her to read English and Korean books to her son regularly, which facilitated his reading comprehension by supporting vocabulary and knowledge development in various fields. Jeny's mother's career as a teacher and her social background—the Kangnam area of Seoul, where there was intense educational concern and competition regarding SLA—led to her daughter's early exposure to English via various strategies. John's mother's career as a librarian enabled her to expose her children to the Western classics in Korean translation, which also facilitated their reading comprehension in the U.S.

In contrast, both Sam's father and I have the same career as English teachers in Korea and appear to have similar perspectives on children's SLA. Based on our own experiences at school as teachers, we both felt that there was no big difference in achievement between children who are exposed to English

more often and earlier through family influence and children who are not, when these children enter secondary school. We felt that academic success in secondary school depends more on a child's own efforts than on family influence. Our perspectives and experiences at school gave us a more flexible attitude regarding our own children's learning of English. Again, the picture is complex and includes the locality where one lives; Sam's family has lived in one of the five large cities near Seoul, and this probably influenced his parents' perspectives as well as providing easy access to private language institutes. Accordingly, he exposed Sam to English conversation for two years through intensive English-only courses in the private language institute, which almost certainly facilitated Sam's adaptation to communicative English in the U.S.

In my own case, the difficulty to access such facilities, combined with my belief that young children would naturally acquire a second language once they are exposed to a host country, led me to neglect my younger son's English education in Korea. Once again, my own case confirms the possible influence of the parents' own experience. I was very independent in developing my own L1 and L2 literacy, having received no help from my parents or siblings, and this also influenced my attitude regarding my children's literacy education. I was very surprised to learn that my younger son was the only child who was not exposed to English at all except for the English alphabet in Korea among his Korean peers, including my participant children. I have come to believe that his lack of familiarity with English in the home country affected his SLA negatively, prolonging his silent period compared to that of other children.

In contrast, my older son's SLA was frequently exposed to English in Korea through my direct instruction, not only because I was an English teacher, but also because I felt he needed my support for the reasons outlined above. Although my instruction was not given on a regular basis, he had opportunities to study English grammar and basic expressions, which I believe reduced the language barrier that he faced when he arrived in the U.S. He also acquired considerable knowledge through reading books on Korean and world history, Greek and Roman mythology, and Western classics. In addition, his knowledge of computers and science facilitated his comprehension of these same subjects in the U.S. Along with my participant parents, I would also now argue for the positive effects of family influence on children's SLA in the host country.

The Influence of Background Knowledge on L2 Literacy

The background knowledge issue is closely connected to that of family influence discussed above, in that the former has its source at least partially in the latter. My experience with my older son's SLA indicates how closely these two factors are related. During my doctoral coursework, I conducted research regarding the influence of background knowledge on L2 learners' academic success in the host country using my older son. I compared his academic achievement in a Korean school with his progress in the U.S. mainstream. Regarding subjects that he had studied in Korea, acquiring significant background knowledge, he kept up with his peers easily and quickly, producing good results. However, he struggled with subjects that he had not been exposed

to in Korea (Civics, Health, and Biology) due to his unfamiliarity with new terms and concepts, and his results were relatively bad.

Among the various strategies used to increase background knowledge in English and other fields, both in Korea and in the U.S., parents seem to believe that reading books has had the greatest influence on their children's learning of English. They provide two reasons for this belief: (1) background knowledge of English influences children's spoken English by facilitating their language adaptation, and (2) knowledge in other fields affects children's reading comprehension by providing a knowledge base.

For children who were exposed to English in the host country before kindergarten or immediately after elementary school, it seems that their prior knowledge and experience regarding English was not closely connected to their learning of English. Superficially, these children seem to speak native-like English after one year of exposure to English in the host country, whether they have prior experience with English or not. As expected, these children seem to adapt to the U.S. school environment easily, although they have had no or little experience with the Korean school system.

In conclusion, early experience provided through family influence seems to provide a more important source of support for children's language learning when they are exposed to the mainstream after kindergarten or beyond. Among these older children, those who have been exposed to English since infancy in their home country, their knowledge of English sounds, basic expressions, and the culture of the host country is seen as having a very positive effect on SLA

when these children entered the mainstream. For older children who arrived during secondary school, background knowledge in various fields also seems to provide support for their academic success, and knowledge in English grammar and structures seems to facilitate their spoken English in the host country.

The Influence of Personality on L2 Literacy

When asked about the relationship between a child's personality and his or her SLA, most parents argued for a strong relationship between the two. Among my participant children, those who benefited most from their personalities were Sun and Jung. These two children were so social, talkative, and active that their words and behaviors had to be restricted by adults when they were in Korea. They rarely felt afraid of speaking to peers or teachers at school or to strangers or neighbors in the community. Rather, keeping silent made them feel repressed. So, they tenaciously asked questions and responded to others' questions. From the perspectives of Vygotsky's and Bakhtin's theories of social interaction, the two children created or took full advantage of opportunities to *practice* English via *interaction* with peers, teachers, neighbors, and strangers, not only at school but also within their communities. Their practice of and interaction with the target language may have promoted their ability to speak English fluently within a short period of time.

The two children in John's family showed opposite effects regarding spoken English, and the parents felt this was due to their different personalities. John's quiet and sincere personality was not seen as helpful in developing his

spoken English. In contrast, John's talkative and social younger sister Mary made friends easily with American peers, which seems to have led to more experience, and this practice seems in turn to have supported fluency in speaking. However, the contrast is not absolute; John has more accuracy and knowledge in his sentences and is academically more successful than his fluent sister, despite his reluctance to speak and socialize. This may be at least in part because he acquired considerable knowledge through consistent reading both in Korea and in the U.S. Accordingly, it is hard to conclude that his personality negatively affects his SLA overall, since he surpasses his talkative sister in every aspect except for spoken English.

For other older children, the same observation holds. That is, personality does not seem to have much influence on their spoken English; it would seem more accurate to say that their way of approaching English is different from that of the younger children. For example, in the case of my older son and Jeny who go to secondary school, it seems that their knowledge of English grammar has helped them to speak appropriately according to the situation, although they are very quiet and tend to be socially reserved.

There do seem to be cases where a child's quiet personality negatively affects his or her spoken English. My younger son and his friend Jimmy are the least talkative and social among the participant children. Their quiet personal style was noticeable during my participant observation. I compared their frequency of speech to that of their Korean peers when I observed them in my house during a slumber party. When they were with their Korean peers, they

seldom talked to other peers and instead enjoyed talking quietly with each other. Even when communicating with each other, they spoke infrequently. I found that quiet children speak less, regardless of the language used.

In conclusion, as indicated in my research, the children who are social and talkative are generally good at speaking English, and those who are not show a relative lack of fluency. However, their lack of fluency does not lead to academic failure. Rather, for some children, their quietness leads to academic success, seemingly due to their patience and tenacity. Still, some children who are very quiet and less socially outgoing also revealed a tendency to enjoy reading less and to be selective in school activities compared with their counterparts. While children's language development involves a psychological process that develops through social interaction (Vygotsky, 1978), this study provides at best mixed results regarding the perceived and observed relationships between personality and language achievement. I am not inclined to believe that a reserved personality negatively affects a child's SLA overall, based on my observations, although parents did seem concerned if their children were not active in interaction with others.

How Should the L2 Learners Be Perceived by TESOL Scholars and Educators as well as How Should They View Themselves?

Until recently, great efforts have been exerted to identify the causes and effects of L2 learners' successful SLA in the host country. The lack of theoretical framework in the field of SLA led the researchers to evaluate L2 learners based on Western perspectives and to draw conclusions based on theories created for

L1 learners. What is worse, little effort has been made to understand and evaluate L2 learners based on their own social, cultural, educational, or family background, or according to their individual differences and academic level. In such a situation, L2 learners might well be mislabeled as deficient or handicapped when they do not show the same level of linguistic and academic development as their peers at the host country. When L2 learners display rapid development in language and academics, their success is typically attributed to the educational system and ESL environment of the host country, disregarding L2 learners' English education in and out of public schools in the home country, the strategies and environments provided by their families, and ways the home country's society and people respond to the pedagogical issues regarding English.

Before conducting this research, I strongly believed that L2 learners, especially those who are young, would acquire English quickly and easily when exposed to the mainstream. I also thought that slow learners must be deficient or delayed in other fields as well as in SLA. However, my own experiences with my two sons in the U.S. caused me to shift my perspectives. When compared with other L2 learners with a similar exposure age and length of stay in the host country, my younger son showed relatively slow progress in both spoken English and reading comprehension, although he showed high achievement in math, art, reading, and computer skills. I patiently waited for him to speak confidently with peers and teachers, still wondering about the cause of his relatively long silent

period. However, he has not shown any further progress in spoken English, even after two more years in the U.S.

After conducting this research, I now realize that some responsibility for his long silence and lack of fluency may rest with me. Data collected from interviews with parents is enough to explain why my son has shown such slow progress compared with the progress made by other participant children for the current research. As many other researchers have done, I made the same mistake of measuring his progress in English with his initial exposure to the mainstream as a starting point. With this perspective, L2 learners who make slow progress are likely to be considered deficient or handicapped as language learners. Accordingly, without a shift in perspective to include exposure to English in the home country, it is difficult to evaluate L2 learners accurately regarding their linguistic or academic progress in the host country.

According to the data collected for the current research, children who have been exposed to English in both the home country and the host country by family members (especially parents) showed different rates of progress regarding language acquisition and academic achievement. Most participant children at my younger son's age had been exposed to English for at least one year and up to three or four years in their home country (Korea). They were exposed to English through reading of books for several years, they had taken English conversation classes taught by native speakers in private language institutes, they had employed English worksheets for phonics for two or three years, or received private English instruction from tutors in their home country and from their fathers

in the host country. This type of experience with English in Korea and parental support in the U.S. play a major role in children's adaptation to the language and culture of the host country.

My younger son received little exposure to English in Korea for various reasons: his parents' relative lack of interest in their second child's education, their busy schedule as full-time employees and doctoral students, and their beliefs promoting independence in education. Actually, my perspective on my children's education has changed greatly since my older son's English education in Korea affected his SLA and academics positively in the U.S. just as was the case for Jeny's parents. I provided good materials and employed various strategies to promote his L1 and L2 literacy. However, unlike Jeny, my son began to resist my involvement in his literacy as he grew. My conflicts with him regarding his education gradually made me indifferent toward it, giving him considerable freedom and respecting his decisions on various issues. This changed perspective toward my children's education had a great influence on my younger son as well. I let him do what he wanted rather than pressuring him. After I came to the U.S. and saw my younger son's long silent period and lack of fluency, I wished that I had been more involved with his L2 literacy in Korea.

This research shifted my understanding and preconceptions regarding slow L2 learners, including my younger son. They should not be considered as having problems with SLA. Rather, they should be understood and considered in the context of their cultures and families. Their lack of English knowledge and slow progress are not their own doing. They are not delayed, deficient, or

handicapped regarding SLA. If problems exist, several things must be kept in mind in our attempt to understand the situation. First, these problems may be attributable to educational systems and parents because educational systems in the host country do not accommodate L2 learners at varied levels of achievement. Second, problems should be examined in the context of the L2 learners' families to determine the level of parental concern and interaction regarding L2 literacy that took place, for instance, in their home country. Finally, the problem might even be attributed to L2 research, where researchers and educators have held on to possibly erroneous perspectives regarding *slow* L2 learners by ignoring the learners' socio-cultural contexts at the home country as well as in family contexts. Cook (1995) stated that "the foundation of second language acquisition research has to be multi-competence....It is mainly then within second language acquisition research that the concept of multi-competence needs to be asserted" (pp. 55-8).

In conclusion, children can show individual differences regarding SLA in the host country. Slower L2 learners should not be misunderstood as delayed or deficient (Cook, 1999). Rather, they should be considered as multi-language users who are struggling with English in different situations from other L2 learners who make rapid progress due to their inborn language aptitude and family support, both in the home country and in the host country. More concern and consideration from teachers and schools is needed, rather than harmful comparisons with faster L2 learners. Rapid L2 learners should be praised, but slow L2 learners should be encouraged and more highly praised for their

persistence in the struggle with English language learning. Moreover, the multiple kinds of success should always be kept in mind when characterizing the proficiency of any given learner.

Limitations of the Study

Limitations of Population

The population of the current research was restricted to a small group of Korean families who are studying in M.A. and Ph.D. programs with children in the U.S. I selected them by a homogeneous network sampling method, since informants who were rich sources of information were needed for the current study in order to explore both family influence and perspectives on children's SLA. Due to these considerations, participant parents' academic levels were relatively high, and their financial status placed them in the middle class and above. In addition, most were from the capital city of Korea or a neighboring city. Those cities have relatively well-established educational programs regarding SLA, providing relatively easy means of access to educational facilities. Thus, the data showed that the participant children all had similar experiences (or at least similar options) regarding their SLA in Korea, such as practice with worksheets and instruction at private language institutes. The similar education level of participant parents indicated that similar strategies were employed with their children to facilitate SLA, such as reading English books and practicing with audio-visual tools.

Accordingly, the current research is limited in its ability to explore differences in family influence based on different educational, financial, and geographical settings. In addition, most parents hold positions in education as teachers and professors, which also limited the range of parental perspectives on SLA, undoubtedly biasing the sample toward relatively language-aware parents. What is more, this study consisted of Korean families and their children as the only participants. Other Asian people share similar cultural roots. Thus, their ways of educating their children in L2 literacy may seem similar, but they have unique characteristics depending on the socio-political context and their social perspectives on English as a global language.

Limitations of Observation Sites

Most observation was conducted at church, in the children's homes, or at my own home rather than at the children's schools, so it was difficult to measure participant children's progress regarding language and academics in class, where children spend most of their time. In addition, children have a tendency to show similar behaviors at the same places such as in church or at home, joining Hangul or Bible class, playing computer or Internet games, watching TV, or playing with siblings and peers. Due to this limitation in the research sites, children's language patterns sounded similar at every observation and they showed similar behavior patterns. Observing children in class can cause very sensitive responses from school teachers, the children themselves, and the children's parents. However, considering that class is the place where most of

SLA occurs, it represents a significant loss to the current research that I did not observe the participant children's language behaviors and patterns in class.

Talkative children can show different responses to academics at school, although they may communicate easily with peers in other settings. Quiet but sincere children can respond positively to classes at school; actively though, they may find it hard to make friends with peers.

Limitations of Methodology

Three methods were employed to collect data for the current research: individual/group interview, observation, and artifact study. Among these three, I depended primarily on individual interviews with parents. Although qualitative research methods lead to collection of rich information through rich informants, they cannot administer tests to evaluate children's levels of English or to measure precise individual differences among children. Because children and parents are very sensitive about tests and their results, I felt that the use of tests in the present study would be inappropriate. I do not mean that my observation as a local Korean community member over two more years does not have validity and credibility. What I want to argue is that this observation cannot provide a statistical measurement of progress regarding SLA, which might appear to be more valid or credible, although it disregards the L2 learner's individuality and family background.

Reflections on the Research

Life in a foreign country as a student, regardless of gender and age, does not mean just the acquisition of a different language. It also implies a series of struggles to overcome; not only the culture shocks of a new language and people but also emotional problems originating from melancholy and depression. My experiences with my two sons as a single mother in a doctoral program led me to view SLA from various angles. I lived this experience from three points of view: (1) as a single mother with two sons going to mainstream schools, encountering new educational systems and teachers; (2) as a doctoral student studying TESOL; and (3) as a researcher compelled to study in the light of my two sons' experiences—one an L2 learner with a long silent period and the other, an L2 adolescent learner suffering from severe psychological confusion. However, the current study dealt primarily with problems and perspectives regarding children's SLA based on family influence.

If someone asked me what the hardest thing was during my stay in the U.S., I would say that watching the process of my older son's SLA and adaptation to his new school and culture was harder than anything else. I managed to overcome difficulties originating from my academic study and my life in a foreign country without a husband or relatives, alone with my two sons. My younger son's lack of fluency will be overcome some day, and I do not think it will be crucial for him to speak fluently, because English is not his mother tongue. However, my older son's loneliness, depression, and mental confusion, a struggle he had to endure without any close friends to confide in, was hard for us

to overcome in the given situation. Of course, I do not attribute his difficulties to the school system, teachers, or peers in the mainstream, because many of the difficulties originated from his own personality, his adolescence, and family influence. However, his experience remains a painful part of our story, a part that cannot be answered in full by an in-depth qualitative study such as the present one, which aimed at more general questions regarding the preparation of young second language learners.

At school, the only person who understood my older son's unique difficult situation was his old ESL teacher who had immigrated to the U.S. when she was young. She was like a mother, or sometimes a grandmother, to him. His introspective and unsocial personality made it almost impossible for him to make friends with peers in the mainstream. What is worse, he had no peers in the local Korean community because parents usually arrive in the U.S. when their children are in elementary school or before. He was not able to find any outlet in either his community or school when he felt severely stressed, due to his challenging academic work and the emotional fluctuations of adolescence. The computer was his only escape, and he had to struggle with his assignments almost every night to keep up with his peers.

I have three suggestions based on these experiences with my older son. First, I think the roles of ESL teachers should be studied regarding L2 learners and their SLA. These individuals are not mere English teachers. They are protectors, advisors, friends, and sometimes spokesmen for their students. I also suggest their strategies of second language teaching should be studied in

connection with the life stories of the young people they teach, because they are connected with these learners' survival at school as well as their academic adaptation and success.

Second, I suggest that the obstacles interfering with SLA and the cultural adaptation of adolescent L2 learners should be studied, especially the affective factors leading to their emotional problems. I also suggest that the effect of learners' background knowledge on their academic success as well as SLA should be more specifically studied, continuing the work begun in the current research.

Third, I suggest that obstacles to academic success and the cultural adaptation of single mothers in graduate programs should be studied, especially regarding their emotional problems. Dealing with the emotional issues of L2 learners has been considered a very sensitive subject, so many researchers have avoided dealing with this issue as a major factor affecting L2 learners' academic success as well as their SLA. However, experience has taught me that the problems concerning the language itself can be solved with others' help, while the problems originating in a learners' inner being are not easily cured with religion or the warm advice of friends. Recently, the news has reported that members of the intelligentsia have frequently committed suicide due to depression. I think now is the time for ESL researchers to focus on L2 learners who suffer from a dual responsibility based on their own academics and their children's education in the host country. Investigation of this issue may give

solutions to those who share the difficult experiences I have endured as a mother and student in a foreign country.

Conclusion

The current qualitative multi-case study was conducted to explore the effects of family influence on children's SLA. I developed five research questions based on my own experiences with two sons going to school in the U.S. Six Korean families with parents in the M.A. and Ph.D. programs in the U.S. and children were selected by a homogeneous network sampling method. The data collection depended primarily on interviews and observation. For the triangulation of this data, children's artifacts were analyzed. I also used triangulation to develop a theoretical framework from which I could approach the study. I studied socio-cultural theory, input theory, and the critical period hypothesis to support parents' arguments and perspectives on their children's SLA. Much remains to be done; but I hope this study has raised some issues, and given tentative answers to some questions of importance to families and language teachers alike.

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Appendix A

Informed Consent Form (English)

Title: "Family Influence on Children's Second Language Literacy Building:
A Case Study of Korean Families"

You are invited to participate in this research study. The following information is provided in order to help you to make an informed decision whether or not to participate. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask.

The purpose of this study is to explore how and to what degree families have had an impact on their children's Second Language acquisition in their home countries and in their host countries. To achieve this goal, I will investigate parents' perspectives on their children's SLA, focusing on early English education. During the process, I will explore parents' strategies used for children's SLA in the home country and discover to what degree their influence has affected their children's SLA and academic achievement in the U.S. Finally, this study will explore if there are other variables influencing children's SLA such as motivation and children's characteristics.

Participation in this study will involve the following: filling out the questionnaire about family demographics, two in-depth individual interviews with parents, two or three informal interviews with older children, one group interview with parents, informal observations of your children's use of the English language in social settings such as church or a party, and willingness to provide written documents by your children, who will also be participants in the study. Each individual interview will be no longer than 90 minutes and the group will take up to two hours, depending on the group members' interests and desire to contribute. Possible follow-up questions after the interview may be conducted by phone or e-mail to compensate for the missing information or correct errors in transcription.

Scheduled participant observation will take place for 30 minutes or so at a time in your house, at church, in the library, or in my house; during the time of the study, our informal contacts may also provide information that can be used for the study, with your permission. I will also ask for the copies of your children's writing to study the relationship between oral and written literacy. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research. You may find the interview experience enjoyable and the information may be of help to you and your children when you reflect on what was discussed in your future plan for children's SLA. The information gained from this study will help me to better understand parents' perspectives and strategies on children's second language acquisition,

especially regarding family influence. You will have a documented narrative of the interviews, observations, and you will be allowed access to the artifacts collected in the study.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with me or people concerned. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw at any time by notifying the Project Director, Dr. Jeannine Fontaine or me. Upon your request to withdraw, all information pertaining to you will be destroyed. If you choose to participate, all information will be held in strict confidence and will have no bearing on your academic standing or services you receive from the University. The information obtained in the study may be published in professional journals or presented at professional meetings and conferences, but your identity will be kept strictly confidential.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below and return it in the envelope provided.

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This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (phone: 724-357-7730)

Informed Consent Form (Continued)

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a subject in this study. I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this informed Consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (PLEASE PRINT)

Signature:

Date:

Phone where you can be reached:

E-mail:

Best days and times to reach you:

In addition to my participation in Hak-Sun's study, I give permission for my child to participate in informal interviews concerning their acquisition of English in Korea and in the US. I understand that my child must also agree to participate in this study.

Name (PLEASE PRINT):

Signature:

Informed Consent Form for Children

My mother/father is spending time talking with Hak-Sun about what it was like for us to come to the U.S. from Korea and have to go to school in a new language. I understand that Hak-Sun wants to talk with me about my experiences regarding English in Korea and in the U.S., what I think about my school and my English abilities, and if my family support for English literacy building has influenced my SLA in the U.S. I am willing to talk with Hak-Sun and I agree to participate in this study. I have my mother and father's permission and they agree to my being a participant. I know that I can change my mind at any time and decide not to be part of the study.

Name (PLEASE PRINT):

Signature:

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

Date:_____

Investigator's signature:_____

Appendix B

Informed Consent form (Korean)

제목: “어린이의 제 2 외국어 습득에 미치는 가족(부모)의 영향: 한국인 가정을 대상으로 한 사례 연구”

여러분은 이 연구에 참가하도록 초대받았습니다. 여러분이 이 연구에 참여할 것인지 아닌지에 대한 결정을 돕기 위한 정보가 아래에 제공되어 있습니다. 만약 의문사항이 있으시면 서슴지 말고 질문해 주십시오. 이 연구의 목적은 한국이나 미국에서 가족(부모)이 어떠한 방법으로 혹은 어느 정도까지 자녀의 제 2 외국어 습득(SLA)에 영향을 미치는가를 탐구하는 데 있습니다. 이 연구의 목적을 달성하기 위해, 저는 조기 영어 교육에 초점을 두고, 자녀의 제 2 외국어(L2)에 관한 부모님들의 견해를 조사하고자 합니다. 조사 과정에서 저는 또한 부모님들이 자녀의 SLA를 위해 한국에서 사용하신 전략도 아울러 연구하고자 합니다. 그리고 부모님의 영향이 미국에서 SAL 나 학업에 어느 정도까지 영향을 미치는가도 연구하고자 합니다. 마지막으로 이 연구를 통해 저는 동기부여나 아동의 성격 등과 같은 다른 변인들이 아동의 SLA에 영향을 미치는가도 연구하고자 합니다.

참가자 여러분들은 아래의 연구에 동참하게 될 것입니다: 가족 구성원 인구통계조사 설문 참여, 2 차례에 걸린 부모와의 인터뷰, 2-3 차례에 걸친 6 학년 이상의 아동과의 인터뷰, 1 회에 한한 참가자 전원의 그룹인터뷰, 교회나 파티와 같이 아동이 모인 곳에서 아동의 영어 사용에 관한 비공식적 관찰, 그리고 이 연구에 참가하는 가정의 아동이 쓴 숙제나 영작과 같은 쓰기 자료에 대한 요청이 있을 예정입니다. 부모를 대상으로 한 각 인터뷰는 90 분을 초과하지 않을 것이며 아동을 상대로 한 비공식적 인터뷰는 각 20-30 분 정도가 소요될 것입니다. 그리고 그룹 인터뷰는 참가자의 관심과 토론에 관한 열기에 따라 2 시간 정도가 소요될 것입니다. 인터뷰를 마치고 빠진 부분이나 잘못 기술된 정보가 있을 경우 전화나 이 메일로 진행되는 추가 인터뷰가 있을 예정입니다.

스케줄에 따른 아동의 관찰은 1 회에 30 분 정도가 소요될 것이며 참가자의 집, 교회, 도서관, 저의 집에서 자녀가 공부하거나 노는 동안 이루어질 것입니다. 또한 비 공식적인 접촉에 대해서는 부모님의 동의 하에 얻은 정보만을 사용할 것입니다. 또한 저는 아동의 말을 하는 능력과 글을 쓰는 능력의 상관관계 조사를 위해 부모님들께 아동이 쓴 글의 샘플을 제공해 달라는 요청도 할 것입니다. 이 연구와 관련하여 어떠한 위험 요소나 불안을 가증시키는 요인은 없습니다. 여러분은 인터뷰과정이 즐거우며, 여러분이 제공하신 정보는 후일 여러분 자녀의 SLA에 관한 지도 계획을 세우실 때 여러분과 자녀 모두에게 모두 유익한 정보가 될 것이라는 것을 아시게 될 것입니다. 이 연구에서 얻은 모든 정보는 제가 아동의 SLA에 관한 부모님의 견해와 전략, 특히 부모의 도움이 자녀의 SLA에 미치는 영향을 더 잘 이해하는데 도움이 될 것입니다. 여러분은 인터뷰한 내용과 자녀의 언어사용을 관찰한 것을 기술한 자료를 보실 수 있으며, 이 연구에 사용된 자녀의 쓰기 자료도 언제든지 요구하여 보실 수 있습니다.

여러분께서 이 연구에 참가하는 것은 자발적이며 강요성은 띄지 않습니다. 여러분이 이 연구에 참가하심이 자유의사결정이듯 언제든 자유롭게 저와의 관계는 그대로 좋게 유지 하신 채 이 연구의 참여를 철회 하실 수도 있습니다. 만약 여러분이 참가하시기로 결정하셨다면, 여러분은 저의 지도교수이신 Dr. Jeannine Fontaine 와 저 에게 언제든 연락한 후 철회하셔도 됩니다. 여러분의 철회요구에 따라, 모든 여러분과 관련된 자료는 파기될 것입니다. 만약 참가하시기로 결정하셨다면 모든 정보는 엄격한 비밀유지에 의해 보관될 것입니다. 그러나 이 연구는 대학으로부터 받는 여러분의 학점이나 봉사점수와는 아무런 관련이 없습니다. 이 연구에서 얻은 자료는 전문 학술지나 학술회의에 발표될지 모릅니다. 그러나 그런 경우에도 여러분의 개인정보에 관한 것은 누설되지 않으며 비밀이 철저히 보장됩니다.

만약 여러분이 이 연구에 기꺼이 참여하시기로 했다면 아래 서류에 사인해 주시고 준비된 봉투에 그것을 넣어주시기 바랍니다.

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이 연구는 펜실바니아 주재 인디애나 대학(IUP)의 인간대상프로젝트 의정서 검토 위원회에 의해 승인 받았습니다. (전화: 724-357-7730)

Informed Consent Form (Continued)

연구참가동의서 (계속됨)

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

자발적 참여 승인서:

본인은 위의 양식서에 담긴 내용을 읽고 이해한다. 따라서 이 연구에 참가 하는 것에 승인한다. 나는 내가 제공한 정보가 완전히 비밀에 부쳐지며 언제든지 내가 이 연구에서 철회하고 싶을 때 철회 할 수 있는 권리가 내게 주어진다는 것도 이해한다. 나는 사인되어지지 않은 자발적 참여 승인서를 받았다.

이름:

사인:

날짜:

전화번호:

이메일:

연락 가능 한 날짜:

본인은 학선의 연구에 참여하기로 한 것 외에도, 본인의 자녀가 미국과 한국에서의 영어 습득과 관련한 비공식적인 인터뷰에 참가하도록 승인한다. 본인은 본인의 자녀가 이 연구의 참여에 동의해야 한다는 것을 이해한다.

이름:

사인:

Informed Consent Form for Children (Korean)

연구참가동의서 (어린이용)

나의 어머니/아버지께서는 내가 한국에서 미국으로 건너온 느낌이나, 새로운 언어로 학교 생활을 하는 느낌이 어떠한지 학선과 이야기를 나누는데 시간을 보낼 것이다. 나는 학선이 나에게 한국과 미국에서 영어와 관련된 경험, 나의 학교 생활과 영어능력에 관해서 내가 어떻게 생각하는지, 그리고 부모님의 한국에서 제공해주신 영어에 대한 지원이 미국에서 내가 영어를 습득하는데 어떠한 영향을 미치는지에 대해 묻고 싶다는 것을 이해한다. 나는 이 연구에 참가하라는 부모님의 허락을 받았다. 나는 내가 원한다면 어느 때든지 이 연구의 참가를 철회할 수 있다는 것도 안다.

이름:

사인:

나는 연구에 참가하기로 한 위의 참가자(들)에게 이 연구의 성질과 목적, 잠재적 혜택, 그리고 이 연구에 참가함으로써 생길지 모를 최소한의 위험에 대해 설명하였고, 제기된 모든 질문에 답했으며, 위의 참가자가 사인하는 것을 직접 보았음을 증명한다.

날짜: _____

연구자 사인: _____

Appendix C

Questionnaire for Family Demographics

1. When did you come to the U.S.? Year _____ Month _____
2. How long have you been in the U.S. with your child?
_____ years and _____ months
3. How old and what gender is your child?
First child: Age _____ Gender _____
Second child: Age _____ Gender _____
4. What grade is your child in? _____ grade
5. At what age was your child exposed to English in Korea?
First child: _____ years old
Second child: _____ years old
6. How long did your child continue studying English in Korea?
_____ years and _____ months
7. What kind of study was involved in this 'continuing' study? For example,
regular school classes, intensive tutoring, help from a family member, etc?
8. What programs do you belong to in the university?
_____ MA or _____ Doctoral program
9. How old are you?
Father _____ years old
Mother.. _____ years old
10. Are both parents now present in the U.S.?
11. When did you start your English education in Korea? _____
12. How long have you studied English? _____

Appendix D

Questions for Individual Interviews (English)

1. What do you think makes the difference among children regarding Second Language Acquisition (SLA)?
 - 1-1. What motivations do your children seem to have regarding English? Do the motivations affect their SLA in Korea and in the U.S.?
 - 1-2. What characteristics do your children have? Do you think their characteristics affect their SLA? If so, how?
 - 1-3. Do you think your children's academic achievement and general knowledge as acquired in Korea affects their SLA?
 - 1-4. Do you think age has an influence on your children's SLA? If so or if not, why do you think so?
 - 1-5. Do you want to add anything with regard to my question about what influence your child's acquisition of English?
2. What do you think of your children's second language?
 - 2-1. Are they doing fine compared with other children or considering the exposure period of second language environment?
 - 2-2. Do they have some difficulties at school due to English?
 - 2-3. Do they like the American culture and school system?
 - 2-4. How do they feel about English? I mean, do they resist learning it or not?
 - 2-5. Do they feel comfortable in making American friends?
 - 2-6. Are they worried about losing their identity?
 - 2-7. Do they have a special area in which they show interest regarding English?
3. Do you think your children's individual personalities and characteristics influence their second language learning?
 - 3-1. What individual personalities do you think help or facilitate your child's SLA?
 - 3-2. What personal characteristics do you think block or slow your child's SLA?
4. What strategies do you use to retain your children's first language and socio-cultural and academic knowledge?
5. Do you feel afraid of your children's losing their identity in the U.S.?
 - 5-1. If so, what efforts do you exert to keep your children's identity?
 - 5-2. If not, why?
6. What efforts have you exerted to help your children to be socialized in Korea and in the U.S.?
7. What efforts did you make for your children's SLA in the family in Korea before you came to the U.S.?
 - 7-1. Did you read English books regularly to your children? (From now on, I will call this activity parent-child reading books [PCBR]).

- 7-2. If so, what kinds of books were written during PCBR? (If not, go to 3-9.)
- 7-3. How many hours did you do PCBR a day?
- 7-4. How long had you continued PCBR?
- 7-5. What beliefs or perspectives did you have during PCBR? For example, did you believe that PCBR would help your children's SLA later?
- 7-6. What kinds of strategies did you use during PCBR? For example, did you read aloud? Did you ask questions after PCBR? Or so?
- 7-7. Who did usually take charge of PCBR in your family? Mother, father, or other family members?
- 7-8. When did you stop PCBR? Why?
- 7-9. Did you buy English books or borrow them from the library? If so, how many books did you buy a month? How much did you spend in buying books?
- 7-10. If you did not do PCBR, what strategies did you use at home for your child's SLA?
- 7-11. Did you buy video tapes, story tapes, or CDs for English movies?
- 7-12. If so, how many hours are allowed for your child to see them a day?
- 7-13. Did you see the movies or listen to the story tapes with your child?
- 7-14. Did you ask some questions during or after the movie or story to check his/her comprehension?
- 7-15. Would you tell me anything else with regard to the question #7?
8. Did you have experience in teaching English grammar or English communication to your child at home?
- 8-1. Did your child like your teaching?
- 8-2. What difficulties did you have?
- 8-3. 8-3 Why did you decide to be an English teacher of your child?
- 8-4. Would you tell me anything else with regard to the question #8?
9. In addition to the strategies discussed in the previous questions, what other efforts did you make for your children's SLA in the family?
- 9-1. Did your child receive private tutoring by non-family members in your house? (If not, go to 5-7.)
- 9-2. What kinds of private tutoring did you child receive? For example, grammar, conversation, writing, reading tutoring, etc.
- 9-3. When did the private tutoring start?
- 9-4. How long did one time tutoring last?
- 9-5. How many times did your child get the tutoring a week?
- 9-6. How long had the tutoring continued until before you came to the U.S.?
- 9-7. Would you tell me any strategy provided by non-family members in your house?
- 9-8. Would you tell me anything else with regard to the question #9?

10. What kind of strategies did you use for your children's SLA outside the family?
 - 10-1. Did you send your child to a private language institute to get an English lesson?
 - 10-2. If so, what did your child learn regarding English? For example, reading comprehension, grammar, writing, speaking, listening, etc.
 - 10-3. Did your child use the library for SLA?
 - 10-4. Were there any free or paid programs provided by the community regarding English?
 - 10-5. Did you provide chances for your child to experience cultures regarding English? For example, movies, exhibitions, trips abroad, going to American church, visiting foreigners, etc.
 - 10-6. If so, how often did you make your child experience such things a month?
 - 10-7. Would you tell me anything else with regard to the question #10?
11. Among various strategies to foster children's SLA, which way do you think is the most beneficial and fit for your child?
 - 11-1. Would you tell me the reason why you think a certain strategy is of help for your child SLA?
 - 11-2. To what extent do you feel that your strategies regarding English are successful?
 - 11-3. Do you think the English knowledge obtained through family help have an influence on SLA or schooling in the U.S.?
 - 11-4. Would you tell me anything else with regard to the question #11?
12. How old did your child first meet English?
 - 12-1. (If the child was exposed to English at his/her early age, ask this question.) Why did you have your child exposed to English at that early age? Tell me your beliefs and perspectives regarding your child's English education.
13. Early English education has been a hot issue in Korea. Would you tell me your perspectives regarding early English education?
 - 13-1. Would you tell me a story or episode involved in early English education around you?
14. Did your child enjoy reading Korean books?
 - 14-1. If so, how many books did he read a week in Korea?
 - 14-2. Did he choose books or did you help your child to choose books?
 - 14-3. Did you take your child to the library frequently?
 - 14-4. What beliefs and perspectives did you have children's reading books?
 - 14-5. Do you think the knowledge obtained by reading books in Korea has an influence on SLA or schooling in the U.S.?
 - 14-6. Would you tell me anything else with regard to the question #14?

Appendix E

Questions for Individual Interviews (Korean)

자녀의 제 2 외국어 습득 혹은 학습과 관련하여 여러분들의 경험과 교수전략에 대한 한 보다 심도 높은 인터뷰에 들어가기 전에, 참가자 여러분들은 제 2 외국어 학습과 관련하여 일반적이고 기본적인 질문에 답하도록 요구됩니다.

1. 여러분은 제 2 외국어 습득(SLA)과 관련하여 아동들간에 개별적 차가 생기는 이유를 뭐라고 보십니까?
 - 1-1. 영어와 관련하여 여러분의 자녀들은 어떤 동기를 가지고 있다고 보십니까? 그런 동기가 한국이나 미국에서 제 2 외국어를 습득하는데 영향을 미친다고 생각하십니까?
 - 1-2. 여러분 자녀의 성격을 어떻게 보십니까? 자녀의 성격이 SLA 이나 학습에 영향을 미친다고 생각하십니까? 만약 그렇다면, 어떠한 방법으로 영향을 미친다고 생각하십니까?
 - 1-3. 여러분 자녀의 한국에서의 학업 성취도나 한국에서 습득된 영어에 관한 지식이 그들의 SLA 이나 학습에 영향을 끼친다고 보십니까?
 - 1-4. 여러분은 당신 자녀의 나이가 SLA 에 영향을 미친다고 생각하십니까? 만약 그렇다면 그 이유를 말씀해 주십시오. 만약 그렇지 않다면, 그 이유는 무엇입니까?
 - 1-5. “무엇이 여러분 자녀의 SLA 에 영향을 끼치는가?”란 질문들과 관련하여 더 하시고 싶은 말씀이 있으면 기탄없이 말씀해 주십시오.
2. 여러분 자녀의 SLA 에 관하여 어떻게 생각하고 계십니까?
 - 2-1. 다른 아동에 비교하거나, 제 2 외국어 환경에 노출된 시기를 고려할 때 여러분의 자녀는 모든 것을 잘해내고 있습니까?
 - 2-2. 여러분 자녀가 영어로 인하여 학교생활을 하는데 어려움을 겪고 있습니까?
 - 2-3. 여러분의 자녀가 미국 문화와 학교 시스템을 좋아하십니까?
 - 2-4. 여러분의 자녀는 영어에 대하여 어떠한 느낌을 지니고 있습니까? 다시 말해, 자녀들이 영어를 배우는 것에 대한 저항이나 반감 따위는 없습니까?
 - 2-5. 여러분의 자녀는 미국인 친구를 사귀는 것을 편안해 하니까?
 - 2-6. 여러분의 자녀가 영어와 관련하여 특히 관심을 보이는 분야가 있습니까?
3. 여러분 자녀의 성격이나 개성이 제 2 외국어 학습에 영향을 미친다고 보십니까?
 - 3-1. 어떠한 개인적 성격이나 특징이 자녀의 SLA 를 도와주거나 조장한다고 생각하십니까?
 - 3-2. 어떠한 개인적 성격이나 특징이 자녀의 제 2 외국어 학습을 방해하거나 늦춘다고 생각하십니까?
4. 자녀의 모국어나 사회-문화적, 그리고 학문적 지식을 유지하기 위하여 여러분이 사용하고 계신 전략이 무엇입니까?
5. 여러분 자녀가 미국생활을 하면서 정체성을 잃지나 않을까 염려하고 계십니까?
 - 5-1. 만약 그렇다면, 자녀의 정체성 유지를 위하여 어떠한 노력을 기울이고 계십니까?
 - 5-2. 만약 그렇지 않다면, 그 이유는 무엇입니까?

6. 여러분의 자녀가 사회성을 기르는데 도움을 주기 위해 한국이나 미국에서 어떠한 노력을 기울여 왔는지 말씀해 주시겠습니까?
7. 여러분이 미국에 오시기 전에 한국의 가정에서 자녀의 **SLA** 을 위해 어떠한 노력을 기울였는지 말씀해 주시겠습니까?
- 7-1. 여러분은 자녀에게 정기적으로 책을 읽어주었습니까? (지금부터, 부모와 자녀의 책읽기를 **PCBR** 이라고 줄여서 쓰기로 한다.)
- 7-2. 만약 그렇다면, **PCBR** 를 하는 동안 어떠한 책을 주로 읽어 주었습니까? (만약 그렇지 않다면 3-9 질문에 답하십시오.)
- 7-3. 하루에 **PCBR** 를 하는데 얼마의 시간을 투자하였습니까?
- 7-4. 얼마 동안(몇 년 혹은 몇 달) **PCBR** 를 계속하였습니까?
- 7-5. **PCBR** 를 하는 동안 그것에 관해 어떠한 신념과 견해를 가지고 있었습니까? 예를 들어, **PCBR** 이 자녀의 미래 **SLA** 에 도움을 줄 것이라는 확신이나 믿음을 지니고 있었습니까?
- 7-6. **PCBR** 을 하는데 어떠한 전략을 사용하였습니까? 예를 들어, 책을 큰 소리로 읽어 준다거나 **PCBR** 을 한 후에 자녀에게 그 내용에 관한 질문을 한다거나 했습니까?
- 7-7. 여러분의 가정에서 자녀의 **PCBR** 을 담당한 사람은 누구입니까? 어머니, 아버지, 혹은 다른 가족 구성원입니까?
- 7-8. 언제 **PCBR** 을 그만 두었으며 그 이유는 무엇입니까?
- 7-9. 여러분은 자녀를 위해 영어책을 산다거나 도서관에서 영어책을 빌리거나 하였습니까? 만약 그렇다면, 한 달에 몇권의 책을 구입하였거나 빌렸습니까? 그리고 빌렸다면 한 달에 투자한 돈은 대략 얼마 정도 이었습니까?
- 7-10. 만약 **PCBR** 를 하지 않았다면, 자녀의 **SLA** 를 위해 가정에서 어떤 다른 전략을 사용하였습니까?
- 7-11. 자녀에게 영어 학습을 목적으로 외국어 비디오나 테이프, 혹은 **CD** 를 사 주었습니까?
- 7-12. 만약 그렇다면, 그 목적을 위해 자녀가 하루에 몇 시간을 그러한 것들을 보거나 듣도록 허락했습니까?
- 7-13. 여러분도 자녀와 함께 영어와 관련된 테이프를 듣거나 영화를 시청하였습니까?
- 7-14. 영화나 테이프로 들려지는 이야기가 끝났거나 도중에 자녀의 이해를 확인하기 위해 내용에 관한 질문을 하였습니까?
- 7-15. 여러분이 자녀의 **SLA** 과 관련하여 한국에서 기울인 노력이나 하고 싶은 말씀이 더 있으면 주저 말고 해 주세요.
8. 여러분의 자녀에게 영문법이나 영어회화를 가정에서 직접 가르친 경험이 있습니까?
- 8-1. 자녀가 여러분의 영어교수를 좋아하던가요?
- 8-2. 자녀에게 영어를 직접 가르치면서 어떠한 어려움을 겪었나요?
- 8-3. 왜 자녀에게 영어를 직접 가르쳐야겠다고 결정하셨나요?
- 8-4. 부모에 의한 직접적인 영어교수와 관련하여 더 하시고 싶은 것 있으면 기탄없이 말씀해 주세요.
9. 앞서 다룬 질문에 관한 견해나 전략 외에도 가정에서 자녀의 **SLA** 을 위해 기울이신 노력이 더 있으면 말씀해 주세요.
- 9-1. 자녀가 가정에서 가족 구성원이 아닌 다른 사람에 의해 영어 개인지도를 받은 적이 있습니까? (만약 없다면, 5-7 질문에 답해주세요.)

- 9-2. 어떤 종류의 개인 지도를 자녀가 받게 하였습니까? 예를 들어, 문법, 회화, 영작, 독서 등등의 개인지도 등등.
- 9-3. 언제부터 자녀가 가정에서 외부 교사로부터 영어 개인지도를 받았습니까?
- 9-4. 외부 강사의 자녀에 대한 영어 개인지도는 얼마 동안 지속되었습니까? 몇 년 혹은 몇 달.
- 9-5. 자녀가 일주일에 몇 차례에 걸쳐 영어 개인지도를 받았습니까?
- 9-6. 미국에 오기 전까지 몇 년 동안 혹은 몇 달 동안 외부강사에 의한 자녀의 개인지도가 지속되었습니까?
- 9-7. 혹시 위의 방법이 아닌 다른 방법으로 자녀가 외부인에 의해 영어 지도를 받았습니까?
- 9-8. 비가족 구성원에 의한 영어지도와 관련하여 위 질문에서 다루지 못했거나 더 하시고 싶은 점 말씀해 주십시오.
10. 자녀의 **SLA** 를 위해 가정과 학교를 제외한 곳에서 여러분이 사용한 전략에 대해 말씀해 주십시오.
- 10-1. 여러분의 자녀가 영어지도를 받기 위해 사설 외국어 학원을 다녔습니까?
- 10-2. 만약 그렇다면, 영어와 관련해 그러한 곳에서 무엇을 배웠습니까? 예를 들어, 읽기와 독해, 문법, 회화, 듣기 등등.
- 10-3. 자녀가 **SLA** 를 위해 도서관을 활용하였습니까?
- 10-4. 영어와 관련해 지역사회에서 제공된 무료 혹은 유료 프로그램이 있었습니까?
- 10-5. 여러분은 자녀에게 영어와 관련된 문화를 체험할 기회를 제공해 주었습니까? 예를 들어, 영화, 전시회, 해외여행, 미국교회, 외국인 방문 등등.
- 10-6. 만약 그렇다면, 한 달에 얼마나 자주 자녀가 그런 기회를 가지도록 해주었습니까?
- 10-7. 10 번 질문과 관련하여 지금까지 다루어 지지 않은 점이나 더 하시고 싶은 것 말씀해 주세요.
11. 자녀의 **SLA** 를 촉진하기 위한 여러 가지 전략 중, 어느 것이 여러분의 자녀에게 가장 도움이 되었고 적합하였다고 생각하십니까?
- 11-1. 왜 그런 전략이 도움이 되었다고 생각하십니까?
- 11-2. 그 전략이 어느 정도까지 자녀의 **SLA** 을 성공적으로 이끌었다고 생각하십니까?
- 11-3. 가족의 도움으로 얻은 영어 지식이 후일 미국에서의 학교 생활이나 학업에 영향을 미친다고 생각하십니까?
- 11-4. 11 번 질문과 관련해 더 하시고 싶은 말 계속해 주세요.
12. 몇 살에 여러분의 자녀가 영어를 처음 접하게 되었습니까?
- 12-1. (만약 자녀가 영어에 어린 나이에 노출되었다면 이 질문에 대답하십시오.) 여러분의 자녀를 어린 나이에 영어에 노출시킨 이유는 무엇입니까? 자녀의 **SLA** 과 관련해 여러분의 견해와 신념을 말해 주십시오.
13. 조기영어교육이 한국에서는 오랫동안 뜨거운 논쟁거리가 되어왔습니다. 그 점과 관련해 여러분의 견해를 말씀해 주십시오.
- 13-1. 여러분 주변에서 일어났거나 일어나고 있는 조기영어교육과 관련된 에피소드나 이야기가 있으면 말씀해 주세요.
14. 여러분의 자녀가 한국어로 된 책을 읽기를 즐겨 합니까?
- 14-1. 만약 그렇다면, 한국에서 일주일에 몇 권의 책을 읽었습니까?

- 14-2. 자녀가 읽고 싶은 책을 직접 골랐습니까? 아니면 여러분이 책 고르기를 도와주었습니까?
- 14-3. 여러분은 자녀를 자주 도서관에 데리고 다녔습니까?
- 14-4. 자녀의 독서와 관련하여 어떠한 신념과 견해를 가지고 계십니까?
- 14-5. 한국에서 읽은 책에서 습득한 지식이 미국에서의 SLA 이나 학업에 영향을 미친다고 생각하십니까?
- 14-6. 14 번 질문과 관련하여 더 하시고 싶은 점 말씀해 주십시오.

Appendix F

Questions for Individual Interviews for Children (English)

1. Tell me about your experiences in Korea regarding English?
 - 1-1. Did you enjoy reading English books or studying English in Korea?
 - 1-2. Do you enjoy reading English books or studying English in the U.S.?
 - 1-3. If so, what do you think the elements that make English reading and studying happy are?
 - 1-4. If not, what do you think the elements that make English reading and studying boring and hard?
2. Tell any experiences that you have had regarding English. What do you think the biggest difference between studying English in Korea and studying English in the U.S. are?
3. How was your school life in Korea?
4. What made your schooling difficult in Korea?
5. Tell me about your happy memory in Korea regarding English.
6. How is your school life in the U.S.?
 - 6-1. Do you still have difficulty in schooling due to English?
 - 6-2. If so, what makes you have difficulty at school regarding English?
 - 6-3. What makes you feel difficult at school regardless of English?
7. What is the easiest skill in English?
 - 7-1. Is it speaking? Why?
 - 7-2. Is it reading? Why?
 - 7-3. Is it listening? Why?
 - 7-4. Is it writing? Why?
 - 7-5. Don't you feel any difference? Why?
8. Did your parents help with your English in Korea?
 - 8-1. If so, do you think your family influence helps your schooling in the U.S.?
 - 8-2. How does your family influence help your schooling?
 - 8-3. If you didn't get any instruction or help regarding English in Korea, what difficulties do you have at schooling due to it?
 - 8-4. Do you think your parents should have supported your English in Korea?
 - 8-5. If so, why do you think so?
 - 8-6. If not, why do you think so?
9. Will you tell me your personality or characteristics?
 - 9-1. Do you think your personality influences your SLA or schooling?
 - 9-3. Do you think you are active and outgoing/social?
 - 9-4. If so, do you think such characteristics helps your English in the U.S. or making American friends?
 - 9-5. Do you think you are quiet and passive?
 - 9-6. If so, what benefits and disadvantages do you have at school?

10. Do your parents still help with your homework?
 - 10-1. If so, how and how much do they help you?
 - 10-2. If not, how do you do your homework? Do you get help from your brother or sister, or dictionary, or internet?
11. While reading English books, do you use a dictionary?
 - 11-1. If so, what kind of dictionary do you use?
 - 11-2. If not, how do you solve your problem if you meet the difficult words?
12. Did you frequently go on a trip with your family in Korea?
 - 12-1. If so, where did you go?
 - 12-2. Do you think your trips help you to understand cultures?
 - 12-3. How have your trips influenced or helped your schooling and English learning?
 - 12-4. If not, do you think you have some difficulty in understanding cultures due to your lack of trips?
13. Did you get a grammar instruction in Korea?
 - 13-1. If so, by whom were you taught grammar?
 - 13-2. Was the grammar lesson enjoyable?
 - 13-3. Did your grammar knowledge acquired in Korea help you speak and write in Korea?
 - 13-4. Do you think your grammar knowledge makes your English learning easier and faster in the U.S.? For example, grammar knowledge facilitates your reading and writing?
14. Did you get an English conversation lesson in Korea?
 - 14-1. Was the speaking skills acquired in Korea helpful for schooling in the U.S.?
 - 14-2. If it was helpful, how much?
 - 14-3. If you didn't get any speaking lesson, did you have difficulty at schooling due to it? If so, How much?
15. What do you think about early English study abroad?
 - 15-1. Were there any friends in your class or in the same grade who left abroad to study English? How many?
 - 15-2. Were there any friends in your class or in the same grade who returned to school after completing their early English study abroad? How many?
 - 15-3. How did you feel about them?

Appendix G

Questions for Individual Interviews for Children (Korean)

1. 영어와 관련하여 한국에서 여러분이 겪은 경험을 말해주세요.
- 1-1. 한국에서 영어 책을 읽거나 영어 공부하는 것을 좋아하였습니까?
- 1-2. 미국에서 영어 책을 읽거나 영어 공부하는 것을 좋아합니까?
- 1-3. 만약 그렇다면, 영어를 즐겁게 하는 요인/요소는 무엇이라고 생각합니까?
- 1-4. 만약 그렇지 않다면, 영어와 관련해 여러분을 힘들거나 불편하게 하는 요소/요인은 무엇입니까?
- 1-5. 영어와 관련하여 지금까지 일어난 어떠한 경험든지 말해 주세요.
2. 한국에서 영어를 배우는 것과 미국에서 영어를 배우는 것의 가장 큰 차이점은 무엇이라고 생각합니까?
3. 한국에서 여러분의 학교 생활은 어떠하였습니까?
4. 한국에서 여러분의 학교 생활을 힘들게 만든 점은 무엇입니까?
5. 학교나 학교 밖에서 영어와 관련하여 가장 즐거웠던 기억이나 순간을 말해 주세요.
6. 지금 여러분의 미국에서의 학교 생활은 어떻습니까?
- 6-1. 영어로 인해 여러분은 지금도 학교 생활을 하는데 어려움을 겪고 있습니까?
- 6-2. 만약 그렇다면, 영어와 관련해 무엇이 여러분의 미국 학교 생활을 어렵게 합니까?
- 6-3. 영어와 관련하지 않고 여러분의 학교 생활을 어렵게 하는 부분은 무엇입니까?
7. 영어의 4 가지 기능 중 가장 쉬운 기능은 무엇입니까?
- 7-1. 말하기입니까? 그 이유는 무엇입니까?
- 7-2. 읽기입니까? 그 이유는 무엇입니까?
- 7-3. 듣기입니까? 그 이유는 무엇입니까?
- 7-4. 쓰기입니까? 그 이유는 무엇입니까?
- 7-5. 별 차이가 없습니다. 그 이유는 무엇입니까?
8. 한국에서 부모님이 여러분이 영어 공부를 하는데 도움을 주었습니까?
- 8-1. 만약 그렇다면, 한국에서 부모님의 영어에 대한 도움이 미국에서 학교 생활을 하는데 영향을 미친다고 생각합니까?
- 8-2. 만약 영향을 미친다면, 부모님의 도움으로 쌓은 영어 지식이 미국 학교 생활에 어떠한 영향을 끼칩니까?
- 8-3. 만약 한국에서 부모님이 여러분의 영어에 도움을 주지 않았다면, 그것으로 인해 미국의 학교 생활을 해나가는데 어떠한 어려움을 겪고 있습니까?
- 8-4. 8-3 질문과 관련하여, 여러분은 한국에서 부모님이 여러분께 영어에 대한 도움을 주었어야 한다고 생각합니까?
- 8-5. 만약 그렇게 생각한다면, 그 이유는 무엇입니까?
- 8-6. 만약 한국에서 부모님의 영어에 관한 지원이 별로 미국 학교 생활을 하는데 도움이 되지 않는다고 생각한다면 그 이유는 무엇입니까?
9. 여러분의 성격이나 개성에 관해 말해주세요.

- 9-1. 자신의 성격이 SLA 이나 학교 생활에 영향을 미친다고 생각합니까?
- 9-2. 자신의 성격이 적극적이거나 사교적이라고 생각합니까?
- 9-3. 만약 그렇다면, 그러한 성격이 미국에서 영어를 배우거나 미국인 친구를 사귀는데 도움을 준다고 생각합니까?
- 9-4. 자신의 성격이 조용하고 소극적이라고 생각합니까?
- 9-5. 만약 그렇다면, 학교 생활을 하거나 영어를 배우는데 있어서 그런 성격이 어떠한 장점과 단점이 있다고 생각합니까?
10. 부모님이 아직도 여러분의 과제를 도와주십니까?
- 10-1. 만약 그렇다면, 어떻게 얼마나 자주 도와줍니까?
- 10-2. 만약 그렇지 않다면, 다른 형제자매나 사전, 인터넷, 혹은 가정교사의 도움을 받습니까?
11. 영어책을 읽을 때, 사전을 사용합니까?
- 11-1. 만약 그렇다면, 어떤 종류의 사전을 사용합니까?
- 11-2. 만약 그렇지 않다면, 책을 읽다 모르는 단어나 표현이 나오면 어떻게 그 문제를 해결합니까?
12. 한국에서 자주 가족여행을 다녔습니까?
- 12-1. 만약 그렇다면 어디를 주로 다녔습니까?
- 12-2. 가족 여행이 다양한 문화를 이해하는데 도움을 주었습니까?
- 12-3. 가족 여행이 미국에서의 학업과 영어를 공부하는데 영향을 미쳤습니까?
- 12-4. 만약 여행을 자주 다니지 않았다면, 문화에 대한 이해 부족으로 미국에서 학교생활을 하거나 학업을 하는데 있어서 어려움을 겪지는 않습니까?
13. 한국에서 문법지도를 받은 적이 있습니까?
- 13-1. 만약 그렇다면, 누가 문법을 지도하였습니까?
- 13-2. 문법 수업은 즐거웠습니까?
- 13-3. 문법공부가 한국에서 영작을 하거나 말을 하는데 도움을 주었습니까?
- 13-4. 한국에서 배운 문법지식이 미국에서 책을 읽거나 영작을 하고, 말을 하는데 도움이 되었습니까?
14. 한국에서 영어회화 지도를 받았습니까?
- 14-1. 한국에서 받은 회화지도가 미국에서 학교 생활을 하는데 도움이 되었습니까?
- 14-2. 만약 도움이 되었다면, 어느 정도 도움이 되었습니까?
- 14-3. 만약 회화지도를 받지 않았다면, 그것으로 인해 미국 학교 생활에 적응하는데 어려움을 겪었습니까? 어느 정도까지?
15. 조기유학에 대해 어떻게 생각합니까?
- 15-1. 같은 반이나 같은 학년 친구 중에 조기 유학을 떠난 사람이 있었습니까?
- 15-2. 같은 반이나 학년에 조기유학을 마치고 돌아온 친구들이 있었습니까?
- 15-3. 조기유학을 떠나거나 유학에서 돌아온 친구들을 보고 어떠한 느낌이 들었습니까?

Appendix H

Questions for Group Interview (English)

1. What do you think the biggest and hottest issue regarding English in Korea?
2. Would you exchange your opinions on early English education?
3. What do you think the main problems in formal/public education regarding English?
4. Have you ever heard that Korea has the largest number of international students in the U.S.? What do you think about the news?
5. Do you agree with children early studying abroad?
6. Why do you think many younger students leave Korea to study abroad?
7. Would you exchange your experiences on how you were taught English in Korea?
8. Where do you put your priority when you decided to study in the U.S.? Children's English education, your degree, or both?
9. Would you tell exchange your child experience with ESL programs and your perspectives on them here?
10. Would you exchange your interactions with your child's school here?
11. Are there any differences regarding school programs and systems, and interactions with schools in the U.S. and in Korea?
12. Korean parents seem to depend on private tutoring or private language institutes rather than believing public education or parents' education. Would you exchange your perspectives and experiences on these issues and discuss the benefits and disadvantages regarding these issues?
13. Depending on children's age, the degree of second language acquisition is different. In the TESOL field, researchers argue that during a critical period [from early infancy until puberty], children can easily acquire language. Would you discuss on this issue based on your experiences and stories you heard regarding this?
14. Do you think children in this critical period can easily acquire second language regardless of EFL and ESL environments? I mean, even though children are exposed to English at their early age in Korea, does it affect their SLA later in the host country?
- 14-1. Do you think do the children who are exposed to English in this critical period in Korea take more advantages when they are exposed to ESL environments than those who are not?
- 14-2. If you think early English education in Korea does not affect SLA in the host countries, what do you think the main factor influencing children's second language acquisition is?

Appendix I

Questions for Group Interview (Korean)

1. 한국에서 영어와 관련해 가장 뜨거운 논쟁거리가 되어온 주제가 무엇이라 생각하십니까?
2. 조기 영어 교육에 관한 여러분의 견해를 나누어 주시겠습니까?
3. 영어와 관련한 공교육과 관련해 가장 큰 문제점은 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?
4. 한국이 미국에 가장 많은 유학생을 배출하고 있는 나라라는 소식은 들었습니까? 그것에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까?
5. 조기해외영어교육에 대해 동의하십니까?
6. 왜 조기영어교육이 늘어나는 추세에 있다고 보십니까?
7. 여러분이 어떻게 영어 교육을 받았는지 서로 이야기해 주시겠습니까?
8. 여러분이 유학을 결정할 때 어디에 우선권을 두었습니까? 여러분의 학위입니까? 아니면 자녀의 영어교육이 앞섰습니까? 아니면 둘 다가 목적이었습니까?
9. 미국학교에서 제공되는 **ESL** 프로그램에 대해서 여러분 자녀의 경험과 여러분의 견해에 대해 의견을 나누어 주시겠습니까?
10. 미국학교와 여러분은 어떻게 서로 상호작용을 하고 있는지 의견 나누어 주시겠습니까?
11. 미국과 한국의 학교 프로그램, 시스템, 그리고 부모와의 상호작용을 비교할 때 어떤 차이점이 있습니까?
12. 한국의 부모님들은 공교육보다 개인교사나 사설 학원 등 사교육에 의존하는 경향이 있는 것 같습니다. 그 문제에 관련해 여러분의 견해와 경험, 그리고 장단점에 대해 토론해 주세요.
13. 자녀의 나이에 따라, 제 2 외국어를 습득하는 정도가 다릅니다. 티솔분야의 일부 연구자들은 유아에서 12 세까지의 시기가 언어 습득의 가장 결정적 시기(**critical period**)여서 아이들이 쉽게 언어를 습득한다고 주장합니다. 이 문제에 대해서 여러분의 경험과 주변에서 일어나고 있는 일들을 토대로 하여 토론해 주세요.
14. 한국이나 일본에서 영어를 배우는 환경을 **EFL** 이라고 하고, 미국, 영국, 호주 등에서 영어를 배우는 환경을 **ESL** 이라고 합니다. 그러면 이 두 외국어 습득환경과 상관없이 결정적 시기(**critical period**)에 노출된 아이들이 영어를 쉽게 습득한다고 생각하십니까?
- 14-1. 이 시기에 한국에서 영어에 노출된 아이들이 그렇지 못한 아이들보다 후일 **ESL** 환경에서 영어를 배우는데 훨씬 유리하니까?
- 14-2. 만약 한국에서 조기영어교육을 받은 아이들과 받지 않은 아이들이 미국이나 호주에서 영어를 배우는데 별 차이가 없다고 생각하신다면, 어린이들의 **SLA** 에 영향을 미치는 주된 요인은 뭐라고 생각하십니까?