

**Early Bilingual Development: Expanding Our Understanding of Family Language Policy  
in Heritage Language Maintenance**

Youngmin Seo

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Reading Committee:  
Manka M. Varghese, Chair  
Kenneth M. Zeichner  
Leslie R. Herrenkohl

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Youngmin Seo

University of Washington

**Abstract**

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Youngmin Seo

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Manka M. Varghese

Curriculum and Instruction

The increased attention given to immigrants' English proficiency and their academic achievement in schools has blinded society to the issues associated with heritage language (HL) loss that children of immigrants face. Using qualitative methods, this study investigated how family language policy (FLP) was developed and enacted in the context of 14 Chinese and Korean American families with attention to the interactive effect between multiple layers of environment of the family on the child's HL development. The main questions of this study are what language ideology or beliefs parents hold up; how their language ideology or beliefs are manifested in their language planning and practice regarding HL maintenance for their children; what contextual factors account for HL maintenance and loss.

In line with past studies, the present study supports the notion that the parent is one of the most significant factors in early bilingual development and HL development in young children. Parental involvement was broad from home language and literacy practice, the form and type of HL education after school, to the engagement of a community of practice. Findings also highlight that FLP was mediated by (1) parents' language ideologies or beliefs concerning

bilingual development and HL maintenance, (2) parents' perceived competence in the HL and their expectation about HL literacy of their children, (3) Parents' familial and economic resources. Further, the parents in the study revealed the multiple layers of parental language belief: language as connection, language as culture, language as capital. That is, they believed that learning the HL would enable their children to stay connected with family members; maintain ancestral links; foster positive attitudes towards their culture; promote career competitiveness for children.

One of the key findings was that parental factors did not act independently in the process of children's HL development. In contrast with past studies, this study found various important agents (i.e., parents, family members, HL teachers, ethnic peers) who engaged in and mediated children's HL development. In particular, I emphasize the agentive role of parents and children who co-construct FLP. I found that the parents in the study formed FLP and continued to modify it, acting for or against American linguistic culture in concert with resources they had and circumstances they faced. FLP, therefore, was mediated by a combination of parents' life stories, their own circumstances, and their interpretation of American linguistic culture. In this sense, FLP is fluid and dynamic, not static. That is, it changes over time. The study indicates that parental perception of the economic and social value of their heritage language and literacy determines the degree of parental commitment to maintain the HL for their children.

More importantly, the study found that young children were not a passive by-stander, but acted as agents. Their attitudes toward HL learning influenced parents' decision to maintain their HL. Children's attitudes were greatly influenced by their learning experiences in HL schools. Based on findings from the study, I argue that the meso levels of FLP matters in early bilingual development. Findings underscore the fluidity and complexity of FLP which is

mediated by multiple dimensions of surroundings environments of the family. Such findings have implication for school teachers, HL teachers, and policy makers who directly influence the lives of children in immigrant families.

To my family,

To my God,

Without them, I would not be who I am today.

Without them, I would not have the courage to pursue my dreams.

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## CHAPTER 1

### Heritage Language Education and Family Language Policy

#### Introduction

In the era of global competition, the demand for early dual-language immersion education has been rapidly growing among middle-class families in many states (Palmer, 2009). More highly educated middle-class parents tend to enroll their English-speaking children in more early immersion programs. The number of enrollments in foreign language programs in two- or four-year colleges has also increased (Furman & Lusin, 2010; Welles, 2004). From 1998 to 2002, for instance, Spanish increased 22.9% and it represented 63% of all two-year college course enrollments in foreign languages. In the same time period, Chinese and Korean also increased 32.3% and 69.1% respectively. Despite the support for foreign language education in public high schools and the higher education, the right to learn the HL in public elementary schools has been restricted and marginalized by stake holders. Children's rights to language maintenance have been neglected and are not a priority of an American public education (Shiffman, 1996).

Although there is no explicit law and policy restricting HL use and early HL education in school, bilingual education for children of immigrants continues to provoke political debates in the United States (Cummins, 2005). As seen in the case of *Meyer v. Nebraska*, historically, foreign languages were restricted in public elementary schools and taught only in high schools until the 1960s. English-only proponents have blamed the HL use of ELLs based on the positive relationship between students' English literacy level at the time of school entry and their later success in school (Wells & Wells, 1984).

Under these unfavorable educational and political conditions for early HL education, language shift inevitably occurs at individual or societal levels (Sofu, 2009). In the 2012 Pew Research Center's report, only four in ten second-generation Asian Americans spoke their HLs well. Despite parents' insistence on HL use at home, many language minority children prefer to speak English over their mother tongue (Habtoor, 2012; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Zhang, 2004; Zhang, 2010). Based on the existing literature, I argue that parents alone are not able to reverse the language shift to English in their children.

### **Brief Background and Rationale for the Study**

It is not necessarily the case that children in multilingual families retain their parent's language(s) while learning the dominant language in society. In the 1998 to 1999 school years, approximately 88 percent of first-time kindergartners in public schools mainly spoke English at home according to the 2012 National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). Children have the potential to develop two or more languages simultaneously. Nonetheless, once they are exposed to English at school, they prefer to speak English over their first language and end up losing the first language (Montrul, 2016; Toppelberg & Collins, 2010). This may be partly because teachers are disinterested in students' HL maintenance (Lee & Oxelson, 2006) and they feel such pressure to get their students ready for high-stakes exams (Assaf, 2006; Barksdale-Ladd & Thomas, 2000). Lee and Oxelson (2006) argue that teachers' silence about HL maintenance discourages children to maintain their HL while they are learning English at school.

As explained previously, various factors influence children's HL development and maintenance. Nonetheless, because HL maintenance is generally perceived as parents' responsibility (Lee & Oxelson, 2006) and even parents themselves perceive it as their own responsibility (Gkaintartzi, Kiliari, & Tsokalidou, 2016), studies on children's HL development

and maintenance have investigated and explored mainly home context, in particular, parental factors: parents' beliefs and motivation (Abu-Rabia, 1999; Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006; He, 2008; King & Fogle, 2006; Zhou & Kim, 2006); parental attitudes toward ethnicity (Arriagada, 2005; Francis, Archer & Mau, 2009; park & Sarkar, 2007; Souza, 2015; Zhang, 2009). Studies (Dagenais, & Day, 1999; Kennedy & Romo, 2013; Oh & Fuligni, 2010; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001) has indicated that parents play crucial roles in HL maintenance of children and the degree of parent involvement was closely related to children's HL proficiency. Shibata (2000) argues that "whether the children become bilingual or not is primarily dependent on parents' decision and enthusiasm" (p. 467).

Most studies developed so far were centered in the role of parents on micro level, and little has been said about other caregivers and settings other than a child's home, such as the role of other family members and HL teachers on micro level, the role of ideological and sociopolitical dimensions on macro level, and the meso levels of environments. More importantly, in the context of family language planning and practice, little has been done regarding the effect of children's HL learning experiences on parents' decisions about FLP. For example, King and Fogle (2006) argue that parents make decisions for their children primarily based on their own personal experiences with language learning. Although they elucidate the effect of parents' life experiences on their decision making related to their children's bilingual education, they have not captured the interrelationship of parental beliefs to ideological and sociopolitical dimensions of environment. Our beliefs and motivation are shaped by the social and cultural environment in which we were born, grow, live, and interact. Hence, parents' beliefs and motivation for HL maintenance would evolve as the social surrounding environment changes. In this sense, FLP may be fluid and dynamic to adjust to the sociocultural environment

the family is situated and the familial circumstance. In this regard, I argue that research on HL development and maintenance in early childhood with emphasis on FLP needs to investigate the complex interconnection and interaction between parent, child, and multiple layers of environments.

Given the sociocultural effect of surrounding environments on families, research should further investigate multiple layers of parents' belief system which are not easily recognized, as well as the role of other caregivers in the family or in school in order to construct a deep and broad understanding of the HL development and maintenance of young children. I argue the importance of recognizing the interrelationship and interdependence of the family to surrounding environments in HL maintenance. From an ecological perspective, the process of HL development and maintenance of children is not simple. Although HL schools play crucial roles in helping children develop their HL, little attention has been paid to the teaching and learning practices in HL schools such as HL teachers' language ideology, their teaching beliefs, and children's learning experiences. For this reason, the present study aims to explain the relationship between home, community, school, and society and elucidate *the ideological and implementational* dimensions (Hornberger, 2002) of language policy in which parents interpret *linguistic culture* of a speech community (Shiffman, 1996), form LP for their families, and appropriate it (Johnson, 2013).

Johnson (2013) argues that "policies are created at multiple levels and in multiple contexts (national, state, city, community, school, family etc. etc.) and are then interpreted and appropriated by multiple language policy agents across multiple layers of policy activity" (p. 108). Nonetheless, past studies on HL maintenance have described home as an independent entity or a linguistic island, ignoring its interrelationship with surrounding environments. As a

result, they fail to capture the multiple levels of the social context which influence parental decisions regarding family language practices in their everyday lives. This study seeks to capture the complexity of HL maintenance in young children. The present study has two major objectives: (1) what language ideology or beliefs parents hold up and in what ways parents' ideology or beliefs mediate their language planning and practices, and (2) who has the agency to mediate in multiple layers of context in which children learn and use their HL. To achieve the objectives, the study explores the multiple-layered nature of HL development and maintenance of children, by documenting and investigating parents' language ideologies and family language practice. Based on the findings from the study, this study will provide insight into how immigrant parents raise their U.S.-born children bilingually, elucidate the complexity of HL development in early childhood; expand the knowledge on early childhood bilingualism.

### **Research Questions**

FLP is a guide or protocol for “planning in relation to language use within the home among family members” (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008, p. 907). It assists parents to make decisions, plan, and implement strategies regarding their child's language education. Despite lack of social support for families to maintain the HL, many immigrant parents continue to teach their children their HL to raise them bilingually. Despite those individual parents' efforts to pass the language down to their children, many early bilingual children have experienced a demand to adopt the dominant language, dropping off their first language. To better understand the relationship of FLP (parental language ideology or belief, planning, practice) with children's bilingual skills and their HL proficiency, this study investigates how immigrant and immigrant-descent parents with Asian-origins (Chinese, Korean) explain their family language planning and

practice regarding HL use in the family and the form of their children's HL education. The following are the main questions:

- 1) How do parents in the study express their language ideology or beliefs about HL maintenance for their children?
- 2) What strategies do parents use to help their children acquire and maintain their HL?
- 3) What contextual factors contribute to language maintenance and loss among young children?
- 4) What are the necessary conditions leading to HL maintenance of young children?

By answering these questions, this study seeks to broaden and deepen social understanding of the importance of HL maintenance by listening to the voices of the people who have been most and directly influenced by the policies that constrict or promote the opportunity for children of immigrants to maintain their HL.

### **Organization of the Study**

The present study is composed of seven distinct chapters. Chapter One establishes the brief background and rationale for the study and research questions. Chapter Two provides a contemporary understanding of HL speakers and education and presents a thorough review of the prior studies on (1) factors influencing early bilingualism and HL maintenance and (2) the conceptual orientations and framework of the present study. Chapter Three gives a detailed explanation on the methodology the study used, the methods of data collection and data analysis, and data collection procedures. After outlining the methodology and methods of this study in Chapter Three, I explain the effect of the interdependence between agents, and between agents and multi-layered environments on HL development of children in the following chapters. Chapters Four to Six presents the main findings from the study. Chapter Four focuses on the

findings from Phases One. The chapter presents three main themes of parents' language ideologies or beliefs emerged from the data collected from 14 Chinese and also family language planning and actual practices. Chapters Five and Six are based on the data collected in Phases Two and Three and provide empirical evidences supporting the arguments in Chapter Four. Chapter Five documents and analyzes family language planning and policy of two focal families who participated in Phase One of the study. Chapter Six also investigates the role of HL teachers in children's HL development and in FLP, children's learning experiences in HL (Korean) schools in which the focal children were enrolled. The final chapter offers an integrative summary of the preceding chapters and final conclusions from the results of the study, recommendations for future studies, and the limitation of the study, and the implications of the study for stakeholders.

### **Summary**

To better understand the role of sociocultural environments surrounding children in early bilingual development, this study explores and explains HL socialization of children from first and second generation Asian American (Chinese, Korean) families situated in the home and in HL school. This study will show how variation in the context of family life and parents' beliefs affect bilingual development and HL acquisition of their children. Due to the lack of research on early bilingualism of children from multilingual immigrant families, many educational institutions are likely to continue to discourage children from preserving the languages they first learned at home and ignore their social, cultural, linguistic, emotional and psychological needs for HL maintenance. This study seeks to inform educational institutions about the home environment of linguistically diverse children and FLP, by exploring parents' language beliefs

and practice. Also, I would discuss implications about bilingual education and HL maintenance for stakeholders, in particular teachers, HL teachers, and policy makers.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

#### Introduction

Although HL learning has a long tradition in the United States, research on HLs is an emerging field, and has a relatively short history compared with second language research. It has not been long that the term HL drew attention from researchers in the United States. The term HL was first used in 1977 with the inception of the Ontario HLs programs in Canada, but in the United States it was the late 1990s in the field of language policy (Cummins, 2005). There are differences in research interest between HL acquisition and second language acquisition. In comparison with foreign/second language research, research on HL acquisition has been focused on external factors of learners such as social, cultural, and political environments rather than their inner factors such as genetic and psychological characteristics.

Considering the salient features of the process of HL development, it is important to understand the nature of HL learners and the context in which children learn and use the HL. In the following section, this chapter presents the characteristics of HL speakers and the diverse contexts where HL education takes place, by comparing foreign language and bilingual education with HL education. This chapter also reviews the existing literature and summarizes its key findings of past studies, focusing on decisive factors which mediate children's HL learning outcomes. Finally, the chapter closes with an outline of the main theories that influenced my conceptual framework.

#### **Profile of Heritage Language Speakers**

“Familial or ancestral ties to the particular language” (Hornberger & Wang, 2008, p. 27) makes HL speakers have a strong attachment to their HL and culture. In many cases, heritage

speakers learn their heritage through the use of the HL with adults in natural settings and as a result, they have stronger oral skills than literacy skills. Valdés (2005) indicates that a HL is a non-majority language that is spoken and used by individuals who are considered to be a linguistic minority. Thus, HLs usually include only non-English languages such as indigenous, colonial, and immigrant HLs (Cummins, 2005; Fishman, 2001).

HL speakers are diverse in terms of background characteristics, HL proficiencies, and attitudes about their home culture and language (Schwartz, Moin, Leikin, & Breitkopf, 2010). They have been “raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, . . . speak or at least understand the language, and [are] to some degree bilingual in that language and in English” (Valdés, 2001, p. 38). HLs refer to the primary language which a linguistic minority uses for socialization within the family and extended kinship networks. HL speakers usually first learn their HL through daily interactions with family members and people from their ethnic community as well as through some formal instructions (Schwartz, 2010). Carreira & Kagan (2011) summarizes a profile of HL learners as follows:

- (1) acquired English in early childhood, after acquiring the heritage language;
- (2) has limited exposure to the heritage language outside the home;
- (3) has relatively strong aural and oral skills but limited literacy skills;
- (4) has positive heritage language attitudes and experiences;
- and (5) studies the heritage language mainly to connect with communities of speakers in the United States and to gain insights into his or her roots (p. 40).

Language proficiency in English and HL varies from individual to individual and within individuals depending on several factors such as the age of exposure to the HL, the amount of exposure, the kind of input, and the gender of the HL learner (Montrul, 2013), but as HL

proficiency in speaking and listening is usually higher than that in writing and reading (Schwartz, 2010).

### **Reality of Heritage Language Education**

HLs have not received much scholarly attention until they were recognized as national and personal resources (He, 2008). HL education refers to “foreign language instruction for students who have prior home or community-based exposure to this language (2005)” (Valdés, as cited in Leeman, & King, 2015, p. 210). That is, HL education includes “schooling offered completely in the (minority language) mother tongues ... transitional bilingual education; complementary schools that offer heritage language instruction on weekends; and immersion or revitalization programs designed for students who do not speak their heritage language” (Leeman, & King, 2015, p. 210).

Most of heritage speakers acquire their language not only through familial ethnic socialization (Fishman, 2001; Parke, & Buriel, 1998), but also in public school contexts. Bilingual education occurs at the elementary school level, whereas HL education programs are offered in secondary and post-secondary foreign language settings for a few hours each week (Leeman, & King, 2015). There are more than 6000 HL schools in U.S., teaching 145 different languages (Fishman, 2001). Despite the large number of HL schools, HL education has been marginalized in the school and community due to their language status (Park, 2013). Leeman and King (2015) explain marginalization of HL education in the U.S. education system as follow.

Heritage language programs do not involve a reduction in English-language instructional time, nor do they involve the teaching of core content in a non-English language. Even community-based heritage language schools, which often operate more like mother

tongue educational programs, providing cultural as well as linguistic content, typically hold classes in the evening or on weekends, outside of normal school hours. (p. 212)

One of problems of school-based programs is that HL learners have to learn HLs with monolingual English speakers in spite of their different first language backgrounds.

Monolingual English-speaking students learn the target language as a second/foreign language without prior cultural and linguistic knowledge of and access to the target language in their community (Cummins, 2005), while HL learner often speak a non-standard variety of the target language and have the different degrees of familiarity with the language (Kagan, 2005; Valdés, 2001). Although it is necessary to differentiate instruction based on students' linguistic backgrounds and their degree of readiness, in practice, however, HL-speaking students and monolingual English-speaking students learn the target language together in the same classroom. Moreover, teachers who are assigned to foreign language classes have been trained as foreign language teachers in college, and they do not usually differentiate instruction, program goals, materials and curriculum for HL learners (Valdés, 2005). In terms of curriculum, teachers in school-based programs tend to focus on academic language skills rather than communicative skills that HL learners need more.

As mentioned earlier, HL speakers have been often compared with foreign language speakers, but they are different from each other in many ways. The major difference between HLs and foreign languages is “a particular family relevance” of a language to the learner (Fishman, 2001). Hence, HLs have been transmitted through families, communities as well as the educational system. Although some heritage speakers develop their HL in foreign language programs or bilingual programs, family and community/community schools play a significant role in the maintenance of HLs. Kagan (2005) presents the sources of HL acquisition as a “triad”

(p. 213) that includes family, community/community schools and formal education. As these three elements complement one other, if all elements are not in place, the HL proficiency must be limited given the reduced input and unstable exposure to the HL.

### **Factors Influencing Heritage Language Development in Young Children**

The important point of consideration is the relationship between person and social environment, that is, the effect of immediate and remote environments on children's HL outcomes. The discourses surrounding the study of language maintenance can be broadly divided into four systems from proximal to distal: micro-, meso-, macro-, chronological-level systems (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; 2009). Prior work indicates that sources of variability in language growth of young children are *parents' language input* (Bohman, Bedore, Peña, Mendez-Perez, & Gillam, 2010; Hammer, Davison, Lawrence, & Miccio, 2009; Hoff, 2006; Huttenlocher, Waterfall, Vasilyeva, Vevea, & Hedges, 2010; Winsler et al., 2014; Young & Tran, 1999); *parental motivation and attitudes* (Craig, 1996; Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006); family SES (Hoff, 2013; Rowe, 2008); *parental cultural identity and their commitment to language maintenance* (Guardado, 2002). This section reviews the existing literature and summarizes key factors to influence children's HL outcomes, focusing on the role of parents in early bilingual development and heritage language development in children.

### **Home Context**

Children's language development is determined by the speech they hear at home and the speech they hear at school (Huttenlocher, 1998). Home is the proximal environment of the child; physical features, objects, and persons in the home have a great impact on the child's development (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). Past studies (Hoff, 2006; Huttenlocher, Waterfall, Vasilyeva, Vevea, & Hedges, 2010; Place & Hoff, 2011) have emphasized that parents are the

most important single factor in young children's language development. Among persons in the immediate face-to-face setting, the parent is the most influential person who designs the child's social and physical environment for her/his development (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). Hammer, Davison, Lawrence and Miccio (2009) stress the effect of language input of mothers on children's HL acquisition. Living with non-English language-speaking parents has the strongest effect on language maintenance among children (Bohman, Bedore, Peña, Mendez-Perez, & Gillam, 2010; Ishizawa, 2004). According to Hammer et al. (2009), maternal usage of English was not closely related to children's English literacy development, whereas increased maternal usage of Spanish was crucial to maximizing children's developing Spanish vocabulary.

Other household members (i.e., siblings, grandparents) also influence language maintenance among children in multilingual households (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Bridges & Hoff, 2014; Hoff, 2006; Ishizawa, 2004). Bridges and Hoff (2014) examined older siblings' influence on the language development of US-born toddlers who grew up hearing English and Spanish from birth. They found that older siblings preferred speaking English to the toddler. According to their study, toddlers with older siblings were more advanced in English language development, whereas toddlers without a school-aged sibling were more advanced in Spanish. It seems that parents are likely to accommodate children's language choice as far as they can. Findings showed that mothers spoke with their toddlers in English more often when they had a school-aged older sibling.

Ishizawa (2004) argues that "the presence of any non-English-speaking parents, grandparents, and other adults in a household increases the likelihood of a child speaking a non-English language" (p. 473). To explain the effect of grandparents on language maintenance among their grandchildren, the author investigated language maintenance among children in

three-generation households, by comparing children who lived with only parents ( $n=5,232$ , non-English speaking parents/only English-speaking parents) with children who lived with both parents and grandparents ( $n=636$ ). The author found that living with a non-English-speaking grandparent, especially grandmother, was positively related to children's language maintenance. The study shows that non-English speaking grandparents play crucial roles in ethnic socialization and intergenerational transmission of heritage languages.

### **Parent Involvement**

Past studies have shown that additive bilingualism does not happen spontaneously. Parents' efforts and their ongoing supports are essential for intergenerational transmission of the HL (Lao, 2004). Parents should facilitate their child's HL learning and promote the constant exposure to the HL. At the early stage of bilingual language development, the pattern of parents' language input to children directly influences their children's language usage patterns and their language proficiency (Arriagada, 2005). For instance, parents with high HL proficiency can help children form a solid foundation in the HL. Lao (2004) investigated parents' patterns of language use at home. According to the study, 86 parents who enrolled their children in a Chinese-English bilingual preschool used Chinese at home and they also had positive attitudes toward bilingualism and Chinese-English bilingual education. Her findings indicate that the use of language at home predicts whether a language will be transmitted intergenerationally. Lao (2004) also found that parents' expectation for their children's HL proficiency was mediated by their Chinese proficiency and the availability of Chinese resources at home. As a result, there is often found a gap between parents' expectation and their actual practice.

Children need extensive opportunity to be exposed to the HL in order to enhance their literacy skills and oral fluency in the HL especially when HLs have no presence in community.

Language usage patterns in the home environment are relevant to children's use of language in multilingual contexts (Kennedy & Romo, 2013). Kennedy and Romo (2013) argue that if children are encouraged to communicate with family members in the HL, they would be more likely to use it with other heritage speakers outside the home. In Tse's (2001) study, ones who had attained relatively high levels of HL literacy had the greatest access to HL print in their home and in the HL community.

To achieve additive bilingualism, a closer relationship between parents and their children, parents' consistency in language choice, and HL as the first language at home are indispensable (Arriagada, 2005). As Lao (2004) points out, higher levels of parental involvement and language use at home between parents and children is the most crucial factor in predicting maintenance and loss of the HL over generations among children. The degree of parents' involvement in minority language maintenance varies widely depending on (1) parents' cultural maintenance (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001), (2) parent's cultural identity (Schechter & Bayley, 1997; Tse, 2001), (3) parents' language beliefs and ideologies (Lee, Choi & Marqués-Pascual, 2016), and (4) parents' expectations for their children's proficiency levels (Lao, 2004, Park & Sarkar, 2007). All of these factors taken together will decide the degree of parents' involvement.

**Parents' beliefs about HL maintenance.** As many immigrant parents are aware of the benefits of being bilingual, they have positive attitudes toward their HL and desire their children to use it alongside English (Mucherah, 2008). Yang (2007) investigated why Chinese parents enrolled their children in a Chinese language school and supported bilingual education. The study found that parents believed that learning Chinese would benefit their children in a variety of ways; "more opportunities in their future life and in the job market, communicating easily

with relatives, identification with the Chinese ethnic group, and acknowledging/understanding Chinese culture” (p. 233).

Many immigrant and immigrant descent parents prefer learning the HL in dual languages school so that their children can learn both languages, without delaying the learning of English or sacrificing their HL and culture. In Lee’s (1999) study, the majority of 290 Latino parents whose children were enrolled in bilingual education classes at school valued the educational benefits of bilingual education in principle, but in practice, they preferred to have their children enrolled in mainstream classes to prevent them from “separatism” (Schmidt, 2008, p. 197). Two-thirds of the parents preferred to have their children placed in English-only classes to receive the equal access to educational resources given the prevailed concerns about discrimination in education. They felt that their children did not have enough exposure to English, especially academic English in their homes.

Yang (2007) found “significant differences between parents of different income levels in parental perceptions of the children’s language proficiency” (p. 235). Low-income parents were more likely to express high expectation of and strong belief in their children’s Chinese language proficiency. In addition, parents of gifted/talented students and high-income parents provided less Chinese language input and exposure than parents of average students although both groups of parents acknowledged the importance of English as a means to move forward and upward economically and perform academically well. The results indicate that parental perception and belief influenced by their life history guide their language practice and parenting. Hence, parents’ language practices tend to constantly shift according to dynamic social contexts in which parents function (Duursma, Romero-Contreras, Szuber, Proctor, Snow, August, & Calderón, 2007; Schecter, Sharken-Taboada, & Bayley, 1996).

**Parents' beliefs and motivation.** Motivation refers to “the combination of desire and effort made to achieve a goal; it links the individual’s rationale for any activity such as language learning with the range of behaviors and degree of effort employed in achieving goals” (Gardner, as cited in McGroarty, 1996, p. 5). Given that belief and motivation guide the individual’s decisions and behaviors, parents’ belief and motivation are closely related to the degree of their efforts to achieve their children’s additive bilingualism (Lao, 2004). Depending on parents’ motivation for language teaching, children learn a language as HL or as foreign language (Yang, 2007). That is, some parents desire their children to appreciate their cultural root and develop a sense of identity and pride in their heritage culture through language. In Li’s (1999) autobiographical narrative, she relates the HL to the traditional norms and values of her ethnic culture such as parental authority, filial respect, and ties to the native country and social power. Others want their children to acquire bilingual skills to gain a social status or economic benefits.

Parents show the variation in motivational orientation to maintain the HL: filial respect and keeping kinship ties alive (Cho, 2000; Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997; Zhang, & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009); cultural pluralism and individual bilingualism (Schechter, Sharken-Taboada, & Bayley, 1996); instrument benefits (Lee, 1999; Lin & Warschauer, 2011); positive effects on self-image and development of skills necessary for effective communication within the ethnic community (Lao, 2004). Palmer (2009) examined parents’ reasons for teaching HLs, which is non-dominant languages, to their children. Middle-class English-speaking parents in the study viewed bilingual education as an enrichment opportunity to learn a foreign language. In contrast, working-class Latino parents viewed it as complementary programs which their children “maintain and develop pride in their HL and culture while still learning English, which is critical to their survival in the United States” (p. 180). Schechter *et al.* (1996) also investigated the personal reasons for teaching

their children Spanish. Ten parents out of 18 Latino parents pointed out instrumental benefits (i.e., academic benefit, better career opportunities) from being bilingual and five parents of the rest of said group identity.

Parents' motivation is closely related to their investment in language maintenance. Studies have shown that many parents are motivated by educational benefits such as stronger grades and higher standardized tests scores (Froiland, 2011) or psychological benefits such as a good family relationship and higher self-esteem (Cho, 2000; Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997; Zhang, & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). In Park and Sarkar's (2007), nine Korean immigrant parents who had a child (or children) between the ages of 6–18 believed that their children's high level of proficiency in the Korean language would help their children keep their cultural identity as Koreans, ensure them better future economic opportunities, and give them more chances to communicate with their grandparents efficiently. Importantly, parents with both extrinsic (instrumental) and intrinsic (integrative) motivation may tend to show a strong commitment to language maintenance given "extrinsic rewards can complement or increase intrinsic motivation rather than decrease it" (Ryan, as cited in Hayamizu, 1997, p. 99). If parents are motivated by both educational and psychological benefits, they must make more efforts to teach their children their HL than those who have either extrinsic or intrinsic motivation.

Pigott and Kalbach (2005) studied the relationship between ethnic identity and seven variables (i.e., language spoken most often in the home, language spoken most often outside the home, gender, region, ethnic ancestry, generational status, and proximity to ethnic activities) among 3,363 university students from five universities across Canada. The results revealed that language spoken most often in the home had a positive effect on ethnic identity and also it was a statistically significant predictor of ethnic identity for university students in Canada. In line with

Pigott and Kalbach's study, Phinney (2003) posits that ethnic identity is significantly related to in-group peer interaction and ethnic language proficiency. As people identify themselves and others with their use of languages (Kramsch, 1998), language maintenance increases the degree of ethnic attachment (Pigott & Kalbach, 2005). Li (1999) also points out that parents' supportive interactions with their children at home in the HL enhance the possibility of maintaining the HL across generations.

Lee, Choi and Marqués-Pascual (2016) found a close relationship between children's language usage and social milieu in which children grow and develop, by comparing 11 Mexican parents with nine Korean families. In their study, the Mexican parents whose education level ranged from third grade to three years in a vocational college raised their children in the community where there was a stronger presence of HL use in Mexican homes. They found that both parents and their children perceived a high social utility of Spanish in their community. Thus, the Mexican parents consistently encouraged their children (ages 7-8) to use Spanish at home and the focal children showed high social acceptability of and positive attitudes toward Spanish unlike the Korean children. In contrast, the Korean parents who all were college-graduate placed a more emphasis on English than Korean. Korean parents also tended to accommodate their children's (ages 6-8) language of preference as they knew that their children felt discomfort with speaking Korean. The results indicate that the individual's perceived value of their HL is related to language vitality and economic value in a community. The authors reasoned that the Korean focal children were raised in the communities in which Korean was not societally implemented compared with the Mexican focal children.

In sum, parents' beliefs and motivation are influenced by social milieu where families live and function as well as their backgrounds (i.e., educational level, income, occupational

distribution). “Language ideologies include the values, practices and beliefs associated with language use by speakers, and the discourse that constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels” (Blackledge, 2008, p. 2925). Blackledge argues that language ideologies reflect speakers’ positioning in social, political, and historical contexts and may be influenced by social changes. Parental motivation to maintain the HL is closely related to their language ideologies. Parental motivation to maintain the HL may be multifaceted and also situated. Parents’ reason for raising their children bilingually would change and evolve along with family’s life events.

**Language planning and practice.** Spolsky (2004) views language planning as one of tripartite components of language policy. Language planning implies a planner’s intentions, choices, and efforts to cause actions of others. Hence, “whatever choices are made and implemented by language planners will be done in conformity with a particular set of beliefs and principles which are not necessarily shared by the speech community” (Jones, 2015, p. xiii). Like language planning, language policy implies one’s intention of influencing other’s language practice or ideology “someone’s authority to change the language practice or ideology of someone else” (Spolsky, 2004). Therefore, research on language policy should consider a speech community's language ideology.

Language ideology or beliefs construct the criteria for bad language and good language within the larger society, and language-planning agencies manage the policy to meet the criteria at various levels of social institution, from family to nation (Spolsky, 2004). Although the United States is ethno-linguistically diverse, intergenerational language maintenance does not occur easily due to the sociopolitical climate dominance of English. All immigrants perceive that mastering English quickly leads to a better life in the United States. Within this

“hegemonic English-dominant environment” (Schmidt, 2008), parents who attempt to achieve their children’s additive bilingualism need to make extra efforts to provide ample time and opportunities for their children to be exposed to their HL.

Research has confirmed that home language use is of primary importance in language maintenance (Fishman, 1996, 1997; Lao, 2004; Schecter, Sharken-Taboada, & Bayley, 1996). Bilingual parents determine whether the family uses one language or mix languages. In majority language environments, language-minority children’s proficiency in English is not significantly related to parental use of English in the home, but parental use of the HL in the home is crucial in becoming or staying proficient in the HL (Duursma et al., 2007; Pigott & Kalbach, 2005). Interestingly, parents tend to believe that parents are mainly responsible for their children’s HL (Guardado, 2002; Park & Sarkar, 2007). Compared with working-class parents, middle-class parents have more actively engaged in convincing public schools and college authorities to recognize their HLs (Fishman, 2001). For instance, many Korean and Chinese parents request that school systems give the opportunity for their children to earn high school credit for the study of their HLs (Lee & Shin, 2008).

Dual-language programs in public schools are relatively divided in their populations (Palmer, 2009). Approximately half of whom in those programs comes from Spanish-dominant working-class families, mainly Latino immigrants, and the rest of them come from English-dominant middle-class, mainly Whites. The parents of these two populations, working- and middle-classes, come to early dual-language programs for very different motivations and expectations (Palmer, 2009). White middle-class parents perceive a foreign language as an asset for their child’s career in the future. According to King and Fogle (2006), the middle-class

parents perceived bilingualism as a sign of good parenting and placed a great responsibility for their children's HL education on themselves and felt shame on language loss.

Parents employ various strategies for helping their children to become bilingual such as visiting the native land, use of media in the HL, and speaking the HL to children (Mucherah, 2008). Schechter, Sharken-Taboada, and Bayley (1996) reported the main strategies of 18 immigrant Latino parents for teaching their children HL, but they did not investigate what influenced their decision about parents' language practice and management. One of the interesting findings is that language maintenance strategies employed by the parents had constantly changed in the life course trajectory. The results of the study indicate that in the English-only social environment, "support for a strategy of maintenance ensues, not from a one-time decision on the part of caretakers regarding family language practice, but rather from a series of choice that constitute affirmations and reaffirmations of a commitment to the minority language" (Schechter *et al.*, 1996, p. 277).

### **Conceptual Orientations of the Study**

As shown in an overview of relevant literature in the previous section, among many influential factors proven, the role and the effect of parents are recurring themes in the field of HL development of your children. Given that parents take primary responsibility for care of the child, the existing literature give primacy mostly to the home context, in particular, parental factors such as parents' language beliefs; language use/input; language proficiency; attitudes towards the heritage culture as mentioned earlier. As a result, past studies have not explained the relationship between macro and micro levels of language policies and the interplay between multiple dimensions of environments in creating family language policy (FLP). Drawing on a wide range of literature on HL issues, I propose an ecological model to explore FLP (i.e.,

language ideology/beliefs, practice, management) of immigrant and immigrant descent families in the United States. Home cannot be considered in isolation, so FLP does. We can better explain HL maintenance and loss by recognizing the interplay between agents and environments and between constitutive elements of FLP. In this section, I weave together the theories that shape my conceptual framework for this study.

In order to better understand bilingual development and HL maintenance of young children in immigrant and immigrant-descent families, the present study elaborates on issues of how parents interpret national language policy and create FLP at the local level and what role agents (e.g., parents, grandparents, HL teachers) play in heritage language maintenance of young children. As mentioned earlier, parents' involvement in promoting their children's additive bilingualism is widely varied. The present study wish to explain this variation based on parents' language practices which is shaped by language ideologies. To this end, this study questions, (1) what language ideologies or beliefs parents have concerning bilingual development and HL maintenance, (2) how parental beliefs influence family language planning and practice, (3) what role agents (e.g., parents, grandparents, HL teachers) play in maintaining the heritage language for children.

In developing a conceptual framework for understanding parents' language ideologies and their role as an agency of change as they plan family language practices, the following theories are synthesized. I simultaneously draw upon (1) "language socialization theory", "ecological system theory", and "relational-cultural theory" to explore parents' belief-systems and motivation, and (2) "language policy theory" and "ecology system theory" to elucidate the family's language practices, planning, and management. The theories are closely intertwined in that they all emphasize the relationship between the person and the social context where s/he

lives live and functions. The combination of the theories is extremely useful in capturing the complexity of the mechanism of bilingual development and HL maintenance of young children. It will also help to conceptualize parents' language ideologies that are influential in shaping the familial language practices.

### **Language Socialization**

The language socialization paradigm aims at understanding “the nature of culture and how cultural knowledge and beliefs are transmitted both from generation to generation and in everyday interaction” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 184). It claims that children are socialized through language and they are socialized to use language (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004). “Under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers” (Vygotsky, 1980, p. 86), children learn how to use language in socially appropriate ways. Vygotsky (1980) argues that childhood learning takes place long before attending school. In the early stages of child development, oral language is the medium of intergenerational transmission of knowledge. He argues that children in the preschool years “learn speech from adults; or that, through asking questions and giving answers, children acquire a variety of information; or that, through imitating adults and through being instructed about how to act, children develop an entire repository of skills” (p. 84).

In the language socialization framework, acquiring language is not simply acquiring linguistic knowledge, but also developing cultural competence. According to this theory, “children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems of belief through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interaction” (Ochs, 1986, p. 2). In terms of HL acquisition, children acquire their HL through interpersonal communication with their parents (especially mothers), family members, and other adults in their non-dominant language. Through socialization, minority children acquire not only language,

but also the social norms and cultural values of their ethnic community. Mastering language and internalizing social norms, children become full participants in the community and nurture a sense of belonging (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Through this socialization process, children's cultural identity emerges and continues to evolve throughout the life span.

Language socialization research (Ochs, 1986; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) shows that “communication includes not only the structure of language (e.g., grammar, vocabulary) but also who is saying what, to whom, in which circumstances” (Baker, 2011, p. 5). This is called “communicative competence” by Hymes (1967). When young children learn their HL in the home and in their own ethnic community, they also acquire communicative competence “through participation in cultural, linguistic, and historically formed settings such as family life, peer group interaction, and in institutional contexts like schooling, organized social activities, and workplaces” (Lantolf, Thorne, & Poehner, 2015, p. 207).

In light of the language socialization perspective, language maintenance needs to link the formal institution to the informal life in which the language is used (Fishman, 1996). Children are socialized through participation in everyday social life such as family life, peer group interaction, and institutional contexts (Lantolf, Thorne, & Poehner, 2015). By constantly engaging in a variety of communicative and situational roles, children internalize shared cultural knowledge, understand the mind of others, master the practices of a certain community and act in a manner acceptable to other members in everyday interaction.

In the same vein, if HL learning takes place only at home or only in school, intergenerational HL transmission would not happen. Therefore, every child must have ample opportunities to use their HL at home, in community and in school (Fishman, 1996). HL

schools alone, although important, would not be enough to maintain the HL if children do not use the language with their parents at home and outside the school. Fishman stresses that:

Every infant acquiring their native language at home must have ample out-of-home experiences for informal use of the language. As well, every student who acquires their native language at school must have ample out-of-school experiences to use that language. To be successful, reversing language shift through intergenerational mother-tongue transmission requires both community and family building. (p. 186).

### **Ecological System Theory**

Ecological systems theory has been long used in the field of early childhood education. The theory emphasizes the understanding of the context where children were born and are raised and focus on the interaction between environment, person, and time in child development. Given that language is crucial for child development, I argue that ecological systems theory can be useful in understanding the complexity of bilingual language development of young children. In past studies (Krashen, 1998; Guardado, 2002; O'Grady, Kwak, Lee, & Lee, 2011), the familial environment has been placed in the center of bilingual research and as a result, it seems likely that the family operates independently without interacting larger environmental systems. They have not explained the interactive effect between people and environment on HL development of young children, that is, the interplay between multiple layers of environment which mediates HL maintenance.

Bronfenbrenner (1977) argues that the process of human development is affected by “relationships obtaining within and between these immediate settings, as well as the larger social contexts, both formal and informal, in which the settings are embedded” (p. 514). In this sense, child development varies by daily interactions with parents in the home affected by the larger

environment (i.e., community, school, culture) throughout the life course, jointing to the characteristics of the developing person. A child's bilingual proficiency changes over time depending on environmental conditions of each family (Tse, 2001). Thus, family ecology surrounding the child can constrict or expand child's opportunity to develop their HL and ultimately become a balanced bilingual throughout their life span, in harmony with their personal attributes.

Bronfenbrenner (1977) emphasize that local, national, historical, and political contexts can constrict access to the range of possible tools available to individuals as they navigate social spaces. "The overarching institutional patterns of the culture or subculture, such as the economic, social, educational, legal and political systems" (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 515) play crucial roles in the process of child development. In the same vein, the familial environment which promotes or constricts children's opportunity to learn the HL may be shaped by the larger social contexts. Examining the interaction effect between family and environment on HL development of young children would give insight into the loss and maintenance of the HL of children.

### **Relational Cultural Theory**

"Language socialization" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) show the unidirectional, hierarchical, dichotomous relationship (i.e., give/take or capable/incapable) between parents and children. Laver and Wenger (1997) point out that learning is "the process of becoming a full participant in a sociocultural practice" (p. 29). This concept of full participation as a member help us to understand how language and culture are transmitted generation to generation, but is not enough to encompass a wide spectrum of parents' various motivations and reasons for teaching their children HL. To better understand parents' motivations for teaching their children their HL, I draw on Relational-cultural theory (RCT) as a supplement theory. RCT claims that

language is not an end, but a medium to nurture the parents-children relationship. Through language, parents and children influence each other and grow together in relationship. RCT defines “connection as an interaction between two or more people that is mutually empathic and mutually empowering” (Jordan, 2009, p. 19). It suggests that building good connection with people from the same ethnic culture can help to resist and overcome false and distorted images of minorities prevalent in dominant discourse (2009). In this regard, language loss does not simply mean losing a language, but also losing connection and power.

Immigrant and immigrant-descent parents have their own reasons why they want their child to maintain their HL. Many minority parents perceive their HL as their cultural foundation rather than a purely economic or strategic resource. For them, the real reason for HL maintenance boils down to maintaining strong ties to friends, family, and their ethnic culture in order to give their children a strong sense of who they are and where they belong. According to Jordan (2009), human beings grow in relationship throughout their life and they have an essential need to connect with others. She points out that social connections make us feel a sense of belonging and improve our well-being. A good parent and child relationship makes them feel that they are a part of the other’s life. Given that communication is an essential part of human interaction, using the same language is a minimum condition for building a good relationship. A good relationship begins with “empathic listening” and it involves dialogic experiences. Thus, parents with a strong desire to have a closer relationship with their child are likely to use the language in which they feel most comfortable speaking.

As mentioned earlier, parent involvement is affected by social milieu and is a critical underpinning of children’s bilingual development and HL development. Parents may have different preferences for language use, one language or a mix of two languages, depending on

their backgrounds, their motivation and social contexts where they function. For instance, parents with feelings of a lack of confidence in their HL may communicate with their child in English although their children have less opportunity to learn their HL. Consequently, their children have to learn the language through lectures and “decontextualized skill-and drill” (Vygotsky, 1980, p. 13). In that context, learning the HL may be possible, but surely neither effective nor easy because their intimate interactions are in English.

### **Family Language Policy and Ecological system theory**

In the last 50 years, language policy has been one of most popular research topics in many interdisciplinary studies in education, sociology, politics and linguistics regarding language practices, language beliefs, and language management. Research on language policy is concerned about endangered languages (i.e., indigenous languages, HLs) that are at risk of language shift to others that are more widely used and accepted in society. Language policy theory can give a sharper picture of how language ideologies at national level affect parents’ language beliefs at the local level and how parents plan family language practices for their children.

Language policy refers to “all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or policy” (Spolsky, 2004, p. 9) or “the set of positions, principles and decisions reflecting that community’s relationships to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential” (Bugarski, as cited in Schiffman, 1998) in order to achieve the planned language in the individuals, groups and societies. Through language policy, “languages can be actively promoted, passively tolerated, deliberately ignored, positively discouraged, and even banned” (Crystal, 1997, p. 368). Spolsky (2004) suggests that language policy consists of language practices (the activities that people do consistently and customarily with language); language

beliefs or ideology (the assumption that are held to be true by people regarding language); and language planning or management (the act or manner that people manage, intervene, or control those practices to achieve desired outcomes). It is the policy of a society to determine which language people should use in what sectors or the policy of a family to convince family members to use the HL in the family (Spolsky, 2004). In particular, FLP determines which language family members use for communication when they have more than one language they can speak. FLP is mediated by the interplay of these elements, and language beliefs and ideology underlies language practices and management. Given that languages have different social values, parents' language beliefs and ideologies will influence the policies they support or oppose (McKay & Hornberger, 1996).

In comparison with Spolsky, Schiffman (1998) point out the relationship between language and culture. He portrays language policy as a socio-culturally constructed action. He emphasizes the role of the macro environment, in particular, culture and ideology in language policy. He views language policy as a cultural construct based on implicit language beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies with a speech community. In this sense, FLP cannot be understood without looking at the social, cultural, and political contexts in which families live and function. He stresses the connection between language policy and *linguistic culture* which refers to the beliefs and ideologies within a speech community. He argues that language policy is based on linguistic culture of a society.

Language policy is ultimately grounded in *linguistic culture*, that is, the set of behaviors, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and religio-historical circumstances associated with a particular language. That is, the beliefs (one might even use the term myths) that a speech

community has about language (and this includes literacy) in general and its language in particular (from which it usually derives its attitudes towards other languages) are part of the social conditions that affect the maintenance and transmission of its language. (p. 5)

The concept of *Linguistic culture* partly explains why it is so hard to raise children bilingually although there is no explicit policy to control HL use at home in the United States. Studies have shown the implicit, but great effect of social and cultural environments on family language planning and practice. Given English is perceived as the prestigious language and has a legitimate status, it may be inevitable that parents are influenced by the concept of language status and believe that the mastery of English increases their child's social and economic opportunities and promotes social inclusion. Ricento (2009) also stresses the effect of language ideologies on language policy and practice. He argues that "ideologies about language generally and specific languages in particular have real effects on language policies and practices, and delimit to a large extent what is and is not possible in the realm of language planning and policy-making." (p. 8). National language policies signify language status which refers to "the perceived relative value of a named language, usually related to its social utility, which encompasses its so-called market value as a mode of communication" (Ricento, 2009, p. 5).

Johnson (2013) offers an unique explanation of language policy. He emphasizes the mediating roles multiple agents play in the process of language policy. He argues that the meso levels matters in language planning and practices, that is, the relationships between two social environments such as between microsystems (e.g., home and school environments) and between macro and microsystems (e.g., home and local or national policies), determine FLP in the family. They either implement language policies as the government intends or interpret and appropriate them according to their circumstances. This means that the outcomes of language policies at the

local level may be different from the intention of language policy at the macro level, depending on how local agents interpret national language policies. For example, the states of California, Massachusetts, and Arizona passed English-only policies banning bilingual education in public schools. These Anti-bilingual education policies require public schools to teach English language learners in English. Under such social circumstances, at the micro level some parents may speak with their children in their HL at home, hire bilingual nannies, or enroll their children in a HL school in order to promote their children's additive bilingualism. Others may teach their children only English to prepare them for English schools. Hence, parents' language practices may be influenced not only by macro-level language policies, but by each family's unique circumstance. In this sense, FLP and practice would reflect individual parents' understanding and interpretation of macro-level language policies and their own circumstance.

In many case, HLs are only used and heard in restricted environments such as home and their ethnic communities in the United Stated. In the face of competition from English, parents need to make great efforts to promote children's motivation and enjoyment so that children can become more passionate about learning and using their HL. Children's opportunity to hear and speak the HL is closely related to how parents interact with the social milieu in which they raise their children. There may be the correspondence between parents' beliefs about HL acquisition of their young children and the type of language parenting they choose for their children, if they have options. According to King and Fogle (2006), the middle-class parents make their decision mainly based on their own personal experiences and language learning beliefs. In their study, parents considered literature and experts' advice, but, only when it matched with their implicit beliefs. Hence, research should investigate how parents perceive and interpret the macro-level

language policies and local literacy practices which influence the family's daily language practices.

Li (1999) and Yang (2007) argue that parents who value a strong kinship tie are more likely to speak with their children in the HL in the home setting. Parents who support the intergenerational transmission of HL may almost exclusively communicate in the HL with their children. Parents who believe in the importance of HL maintenance may create an environment where children feel connected to their ethnic culture to increase their motivation and grit to master their HL. Furthermore, they may enroll their children in HL courses, hire a language tutor for their children, or increase participation in ethnic communities with their children in order to promote language exposure and opportunities for their children to use the language within the home and outside the home. In contrast, parents who want their children to become proficient in English as quickly as possible may not speak the HL to their children or speak the language to them less frequently. Consequently, children have reduced input in the HL or limited use of the language, whereas they have plenty of opportunities to speak English. This lack of HL input may result in language shift to the use of English. If children do not use a language, they would lose it eventually. I argue that parents' beliefs about their HL would influence their decision making regarding HL practice in the family; the type and form of their children's HL education.

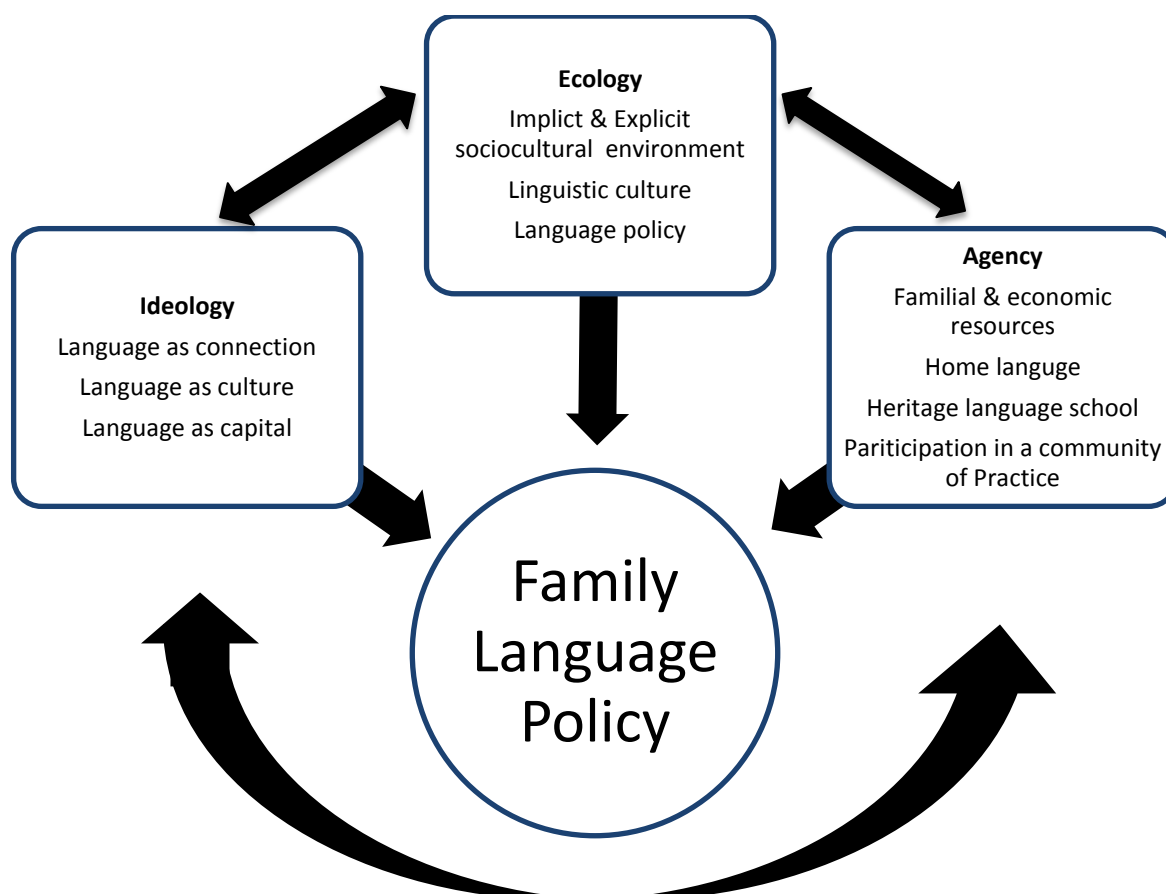
In sum, this review of the literature found that FLP and practice cannot be understood without consideration of the relationship of a person's immediate environment to the sociocultural environment as they feed into each other. Even though families may want their children to become bilingual, their desire or preference to use the HL alone cannot lead to mastery of both languages given the complexity of the HL maintenance process. Multiple agents

in a multilayered environment with whom the child interacts can lead to results different from language policy planners' intentions depending on agents' interpretation of their sociopolitical environments and their actual HL practices on a daily basis. The relationship between parents, family members, co-ethnic peers, community, and mainstream society may also indirectly, but greatly influence young children's HL development. As a consequence of these relationships and interactions, some children can succeed and others can fail to become bilingual.

### **The Conceptual Framework of the Present Study**

“Family language policy refers to explicit and overt decisions parents make about language use and language learning as well as implicit processes that legitimize certain language and literacy practices over others in the home” (Fogle, 2013, p. 83). Deciding which language children should master when and for what purpose is problematic for bilingual parents. In developing a conceptual framework for understanding the process of the FLP of immigrant first- and second-generation parents, I drew upon a substantive literature on factors that influence parents' language beliefs and practices. For a conceptual framework of the present study, I propose a tripartite model to conceptualize the factors influencing FLP. FLP is influenced by three categories: *ideology* (what parents believe), *ecology* (what contexts parents belong to), *agency* (how they manage language practices). These categories influence and are influenced by one another. *Ideology* is related to how parents perceive language in general, their HL in particular, whereas *ecology* refers to the social, cultural, political and economic contexts in which parents live and function. Parents' beliefs and ideologies cannot be understood without reference to the social contexts in which they are embedded (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). In other word, the individual's beliefs system at the micro-level is influenced by or influences the sociocultural system of a larger environment at the macro-level in which the one is embedded.

*Agency* indicates that parents view themselves as agents of change who play a crucial role in maintaining the HL. These categories in combination will determine FLP. The relations between the categories and the variables within each category which mediate FLP can be diagrammed as shown in Figure 1.



**Figure 1. Conceptualization of Family Language Policy**

In this conceptual framework, all factors under each category constituting FLP are likely to interplay one another in practice and determine the pattern and routine of family language practices which constrict or promote the opportunity for children to learn and maintain the heritage language. Firstly, *Ideology* includes three interrelated concepts of language ideology. I use metaphors to catch parents' different ideological positions on language: Language as connection, language as culture, language as capital. Parents can believe that the HL is the

medium to build deep connections with their children and promote their children's self-esteem and cultural identity. Also, they may believe that HL development can produce academic and economic benefits to their children. Secondly, there are three key variables in *ecology*: implicit and explicit social and cultural environment, in particular, *linguistic culture* (Johnson, 2013) of and language policy of a speech community. As language policies are grounded in the linguistic culture of a society, parents' language planning and practices must be significantly influenced by them. Parents who live in a society that favors bi-/multilingualism and value HLs of minorities would be likely to make efforts to maintain their HL for their children.

Lastly, *agency* is related to what parents as agents actually do for HL maintenance at the practical level. There is a wide spectrum of parents' bilingual ability and variations in economic resources, family structure, and proximity to the ethnic community. Parents who have strong connections with family members and economic resources to invest in their children's HLE would not fail to maintain their heritage. Based on their familial and economic circumstances, parents have to determine which language they use at home, whether they send their child to HL schools, and whether they participate in ethnic community activities. By communicating with parents in the HL, young children can improve their oral skills and these oral skills would be the foundation for HL development later in life. After gaining oral skills in the HL, young children can improve their literacy skills in HL programs. HL teachers and peers in HL school may play a crucial role in shaping the child's attitudes toward the HL and culture. Moreover, by participating with parents in various communal activities in their ethnic community where their HL is used, young children can use the language with other adults and peers outside the home, developing a sense of belonging and identity in their heritage culture. When all the factors under each category come into place, HL intergenerational maintenance will successfully take place.

Based on this conceptual framework, this study explains what sociocultural contexts influence parents' language planning (*ecology*), how parents interpret them (*ideology*), how they create language policies for their own family (*agency*).

### **Summary**

This chapter presents research literature relevant to the characteristics of HL learner and the factors influencing children's bilingual development and language maintenance. HLs refer to languages spoken by immigrant, refugee, and indigenous groups at home and in their ethnic communities with family members or with others (Cummins, 2005). A heritage speaker acquires the HL as their first language through informal learning in the home. Heritage learners differ in the kinds of their language skills and needs from foreign language learners. Their oral/aural proficiency is relatively high, but their literacy skills are low. In some cases, they barely read and write. Hence, research on HL learners HL suggests that heritage language and non-HL students need to be taught separate classes.

Research on children's HL development has also shown that the younger children are, the greater the impact of parents on the development and maintenance of HL of children. Parents' motivation to raise their children bilingually is multifaceted. For instance, parents may desire their children to preserve their HL not only with intrinsic motivation to maintain the ties of kinship, but also with social capital motivation view bilingualism as "a commodity reflecting prestige and power" (Lin & Warschauer, 2011, p. 61). Parents' motivation may also be situated in the social context and shift according to changing life events. As children enter school, a large proportion of their daily interactions occur in the English-dominant environments. Parents and their children become aware that social environments surrounding them place great emphasis on

the learning of English and different languages have different degrees of social power and economic value.

It is apparent that parents play a crucial role in children's bilingual development and language maintenance. In spite of parents' expectation for language maintenance, children's language outcomes vary widely. The study has found that there is the variation in family language practices and parents' language parenting, as directed by parents' ideologies and beliefs. Due to the hegemony of English and practical benefits of speaking English proficiently, intra-/inter-generational language shifts hardly takes place among language-minority children in the United States. Given the effect of social, cultural, and political environments on HL maintenance, I argue that children's HL development must be viewed within the social context in which children are raised.

Parental input which is adapted to the child's level of competence is essential for the child to learn the HL and get maximum results. Home is perceived as an ideal place for children's language acquisition, however, it cannot by itself ensure HL learning. In the English-dominant environment, the use of HL at home is not enough to maintain the HL across generations. Children's HL acquisition is determined by the use of HL with various heritage speakers such family members, more capable peers, and proficient heritage-speaking adults in various social settings. Nonetheless past studies on HL maintenance have mainly focused on the home context, in particular, the effect of the parents' psychological factors or linguistic skills on HL development and maintenance of children. Consequently, this approach has not captured other significant factors or the interplay between the existing factors which may influence HL maintenance such as other caregivers of children and the social and cultural environments which explicitly or implicitly influence child development. Heritage language maintenance is a result

of collaborative supports from individual children and parents, families to the wider community (Guardado, 2002; Kagan, 2005). Hence, understanding the role, influence, interplay between persons and the larger speech community are always necessary.

Spolsky (2004) argues that the family is the innermost level of language policy planning. Research on language policy indicates that language policy is the legal action which intends to develop a specific language, that is, the language of people with power, by favoring or disfavoring the language and it is closely related to linguistic culture in society. Recent studies on language policy have shown that local language practices can be different from language policy because of agents who are supposed to implement the policy. This study aims to find what role children, parents, and teachers play in the process of HL maintenance and how each environment in which children learn and speak the HL is interconnected with one another and simultaneously, how these interconnection and interdependence mediate parents' language practices and their decision-making regarding their children's HL education. By doing so, this study sheds light on the contextual factors, accounting for HL maintenance and loss that minority families face.

## Chapter 3

### Research Methodology and Methods

#### Introduction

This chapter presents the study's three phases and describes the study procedures and participants. The chapter begins with a methodological outline of the research and explains the methods and procedure pertaining to the recruitment and eligibility of participants, the observation and recording of family life and the HL classes children took, and the coding and analyses of field notes and recordings. The chapter concludes with a description of the families who participated in the phases of the study. Phase one and Two of the study included fourteen parents, either Chinese or Korean American parents; three of them lived in northern Washington, eleven lived in northern California. Phase Three of the study included two parents of the fourteen parents from the original sample and their children; all parents lived in California. Extensive field notes were collected through these multiple observations in combination with surveys and in-person/email interviews. In order to recruit parents with diverse backgrounds, I used snowball sampling, ties to the ethnic communities, and community-based HL schools.

The research design employed triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods to enhance the completeness and confirmation of data in the research. Using this mixed methods, the research analyzed what beliefs parents had about bilingual development of their young children and what parents actually practiced with their children to promote HL maintenance. The present research is composed of three phases. In phase one of the study, fourteen parents with various backgrounds were interviewed and surveyed. Among the fourteen parents participated in the Phase One of the study, two of them participated in phase Two and Three of the study. The selection criteria for the focal families were based on the child age and the

family's native language as age is a crucial factor in child language development and also I wanted to directly understand conversations in the HL without translation when I observed or interviewed the focal parents and their children. Based on the criteria, I chose the two Korean American parents with a same-aged (age 5) U.S.-born child whose heritage language were Korean. In Phase Two, I visited the focal families, interviewed family members, and observed family activities and events in which the focal children and their parents participated. In Phase Three, I observed HL classes the focal children took and interviewed their teachers. The researcher documented children's activities relevant to HL learning, focusing on HL classes. Multiple sources of evidence collected from each phase of the study were combined for data analysis.

### **Using Case study Methods and Methodology**

Qualitative research has been traditionally perceived as one of the best methods to provide insight into the perceptions, beliefs, experiences and stories of minority people in terms of ethnicity, language and gender. Qualitative research philosophy, techniques, and procedures are the foundations of the current research. The present study is a qualitative case study of parents with immigrant Asian-origins concerning parental beliefs about children's bilingual development and HL maintenance. The objective of the study is to explain the complexity of children's bilingual development and the variation in parents' strategies which are mediated by the environments in which they live. Importantly, variations in parents' beliefs and strategies were jointly explained by the detailed description of family and community contexts in which children acquired their HL on a daily basis.

In the last several years, qualitative case studies have been applied with increasing frequency to the investigation of the person-context (environment) relationship concerning psychological factors such as belief and attitude. As Patton defines it,

[Qualitative research] is an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there. . . . what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting. (as cited in Merriam, 1998, p. 6)

As explained above, qualitative inquiry focuses on the complexity and depth of understanding of why people behave the ways they do. As it aims to ensure accurate representation of participants' beliefs and behaviors, qualitative research allows researchers not only to get reliable data directly collected from members of a specific group in natural settings, but also to appreciate its members' beliefs and opinions about their unique experiences sufficiently. Given the nature of qualitative research, qualitative research methods should be considered when research aims to investigate participants' psychological variables (e.g., belief, perception, intention) underlying their actions, behaviors, and activities.

Qualitative research methods have been rigorous and widely accepted techniques in areas of bilingualism. Case study and ethnography are two of the most popular approaches to qualitative research. A case study has been considered when research seeks to investigate and describe the social phenomenon in a bounded context where the case is embedded. It has been often chosen for researching child language acquisition and socialization (Kennedy, & Romo, 2013). Merriam (1998) explains the criteria for using a case study:

A case study design is employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. The interest is in process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation. (p. 19)

In first language acquisition, parents play a crucial role in supporting their children's learning and children's language acquisition begins in the home and in the community where children interact with parents and other adults. As in first language acquisition, the sociocultural environment such as home and community in which children learn and use their HL is very crucial for understanding how children learn their HL. In this regard, the present research explored the sociocultural environment surrounding the family and explained how parents' decisions were mediated by the environment.

Given the nature of qualitative research mentioned above, qualitative case research is the best fit for this research. The concept of saturation has been employed in qualitative research as a guiding principle for the sample size, the number of interviews, the data collection and analysis of the study. Baker and Edwards (2012) emphasize

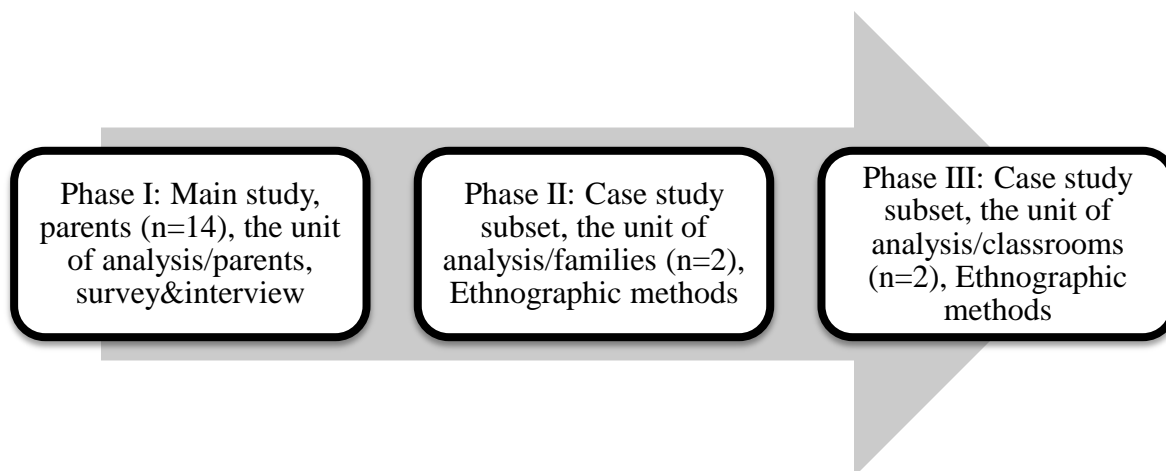
Qualitative interviewers should continue sampling and identifying cases until their interviewees are not telling them anything that they have not heard before. Thus rather than the number in a sample being representative of types of people as in quantitative research, in qualitative research it is the range of meanings that should determine numbers of interviewees in a study. (p. 65)

As seen above, there is no simple recommendation for the ideal number of qualitative interviews. The sample size is dependent on the nature and design of the study, the aims and research questions and philosophical position of the study (Baker & Edwards, 2012). This study adopted Guest, Bunce, and Johnson (2006) recommendation, considering the similarity of

research methodology. They recommend using the concept of data saturation as a measure of how many interviews to conduct. Based on the concept of data saturation, the study continued to interview until interviewees produced more information, but did not added new information that had not heard before and recurrent patterns were emergent from interviews. In addition, the triangulation strategy (data/theory/methodological triangulations) had been used in the study. The current study collected the data from multiple sources (i.e., interviews, observations, surveys, and reflective journals or field notes) and combined them, aimed at developing convergent evidence.

### **Overview of Study Phases**

The whole study, including the pilot study and the case study subset, took about one year. Figure 1 provides an overview of the steps taken to conduct the research. This study consisted of three phases: the main study, a case study (the focal families), a case study (HL schools of the focal children). Three studies were conducted sequentially and helped refine the approach. Data collection focused on parents' interviews and surveys, I obtained a written consent using a form that described the nature of the study and assured the respondents of complete confidentiality and anonymity. To supplement the data collection, the study included actual observations of children's language learning and use in natural settings. Parents received a modest gift if they agreed to participate in the study.



### Figure 2. Overview of Study Phases

Prior to launching the main study, this study was started with a pilot study that was designed to explore FLP within bilingual family context in order to find specific issues which are needed to investigate in the next research phase. The pilot study aimed to identify key issues concerning HL maintenance in immigrant-descent families. After reviewing the feedback from the pilot study, the researcher refined the study methods, including the interview protocol. The first research phase was the main study which was designed to capture a broad picture of parents' perception of key issues identified during the pilot study. During the first research phase, fourteen parents were asked to complete the detailed questionnaire, followed by the semi-structured interview. Whereas the questionnaire generally took participants approximately 20 minutes to complete, the interviews usually took from one-and-a-half hour to two hours.

In the second and third phases, a subset of two parents from the full sample was selected for a case study subset. I visited their households in order to conduct semi-participant observation and semi-structured and informal interview with all the household members. The study employed ethnographic techniques and these ethnographic data were used as supplement. Data collection in this case study subset took place over a six-month period of time. Consent for study participation was obtained from the parents. Considering the child's age (below 7 years),

oral assent was obtained from their children. Through semi-participant observation, the study documented child language socialization practices in both family setting (Phase Two) and the HL classroom setting (Phase Three). In addition, the study illuminated variations in FLP regarding HL maintenance between first-generation and second-generation parents, focusing on practice and parental language ideology and beliefs.

### **Data Collection Procedures**

**Recruitment and eligibility of participant parents.** The researcher recruited Asian-descent parents who were primary caregivers for their children through chain sampling (Merriam, 2008), community organization (HL schools), personal acquaintances, and the researcher's professional networks. I contacted immigrant parents with a child and then each subsequent participant was encouraged to recruit others to the study. The majority of the participants were from community-based Korean language schools run by Korean churches. Given the study's interest in HL maintenance of young children, participating parents were limited to either first- or second- generation parents with a preschool-aged child (ages 3 through 6). Single-parent families were not excluded since families consist of a significant proportion of the contemporary population. In the cases of two-parent families, both parents were invited to, but not required, to participate in the interviews.

The researcher chose to study Chinese Americans and Korean Americans for the following reason. Chinese Americans are the first-largest group and Korean Americans are the fifth-largest group among Asian Americans according to 2010 Census Bureau data. The combination of population of these ethnic groups made up 33.1% of the entire Asian population in the United States. Given the size of the combined population and the cultural similarity of Asian Americans (Ng, 1999), research on this combined population will help capture the big

picture of Asian Americans. Throughout the study, fourteen Chinese and Korean Americans in phase One of the study and two of these parents participated in Phases Two and One of case studies.

The majority of the participants were recruited in California. The reason why the researcher chose California is that English-only instruction has been legally mandated in public schools in California since proposition 227 was approved. Within this social context, bilingual children from immigrant families in California must be significantly affected in terms of oral and written language development rather than those in other states supporting bilingual education. Therefore, findings from this study would be able to have profound implications for other states which consider mandating instruction only in English for students or having the hot debate around bilingual education in the future.

**Questionnaire.** The questions in questionnaire were adapted from the questions of various studies (Gupta & Yick, 2001; Suinn, 2009). Prior to the distribution of the paper-and-pencil questionnaire, the researcher explained the purposes, nature, and potential risks of the study and obtained informed consent from all participants. They were asked identical questions in the same sequence. The questionnaire took about 30 minutes to complete and was followed by an interview session. All of the participants except for one completed the questionnaire. One participant was unable to complete the questionnaire. A number of items were designed to examine parents' perceptions of bilingual development and HL maintenance of their children as well as their language practices in everyday life. They were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert or choose their response from multiple choices. Questionnaires were administered to participants by the researcher in case participants asked clarifying questions. The questionnaire consisted of about 72 items divided into four categories and these categories covered the following areas:

1. Language practice: Language background (6 items), the frequency of English/HL use (1), the types of English/HL use (19)
2. Language ideology: Parent's perception of bilingual development (18), Parent's perception of HL development (14)
3. Sociodemographic backgrounds (14)

The questionnaire was composed of ratings, short-answer questions, multiple-choice questions and ratings. Some questions were multiple choice and most of them were ratings of the frequency of the behavior and agreement of statements based on scales with anchor points (frequency: 1 = never, 2 = seldom, 3 = sometimes, 4 = often, 5 = almost always; agreement: 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = undecided, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree). Typical items were "It is important that my child speaks fluently in English." Response options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

**Interviews.** The research interview is defined as "a two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information and focused by him on content specified by research objectives" (Cannell & Kahn, 1968, p. 530). This method has been extensively employed in qualitative research because of many methodological merits. One of the reasons for the popularity of the interview in qualitative research is that the researcher can asking clarifying points put forth by the interviewee's responses and also the interviewee can ask clarifying questions during the interview. To ensure consistency between interviews and thus increase the reliability of the findings, each participant in the study was interviewed using the same semi-structured protocol of interview questions. The semi-structured interview protocol questions were developed based on the feedback from the pilot study and literature review such as Mucherah's (2008) study. If additional information was needed to be

collected from the interviewee, clarifying questions were sometimes asked. At the end of each interview, respondents were asked if they wanted to listen to the audio-taped conversation or view the transcript of their interview.

A core set of questions guided the interviews. The interview protocol is contained in Appendixes B and C. Three sets of interview questions were used to interview parents, grandparents of the focus families, HL teachers of the focus children. The main questions of each interview guide are similar. The interview guide for parents consist of five categories comprised of 20 major questions and 19 associated subquestions. These categories adapted from Oriyama's study (2016) are the frequency of HL use to/by parents; expected levels of literacy attainment in HL; importance of HL to parents; resources to support HL education; parental perception of social support for HL maintenance. Participants asked subquestions only if their response to the initial question did not cover certain topics of interest. The typical duration of the interview ranged from-one-and-half hours to two hours, and the sessions were audio recorded and later transcribed for analysis. In Phases Two and Three, the study carried out extensive interviews with both parents, grandparents, and HL teachers of the focal children.

To complement the formal interviews, the parents had casual talks with the researcher about language practices and education of their children during the study. Except for the informal interviews with the parents and their children's HL teachers, all formal interviews and class sessions were audio-recorded and were transcribed using pseudonyms for all identifying information. As I transcribed the audio-recordings of each interview and each class session, I added data from my field notes, taken as a participant-observer. Field notes were written directly after each interview and observation, especially after unrecorded or informal interviews with the parents and the HL teachers. The interview process began in September, 2015 and continued

until the information in the interviews became repetitive. The post-interview was done to check for truthfulness and accuracy of the data given during the interview.

**Participant-Observation.** In early childhood education, direct observation of children for the collection of data is essential “to build a more complete picture of them” (Perry, 1997, p. 27). In the present study, I carried out observation in both the home site where the children (Bin, Jin) used their HL (Korean) to interact with their parents and the school sites where they learned the language. Semi-participant or participant observations were mainly conducted in HL classrooms. Prior to the observation periods, written informed consent was obtained from the children’s parents and also, the study procedures and the purpose of the study were explained verbally to the children. In terms of the home visit, I was sometimes invited to dinner, Thanksgiving dinner, or birthday party. I also participated in various school events (i.e., School sport day, Kim-chi Day, New Year’s Day) held in their HL schools. The focus of home observation was on HL practices, literacy environment, and the parent and child dyad. In addition, HL homework tutoring by parents was audio recorded by the parents and analyzed within the parent-child dyad.

Before starting the classroom observation, I visited the children’s houses in order to become acquainted with each child. On the first day of class, the teachers introduced me to the class and explained why the researcher was in the classroom. After that, I immersed myself in the setting and as a result, no attention by the children was paid to me during the class. I sometimes happened to have casual talks with the children while helping with their tasks in the classroom, but not any formal interview with them under any circumstance in order to catch natural language practices in the settings.

Classroom observations were conducted for a three-month period of time; three hours (from 9:40am to 12:40pm) on Saturdays at Bada's Korean Language School (BKLS); two hours (from 4:30pm to 6:30pm) on Fridays at Nabi's Korean Language School (NKLS). The focus of the study was on the interactions between the focal child, other children, and teacher. I also examined the texts read and written by the focal children and literacy resources that the children had in classes. Informal interviews with the teachers (Ms. Park, Ms. Lee) were usually conducted before or after observations, focusing on teacher reflection on one's own teaching and the social condition influencing one's teaching (Zeichner & Liston, 1987). Examples questions are "Do you think children need to learn their HL?" or "how did you prepare the today's class?"

Formal interviews with teachers and parents were audiotaped, but multiple informal interviews with them were not recorded. I audio recorded the classes during classroom observation, but I usually did not take field notes in order to minimize disruption. It was important for me to write field notes straight after these unrecorded interviews and observations before my memory faded. I included analytical notes, other relevant backgrounds, the interview settings in detail, and my reflection on the interviews and observations into the field notes.

**Researcher positionality and role.** My personal experiences are the foundation for the present study. I had spent most of my careers and times in schools. I had taught children in public elementary schools in Korea. When I studied in graduate schools in the United States, I continued to do volunteering in a daycare center and a local school. These first-hand experiences have made me who I am today and become the foundation for the present study. One unforgettable tutoring with an immigrant child, Zhang, changed my research interest to HL maintenance in children. One day, he shared his family story with me. His parents were busy with work and his teen-aged brother did not talk much with him. As his family recently

immigrated to the United States, his parents did not speak English fluently. When the teacher introduced him to me, she told me that he was very quiet in class. While helping with his English, I found that he was not a quiet child, but an active learner. He was very good at math and he loved reading books. The reason for his silence in class was that his classmates teased him about his Chinese accent. Due to a lack of the teacher's understanding of his familiar and linguistic background, the teacher also viewed his HL as an impediment to his academic achievement. As he was treated as a less capable child and labeled as an English language learner, not a fluent Chinese speaker, he was trying to erase his HL to assimilate to "other" English-speaking peers. This non-inclusive classroom made him inactive and silent during the class. One year later, I happened to him on the playground and he seemed to undergo a language shift to English. Since then, I have been interested in HL maintenance and loss of children.

I acknowledged that my personal background might be both my strength and my weakness during the study. Firstly, my personal background might be a hindrance. For example, due to my teaching experiences, I might sometimes take occurrences for granted, not to question about them. Also, my ethnic background might influence participants' behaviors and responses. Given my membership of the Korean community, Korean participants might avoid saying things tarnishing their family's reputation in the community to save face and preserve the family's reputation. Nonetheless, my personal background has enhanced my understanding of the context and issues relative to HL maintenance throughout the study. I am an immigrant minority and speak English as a second language like the parents participating in the study. My ethnic and linguistic backgrounds helped me better understand immigrant minority parents' discourses and challenges. This empathy naturally created comradeship and trust between me and the participants and as a consequence of mutual trust, they provided a deep reflection and let me into

their communities. This mutual trust also made the recruitment process relatively easy: Because of geographical and cultural closeness between China and Korea, Chinese participants introduced me to their friends who might be eligible for the study.

It is inevitable that researchers are influenced by their bias and perspectives especially when they conduct participant-observations. In participant-observation, the role of the researcher lies on a continuum. One end of the continuum is an insider as a “participant” and the other one is an outsider as a ‘researcher’. During the study, I did not take the extreme position, either researcher or participant. Rather, I balanced a perspective between researcher and participant and benefited from both perspectives as each position has both strengths and weaknesses. From this perspective, reflexivity is called for on the part of researchers. For rigorous analysis, researchers need to critically reflect on their work and themselves from a third perspective. Through critical reflexivity they must bridge a gap between individual subjectivity and scientific objectivity. Carr and Kemmis (2003) argue that “observing a person’s actions... does not simply involve taking note of the actor’s overt physical movements. It also requires an interpretation by the observer of the meaning which the actor gives to his behaviour” (p. 88). Charmaz (2014) also emphasizes the researcher’s reflexivity in the construction and interpretation of data to complement the actor’s subjective understanding and interpretation of her/his actions and social phenomena.

By combining various perspectives and “a self-reflective attention” (Heron & Reason, 1997, p. 280), I was able to use my experiential knowledge productively. Anderson (1989) stresses critical reflectivity that refers to “self-reflection on the researcher’s biases and reflection on the dialectical relationship between structural and historical forces and human agency” (p. 14). Maxwell (2012) also emphasizes the use of “critical subjectivity” in the study. Critical

subjectivity refers to “a quality of awareness in which we do not suppress our primary experience; nor do we allow ourselves to be swept away and overwhelmed by it; rather we raise it to consciousness and use it as part of the inquiry process” (Reason, as cited in Maxwell, 2012, p. 45). In terms of critical self-reflection, I added analytical memos to the field notes and wrote a reflexive journal entry including self-reflection on the data collected and emergent issues raised during the study. Additionally, I employed member checking to validate the results and collected multiple sources of data to ensure the triangulation.

### **Data Coding and Analysis**

This study employed grounded theory strategies in combination with thematic analysis methods although the study did not aim for theory development. Based on language preference for interview, all interviews were conducted in English except for five Korean-dominant parents. For those who preferred being interviewed in Korean, the information sheets and the questionnaire were translated into Korean. To ensure the accuracy of the translation, the interview transcripts written in Korean were translated into English by the researcher and back-translated by a third person with Korean-origin. The third person had a master degree and spoke Korean and English fluently. The interview transcripts were analyzed to validate participants’ responses to the questionnaire. The questionnaire and the case study subset were intended to supplement the parent’s interview data set. In this study, the individual parent is the basic unit of analysis.

Empirical data were understood through intuitive and analytic thinking. I followed three stages of coding constructed by Corbin and Strauss (2008). The study began data analysis with intensive readings of filed notes and transcripts of recorded data along with writing analytic memos. First, I coded the data, created categories, and indexed one’s raw information

(indicators) to the categories, using rigorous comparative analysis. The codes derived from the first set of data were constantly compared with the second and so on. As the study went on, new codes emerged from raw data through close readings and constant comparisons of the data. Data comparisons were continued until the interviews did not add any further information to the categories and information became repetitive. Secondly, I grouped the categories which interconnected and developed subcategories, using axial coding. Tentative themes emerged in the second phase of the coding. Lastly, I selected core themes which were recurring across the data set, developed key themes, and conceptualized FLP.

Data analysis was not a linear process. Merriam (1998) argues that “the right way to analyze data in qualitative study is to do it simultaneously with data collection” (p. 162). She has suggested that:

Data collection and analysis is a simultaneous activity in qualitative research. Analysis begins with the first interview, the first observation, the first document read. Emerging insights, hunches, and tentative hypotheses direct the next phase of data collection, which in turn leads to the refinement or reformulation of questions . . . It is an interactive process throughout that allows the investigator to produce believable and trustworthy findings. (p. 151)

The process of analysis was to “move back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts, between inductive and deductive reasoning, between description and interpretation” (Merriam, 1998, p. 178). Through this constant comparison method, categories were formed and the recurring patterns were emergent in the data. To connect theory with the data, each category was named and linked to the conceptual framework of the study. To increase the credibility of results, I used member checking (Saldaña, 2013). I checked with the participants to make sure

that their intended meaning and its context were accurately interpreted in this study. I contacted them after their interview and provided them with the opportunity to add to interviews and interpreted data.

### **Sociodemographic Profiles of Parents**

Fourteen parents with a U.S. born child were invited to participate in the study (see Table 1). Names of people, places or institutions in this study are pseudonyms for the confidentiality of participants and settings. Tables 1 and 2 summarize the demographic, ethnic, and linguistic characteristics of the participating parents. As described in Table 2, mothers outnumbered fathers 11 to 3. Nativity status was divided into Asian-born and US-born; ten participants were Asian-born, China ( $n=2$ ), Hong-Kong ( $n=1$ ) or Korea ( $n=7$ ); four were native-born. At the time of the study, eleven participants lived in northern California; three in southern Washington. The average age of the participants was approximately 37 years with a range of 29 to 46. The Asian-born parent group (AP) had a wider range of ages than the US-born parent group (UP). The age range of AP was 29–46 years (mean=37), whereas that of UP was 35–38 years (mean=37).

**Table 1. Demographic Description of Participants: Parents**

<i>Case Num.</i>	<i>Case name</i>	<i>Age at migration</i>	<i>Age (Years)</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Spouse's ethnicity</i>	<i>Number of children</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Primary language</i>	<i>Home language</i>	<i>Job Field</i>
1	Suji	4	35	Female	Korean	Korean	Two	MA <sup>(1)</sup>	English	English	Education
2	Jenny	7	32	Female	Korean	Korean	Two	MA	English	English	Health care
3	Mary	9	29	Female	Chinese	Chinese	One	BA	English	English	Education
4	Chao	11	41	Female	Chinese	White	Three	MA	English	English	Business
5	Minho	16	34	Male	Korean	Korean	Two	MA	Korean	Korean	Architect
6	Mina	21	33	Female	Korean	Korean	Two	BA <sup>(2)</sup>	Korean	Korean	Accounting
7	Xing	26	35	Female	Chinese	Chinese	Two	MA	Chinese	Chinese	Engineering
8	Yong	27	46	Male	Korean	Korean	Three	MA	Korean	Korean	Engineering
9	Hana	29	39	Female	Korean	Korean	Three	BA	Korean	Korean	UE <sup>(3)</sup>
10	Jamin	31	43	Male	Korean	Korean	Three	MA	Korean	Korean Japanese	Education
11	Amy	U.S born	37	Female	Korean	White	Two	MA	English	English	Education
12	Cathy	U.S born	38	Female	Chinese	White	Two	BA	English	English	Non-profit
13	Mary	U.S born	35	Female	Korean	White	One	Associate degree	English	English	Health care
14	Lucy	U.S born	37	Female	Korean	Korean	Three	MA	English	English	UE

Notes: <sup>(1)</sup> MA = Master, <sup>(2)</sup> BA =Bachelor

<sup>(3)</sup> UE = Unemployed

<sup>(4)</sup> In the interest of confidentiality, the names of all places and participants are pseudonyms.

**Table 2. Summary of Sociodemographic Characteristics of Parents**

	<i>Asian-born (n=10)</i>	<i>US-born (n=4)</i>
Gender		
Female	7	4
Male	3	0
Age (Years)		
Mean	37	37
Range	29 – 46	35 – 38
Age (Years) at immigration		
Mean	18	N/A (U.S-born)
Range	4 – 31	
Legal status		
Resident	1	0
Citizen	9	4
Ethnicity		
Chinese	3	1
Korean	7	3
Ethnicity of Spouse		
Same	9	1
Different (White)	1	3
Number of children		
Mean	2	2
Range	1 – 3	1 – 3
Primary language		
HL	6	0
English	4	4
Home language		
HL	6	0
English	4	4
Education		
Some college education	0	1
BA	3	1
MA	7	2
Job field		
Education	3	1
Other	6	2
NE <sup>(1)</sup>	1	1

Notes: <sup>(1)</sup> NE = not employed outside the home

Participants included in the present study were diverse in term of age at immigration, social class, bilingual proficiency, and home language. In terms of age at immigration, the mean age at migration was 18 years with a range of 4 to 31. Age at immigration was grouped into two categories: arrival in the United States after and before the start (12 years) of adolescence. Home language varied: six parents who were Korean-dominant spoke with their children predominantly in their HL, and eight who were English-dominant spoke in English at home. The parents arriving in the United States before adolescence, the age of 12, used English as their primary language and home language, whereas the parents arriving after the age of 12 used their HL as their primary language and home language. All of the parents in the study were bilingual. They had various levels of proficiency in two languages, English and their HL. The mean number of children was two. Two parents had one child; seven parents had two children; five parents had three children. Ten participants married-in, and four inter-married. Their spouses of a different-ethnicity were White English monolingual men.

Overall, the participants were highly educated. All the participants except for one graduated from college with at least a bachelor's degree. Four had bachelor's degrees; nine had graduate degrees; one had an associate's degree. In terms of legal status, all participants except for one (resident) were citizens. All the participants except for two stay-at-home mothers were employed full-time or part-time: Four of them had worked in Education; two in the healthcare industry; one in business; one in accounting; two in engineering, one in the construction industry.

## Chapter 4

### Parents' Language Ideologies or Beliefs

#### Introduction

Parents as a primary caregiver form family language policies, expecting for the best results for their children. Many immigrant parents want their children to achieve native-like English proficiency without losing their HL. In reality, however, it seems inevitable that English proficiency increases with the decrease in HL literacy skills (Zhou, 1997). Therefore, parents who want to pass their HL down to their children should control family members' language use at least in the home and make choice for the type of HL education their children may take. Bi-/multilingual parents decide what language they use at home and whether or not they teach their children their heritage language, considering its benefits and drawbacks their children may have when their home language is different from the dominant language in society. In this sense, parents are likely to act as *arbiters* (Johnson, 2013), rather than implementers who follow macro-level language policies in raising and educating their children.

This chapter presents what language ideology or beliefs parents have, why they want to pass down their HL to their children, and what they actually do to maintain their HL for their children. The key questions this chapter answers are (1) what language ideology or beliefs parents hold up and how their life experiences shape their language ideology or beliefs concerning their HL, (2) how *linguistic culture* at the macro level are interpreted, appropriated, and instantiated (Johnson, 2013) by parents, (3) how parents form FLP for their family. All data were based on reflective responses collected from 14 Chinese and Korean parents of young U.S.-born children, focusing on their motivation to maintain the HL and language practice on a daily basis.

### Parents' Linguistic Characteristics

Fourteen parents participated in this part of the study. All participants identified as Chinese or Korean parents who had at least one preschool-aged child. Parents were divided into four discrete categories, considering the birth place (Asian-born vs. U.S.-born) and age at migration: those immigrated to the United States between ages 4 to 11 ( $n=4$ ); between ages 12 to 17 ( $n=1$ ); between ages 18 to 31 ( $n=5$ ); U.S.-born ( $n=4$ ). There was no parent who immigrated to the United States before the age of 4.

Interestingly, U.S.-born parents and those who came to the U.S. before the age 12 yielded similar patterns of language use as seen Table 1. Parents from the two groups reported that their primary language was English and they usually spoke English at home. They felt more comfortable communicating with their spouses and children in English than their HL. Except for one interracial-married parent whose spouse knew only English, three parents who immigrated before the age of 11 tended to use both their HL and English at home although they preferred speaking English. In contrast, parents who immigrated after the age of 12 reported that they spoke their HL at home and felt more comfortable speaking with their spouses and children in their HL than English. Participants' linguistic characteristics, including language dominance and preference are summarized Table 1.

**Table 3. Linguistic Characteristics of Parents**

	<b>Age (Years) at migration</b>		
	<i>Between 4 to 11</i> (n=4)	<i>Between 12 to 31</i> (n=6)	<i>U.S.-born</i> (n=4)
Primary language			
HL	0	6	0
English	4	0	4
Home language			
HL	0	5	0
English	4	0	4
Others	0	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	0
Race of spouse			
The same race	3	6	1
Others	1	0	3
Language use with spouse			
HL	0	6	0
English	1	0	4
Both	3	0	0

Notes: <sup>(1)</sup> Korean and Japanese

As seen above, the age of arrival in the United States was closely related to the parents' language preference/dominance/proficiency. Interestingly, the parents who immigrated to the United States before the age of 12 or who were U.S.-born show the same patterns of language preference and dominance in the table. This may be because those who came to the U.S. in childhood received most of their schooling in the United States so that they felt more comfortable speaking and writing in English than in their HL.

In the next section, I present the findings through three themes: The first theme emphasizes the role of language in building a relationship between family members; the second theme focuses on cultural identity promoting self-esteem; the last theme stresses the difference in the economic value among languages.

### **Parents' Language Ideologies or Beliefs**

This study found three major constructs which are central to parents' language ideologies or beliefs: HL as connection, HL as culture, HL as capital. Common themes quickly emerged as I collected more interview data. The three themes constantly mediated the process of forming and implementing family language policies such as the choice of a home language and the type of their children's HL programs. Although all three language ideologies occurred in the interview texts of 14 parents, they placed emphasis on each theme to different degrees according to the circumstances in which they are situated. To better understand the relationship between parental language ideology and family language practice in the family, this study examined how their life history shapes parents' language ideologies and their choices for their children's HL education. Using their life history, I contextualize parents' language beliefs about HL maintenance and elucidate how their language ideology or beliefs are embodied in family language practice they chose.

#### **Theme 1. Language as Connection.**

The metaphor indicates that parents viewed language as a medium to stay connected with their family members and strengthen their family unity. In this sense, the HL is a bridge to connect generations and a glue to hold a family together. The parents' motivation to teaching their children their HL is to build close relationships in the family. They believed that speaking the HL would help young children to build stronger bonds with their families and their heritage. Amy explains the meaning of speaking and learning Korean as follows.

I have friends who are Koreans. He sees 할아버지(grandpa). I speak with 할아버지(grandpa) in Korean. 이모 (aunt) is Korean. All these people that are in our life, there are many Koreans. I have a lot of people I care for. They speak in this language. Language is so important to having a relationship with others.

Amy indicates that Korean ethnicity and language are the important features held in common by her family and friends. She believes that having a common language is essential for building close relationships with others. In the study, minority parents pointed out that HL maintenance produces positive emotional outcomes in children. They believed that speaking the HL enables their children to develop positive relationships with their extended family, a sense of belonging, and a sense of pride in their families that empower their children.

Tannenbaum and Howie (2002) stress the importance of language maintenance to family relations. They reported that “children who were more likely to use and prefer to use their parents' mother tongue were those who perceived their family to be more cohesive and low in hierarchy, had fewer negatively loaded emotions associated with parents and showed indications of a secure attachment pattern” (p, 408). Xing, who spoke Chinese with her children, commented on language maintenance: “They have to speak with their grandparents and me. When I'm getting old, I would probably forget all my English, right? But, I wouldn't forget my mother tongue.” For her, the HL is the only language that she would never forget and continue to speak throughout her entire life. It is in her HL that she could communicate with full range and feel a sense of intimacy with her children. Given her parents spoke only Chinese, language loss would deteriorate family unity and children's sense of belonging in the family. Hence, her children must learn their HL so that they could continue to communicate with her and their grandparents.

The parents in the study believed that by using their HL, their children could stay connected with their extended family who does not speak English. Marry said,

I also witnessed family members losing touch with their elders because they no longer speak their native tongues. Family is very important to me and I want to help her preserve the ability to communicate with my extended family.... I think speaking is much more important because I want her to maintain her language so she can speak it with her

grandparents, great grandparents and relatives. .... I just want her to be able to communicate with her extended family and learn her cultures and heritage. I can stay connected to my heritage and communicate with my extended family.

After she witnessed the negative consequences of HL loss in her extended family, she realized the importance of language maintenance in family relationship. She wanted her children to engage in family conversations and build deep connection with their grandparents and other family members. She stressed that oracy was more important than literacy as speaking was crucial to everyday interactions in the family. The parents revealed that the HL was a big part of their lives. Lucy commented,

Being in the Korean community for me, growing up, was such an important part in my life. I went there most days to study and play. It's important to me even if I can't speak Korean fluently. When I go and talk to other parents, it's still fun and familiar for me. I said to my children, it's (Korean) a big part of your dad and my life. Your dad spoke it, growing up. Your grandmother is Korean. I studied it, growing up. We love for you two to learn to read, learn basic Korean languages, just basics.

For her, Korean is her heritage which was transmitted from her parents to her and should continue to be preserved and transmitted to her children. Yong also stressed the importance of a close relationship between parent and child through conversation in his HL.

We used to speak Korean at home. It's very natural for us. My first daughter feels more comfortable speaking in English, but she talks to us in Korean because she knew that conversations with us are more efficient in Korean. .... We half persuaded, half forced her to learn Korean. We explicitly told her when she was young. "Mom and dad don't speak English fluently, so if you want to speak with us when you grow up, you should study Korean very hard. She understood that she might not be able to communicate with us unless she speaks Korean. I've often seen the parents who speak English with their children. The parents came from Korea like me, but they speak mainly English with their children at home. Their conversations are usually superficial, mundane, and mechanical. They are not able to have deeper conversations with their children.

Yong's experiences show that HLs play a substantial role in maintaining close relationships between parents and children among immigrant families. It was common among immigrant

families that the main reason for language maintenance was to maintain close relationships with their children as the English-dominant parents did the same to keep their children connected with their extended family, especially their grandparents.

As many Asian immigrant parents give their children Asian and English names, the parents reported that they gave their children an Asian name to remind them about their family origin and preserve their cultural pride. Naming plays as a medium to connect generations. Jisu asked her father to choose her daughter's Korean name.

My daughter's first name is Jane, but her middle name is Jia. I purposely made her middle name Korean because I want her to have that choice to pick... My parents made it for her. I wanted her to have Korean name. My father did research on names to make sure it is a good name. The other reason why I did that, because I wanted my father to embrace my daughter.... I told my father, "You must give her a Korean name." I forced to tie between my father and my daughter to make him understand this is his granddaughter. He will love her. The name ties him to her. I made him involved.

Jisu also gave her daughter two names, an English first name and a Korean middle name to maintain a dual-identity. She believed that names represent one's identity so she wanted her daughter to be aware of her bicultural background. She asked her father to choose her daughter's Korean names so that he could be a part of his granddaughter's life and feel a sense of intimacy with her. By choosing their granddaughter's Korean name, the grandfather might feel a strong blood tie with his grandchild. Close grandparent-grandchild relationship may reinforce strong family ties and intergenerational bonds in a child.

It was found that family relationships affected HL maintenance among children. Children drive to learn their mother tongue to communicate with their parents and grandparents and build a strong relationship with them. Parents and their children develop an affective bond and have a desire to maintain closeness to each other through interactive communication. For this reason,

the loss of a common language among children results in emotional distance between children and their parents (Arredondo, Gallardo-Cooper, Delgado-Romero, & Zapata, 2014).

Language is the basic building block of our relationships. Through communication, we share our thoughts and emotion and continue to maintain relationships with our family members. Amy recalled how she gradually lost her proficiency in Korean.

I've lost Korean since college because I saw my family less often. I spoke with my mom in Korean a lot, but she passed away. I have started watching fewer Korean movies, listening to K-Pop less. I'm not around Korean people as much as before.

As her HL was spoken only at home with her parents, she had gradually lost her Korean proficiency since she left her parents' home for college. As she did not have deep connections with her heritage culture and people from her ethnic group, she ended up with English as her dominant language. As children get older, they need to reach age appropriate language proficiency levels to use the HL consistently at home and with family. Jisu commented on the necessity for developing HL skills appropriately,

The only reason why I keep some speaking abilities is to have to communicate with my parents. But, my communication was not up to my age level. Conversations between my parents and I are very, maybe, even less than an elementary Korean. They really didn't speak to me in full sentences. As they see me as their child, they don't use complex vocabulary, complex words, complex sentences.

As Jisu got older and married, her life focus had changed. She could not have deep conversations with her parents because she did not have appropriate vocabulary and language proficiency in Korean. The study found that age appropriate language levels in speech were crucial to continually connecting with their parents on a deep level in their HL. The study shows that the loss of language proficiency in their HL was likely to weaken family relationships and children's sense of belonging to the family.

## **Theme 2. Language as culture.**

The metaphor “Language as culture” means that parents not only perceive language as part of their culture, but identify themselves with the language they speak. The HL was perceived by the parents as the essence of ethnic identity. Regardless of their levels of HL proficiency, the parents in the study identified themselves with their HL. They viewed their HL as a medium to connect their children with their heritage culture. According to Bar-Tal (1996), young children categorize ethnic groups and identify or equate themselves with members of their ethnic group based on language. In the process of this categorization, children develop their cultural identity and a sense of membership in their ethnic group. The parents wanted their children to strengthen the connection to their family’s cultural roots and develop a sense of identity by using their HL. They believed that their children would better understand their heritage culture and promote their self-esteem by speaking the HL. Chao commented on the relationship between language and identity:

It’s very important to keep my family language alive. My identity is Chinese. I keep telling my children. “Don’t tell people you’re American. You’re Chinese, too. You have both heritages because you are biracial. You have to remember that. Our family chose to move here from Hong Kong, but we didn’t change. We’re still the same. Our environment changed, so we have to try our best to acquire and maintain our identity and culture.” That’s my goal.

Although she moved to the United States at an early age, Chao still identified herself with Chinese. Her concern was that her biracial children might be less clear in their ethnic and cultural identity. Given the relationship between physical attributes, language, and ethnic identity, biracial children may be questioned by people regarding their ethnic backgrounds more often than monoracial children. The parents of biracial children in the study like Chao worried

that their children did not establish firm identities. Jisu also reflected on biracial heritage of her child.

Knowing Korean means for me to keep time with my culture, my tradition, and understanding whether or not I use them. If somebody comes up to me and say, “what’s your background?” The First thing I would say, “I’m Korean.” then, they ask, “Do you know how to speak it?” If I say no, I would embarrass myself. When I look at my daughter, they’re not going to say “Oh, you must be Irish.” They’re going to say, “What’s your background?” “I’m half Korean.” “Do you know the Korean language?” That’s the first question people want to ask. Saying no to them is very embarrassing.

Jisu acknowledged that physical characteristics and language are key elements composed of one’s ethnic/cultural identity. Her interview exemplifies how ethnicity is defined in the United States. Her daughter’s Irish roots from her father seems invisible and unmarked in society, whereas her Korean heritage is salient to people. People in the United States tend to assume that non-Whites, for example, Asians, are able to speak a language other than English. This assumption made many language minorities feel ashamed for not knowing their HL. The parents like their children also felt embarrassed for the fact that their children did not speak their HL well as they decided whether or not to teach their children how to speak their HL. Jisu wanted her child to learn the language when she was young so that she would not feel ashamed at a later age. She expected her daughter to embrace a Korean identity and associate with her Korean culture alongside her Irish culture. The parents like her wanted their children to explore their cultural identities and in turn, have connection with their heritage, while learning their HL. The parents acknowledged that if they did not help their children learn the HL when they were young, their HL would diminish, as would their ethnic/cultural identities.

It seems likely that what we speak influences the concepts of who we are, how we behave, and what/how we think. The parents viewed language as an indicator of cultural identity. That

is, they associated what they speak with who they are. Fishman, Gertner, Lowy, & Milán (1985) argue that

Language is an inevitable *part of culture*. Ceremonies, rituals, songs, stories, spells, curses, prayers, laws (not to mention conversations, requests and instructions) are all speech acts or speech events.... Language is, therefore, not only part of culture but a very major and crucial part as well. All those who seek to enter fully into a given ethnoculture and understand it must, accordingly, master its language, for only through that language can they possibly participate in and experience the culture. (p. xi)

Language is a tool to be used to explore cultures: It is crucial to understanding cultural perspectives of each group with different linguistic background. This study found that the more proficient in their HL the parents were, they were more likely to identify themselves with their heritage culture, especially cultural values and norms. Hence, it seems likely that there is the close relationship between language and culture. Jisu said,

The cultural aspect is difficult. They understand the cleanness of taking off shoes as I know. “신발벗어 (Take off your shoes) before you’re go into the house.” But, if you tell somebody who culturally doesn’t understand that, it doesn’t make sense to them. They’re not able to keep and retain it because they culturally don’t understand it. I feel that the closer with the Korean culture, the more I want to know the language and the more I learn the language because it makes me understand more.

In her interview, she expressed her belief that culture and language cannot be separated from each other. She noticed that the cultural values of a speech community are embedded in the HL. As in Jisu’s statement, the parents argued that cultural experiences and activities enhanced HL acquisition of young children. They believed that cultural practices would continue to motivate their children to pursue Korean learning in a long term as well as in a short term. Amy and Lucy shared some cultural activities they practiced in their daily lives.

**Amy:** The food part. He likes 김치 (Kim-chi). He likes 떡 (rice cake). I think he really likes Korea. He enjoys Tae-kwan-do. Aspects of the Korean culture are just part of who I am. I want him to be part of who he is, too.

**Lucy:** K-love comes to our bed every night. I feel like that's kind of Asian. Americans are much stricter. Kids have to stay in their own rooms. I cook Korean foods a couple of days a week. We eat rice in most meals. They love Kim-chi, going out to eat Korean foods all the time.

As in Amy's and Lucy's families, all families in the study ate ethnic foods almost every day, watched ethnic dramas and movies, and celebrated their traditional holidays. The parents believed that these cultural practices would keep them interested in and connected to their heritage culture and in turn, motivate their children to learn their HL and heritage culture.

Given the close relationship between cultural competence and competence in the HL, it might be difficult for children to master their HL without understanding the cultural values of that language. Asian languages, for example, are based on the Confucian values—respect for the elder and social hierarchy. Here is Lucy's reflection on Korean cultural norms in speech and in manners.

**Lucy:** When they're in class, it's not just language, but also culture, the formality, respecting your teacher. I feel like the Korean culture is a lot better in that.... Since I grew up in the Korean community for so long, when we are with Koreans then, I do stress out. I want them to be polite, two hands to accept or give something. I mean, I know about those things, so I worry that my kids won't be able to know what's expected to them. There is culturally proper ways. My mother-in-law and I and my husband, we don't understand each other because of that. She said before to him. We were disrespectful to her. That was really hurtful to me.

Lucy expected their children to learn Korean cultural values such respecting the elder and being polite to adults in Korean classes. She was aware of the close relationship between language and culture. Although she grew up learning Korean values and norms, she still had difficulty with culturally appropriate skills in speech and in manners in relationships with other Korean people. Her lack of cultural knowledge negatively affected her competence in the HL.

Speaking the HL is essential for gaining ethnic group membership which provides a sense of identity in the group. All parents in the study believed that the HL positively affects one's identity and self-esteem which provides protective factors. Jamin explained why Korean language education and Korean identity became so important to him.

As they were born and live in the United States, in their mindset, they may consider them as American. However, their identity is Korean. We've engaged in the Korean community so long. They would have American friends, but they would be more comfortable with Korean Americans. They've engaged in the Korean community and will also continue to stay connected to this community. . . Because they continue to live here as a Korean American, I don't expect them to think fondly of Korea. However, I want them to retain their identity as Korean. The Korean language and culture, especially Korean foods, are essential for strengthening Korean identity.

Jamin who is aware of his minority status in the United States indicated that his social networks would continue to bring his children into contact with other Korean Americans. He wished that even if they socialize with American friends, they could identify with other Korean Americans. He believed that this sociocultural environment he had provided them would allow them to further develop their cultural identity as a Korean American and enhance a sense of pride in the Korean culture.

### **Theme 3. Language as capital.**

The metaphor "Language as capital" indicates that parents perceive language as a tool for social and economic mobility for their children. Language is part of cultural capital which represent "the collection of noneconomic forces such as family background, social class, varying investments in and commitments to education, different resources, and the like which especially influence academic success" (Gray, 2012, p. 21). Investment in and commitments to heritage language education is determined by the economic value inherent in the language. That is, languages spoken by people with economic and political power like English and Chinese are deemed more prestigious than other languages. The results of the study indicate that parents

viewed their children's language education as investment for their future and thus, they invested their efforts and money based on beneficial returns later on. The parents managed their children's early language education based on the return of investment, that is, academic and economic success in schools and society. Hence, a language labeled "a good language" is the one which is on high demand in society.

Parents' personal life experiences as an immigrant shaped their beliefs about children's language education. The parents, watching their parents' struggling with English believed that immigrants have power when they speak English fluently. For them, language is power. That is, English enables people to advocate on their own and their family's behalf. Suji commented,

I always felt bad. I didn't want my parents, their pride to be affected by their language. I want to protect them. I want to protect my kids and my husband even. Because of language, they feel less confident about who they are. When I was a kid, maybe I wanted to be protected. Now, I'm an adult. I want to protect them. My daughter knows that mommy has a power to go and talk those things with people. When I was young, I never expected that because my parents couldn't speak English. My daughter knows that mom can speak English well. That's a power thing. I want her to feel confident because of that. I don't want them to feel held back.

She believed that English skills gave her family confidence, power, and social upward mobility.

She associated English with her social identity in profession without giving up her ethnolinguistic identity.

Since I'm living in America, since I use English in my work, in this sense, I need English to survive in America for my profession. Especially my job, what I'm doing requires very good English. Korean is not something I need to do those things, but Korean is more like family.

In her profession, she believed that English is the language that has the authority to "be respected, be listened, and be accepted." She stressed that English has more social and economic values than other minority languages and further English varieties have different social and economic values in society. The parents as a minority acknowledged that speaking 'good' English was the

best way to prove their professionalism and gained a sense of belonging to the mainstream American society.

The parents acknowledged that English is crucial to succeeding in the world as well as the United States. Jamin used some metaphors to make a comparison between the two languages. He compared English with a ‘main dish’ and his HL with the ‘seasoning.’ It seems likely that he felt that his HL was not valued as much as English in the United States. As seasoning enhances the flavor, however, he believed that the HL would enrich his children’s lives and strengthen their appreciation of cultural differences between their own culture and American culture. Aware of the domination of the English language in the world, Jisu reflected on the English language imperialism.

If you go to school here, everything is primarily in English. So, you have to place emphasis on English. The only thing that they concentrate on here is English. The language everybody buys in the world is English. English must be a second language to everybody else around the world. That helps others make more advanced. If you write papers in English, people would respond to it more and think you’re more educated.

Although she saw the personal benefits of knowing her HL, English is a gateway to economic success, social inclusion, and world resources. This belief was common among the parents in the study. From their experiences, they believed that English would enable their children to advocate for themselves, build a better life, and access better opportunities in education and in the job market in the long-term. The increasing dominance of the English language makes parents believe that English is a basic necessity for participation in social, economic, political, and cultural everyday activities.

The results of the study indicate that parents’ perceptions on the social and economic value of language are affected by power relations and language ideologies prevalent in a given society. The parents who received formal education in the United States grew up witnessing the

negative consequences that result from the lack of adequate English language skills. From their experiences, they had recognized positive association between English proficiency, social class, and social economic status. Sujin recalled how she got caught in the middle between wanting their children to be successful in school and to maintain the HL.

I felt the limitations of not having talks in English. When she went to kindergarten, I worried if she was delayed. I wanted her to be advanced. Her English wasn't that good to be successful to make friends. I realized that it was a little bit impediment. From then on, I started to speak with her only in English to keep her English strong. I taught her Korean first even though I wasn't comfortable about speaking Korean. But, then I realized a drawback of that. We wanted her to take a test for the gifted program. I might have too high expectation for her academic achievement. I wanted them to feel very confident when they started school. The way to do that is by starting out advanced—having them reading, writing, doing math before kindergarten, so they have a head start. This was why I was very unhappy with my daughter's Korean learning. She was starting out so behind and it wasn't helping. Her confidence was affected.

As seen in Sujin's comment, educational institutions play a crucial role in shaping parents' beliefs about language maintenance. Once her children entered the school, she had come to favor English over Korean for her children's academic success. As she wished her child would be identified as a gifted child, she felt that speaking to her in Korean might constrict her child's opportunity to attain higher levels of achievement than her peers. She worried that her child had less chance to be nominated by the teacher as a gifted child due to her low level of English proficiency. It was common among the parents that poor English skills at the start would become an "impediment" and "drawback" to HL speaking children in the school setting. Sujin, who was an expert in the field of gifted education, acknowledged that English language proficiency is key to advancing educational opportunities for children in U.S. schools. Studies (Gross, 1999) have also reported that "kindergarten teachers overestimate the ability of children who were verbally articulate" (Jacobs as cited in Gross, 1999, p. 212).

The parents viewed English as a medium to boost not only her academic success, but also her self-esteem. Given that Asian parents place priority on education (Lee & Shin, 2008), Sujin was very concerned about her child's academic performance and self-esteem when her child took ESL classes in kindergarten. The parents like Sujin who took ESL classes in their childhood did not want their children to take ESL classes separated from other peers in regular classes. Jenny and Mary who took ESL classes at school recalled how HL-speaking children were perceived in the classroom.

**Jenny:** I think schools and teachers in America emphasize English learning. They don't encourage native language learning at all. In fact, I think kids get made fun of them if they don't know how to speak English which is what happened to me when I first started school here and didn't know how to speak English.

**Mary:** It didn't use to but rather focused on assimilation. I hope there'll be a cultural shift in the value of being bilingual. I still remember being pulled of class and being isolated as one of the only kid who couldn't speak English. I felt shamed for not speaking English.

As English is the official language of instruction and communication in school, the low levels of English skills negatively affects children's self-esteem and a sense of belonging in the dominant society. They remembered that children with poor English skills were perceived by teachers and peers as deficit and in turn felt incapable and powerless in the classroom. There is the symbolic power relation between languages, that is, between the dominant language and the minority language. The symbolic power of language is closely related to who speak it. Bourdieu (1977) argues that "language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but also an instrument of power. A person speaks not only to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished (p. 648)." Depending on what variety of a language or what language speakers use, discourse has different levels of authority and acceptability. In this regard, many immigrants in the United States favor English over their HL as English is the language of the dominant class and they feel a sense of power when they speak it fluently.

All the parents in the study had used certain kinds of English child care programs. It was common that young children from the families in the study were more likely to be exposed to the two languages (i.e., English and HL) or only their HL in natural settings through their parents before they entered kindergarten. Children who spoke their HL predominantly at home were exposed to oral English between or at ages 3 and 4, spending extended time at day care centers during their preschool years. Parents of young children who had less exposure to English were more likely to choose longer childcare programs. Their children also started learning literacy skills in the HL between or at ages 5 and 6, attending an after-school or weekend HL program. Yong recalled the process of bilingual language acquisition of his children.

I have three kids. They all went to daycare at age 3 or 4. I had never considered a Korean daycare center because we wanted to prepare them for kindergarten in terms of English as well as the school routines. We wanted them to learn English in preschool. We were worried about whether my first kid could communicate well with other children in English. Initially, we helped her English at home so that she could make her transition easy. However, we hadn't been much help to her. Fortunately, it turned out that we didn't need to worry about it. All my children seem to adjust and pick up English very quickly. Before entering preschool, they spoke only Korean. One year later, they spoke English and Korean about 50/50. Now, they speak English to one another if we don't say, "Speak Korean." I have twins. After seeing people speaking only English in preschool, they felt like they needed to confirm to others in preschool. Hence, they started speaking with each other, using one or two English words they heard from their teachers and other children.

Yong first taught his children Korean and spoke with them in Korean. His children started daycare where they learned English as a second language. As a result of early exposure to English, his children were able to speak and understand the two languages. It seems likely that early exposure to English positively influenced English language acquisition and early bilingual language development of young children who speak a language other than English at home.

Surprisingly, among the first-generation parents who spoke mostly in their HL at home, none of them worried about their children's English language development. They all believed

that as long as the family live in the United States and the children study in American schools, it would be very unlikely that the children would not be able to speak English. Their actual concern was that their children would favor English over their HL and use the HL less. The results of the study indicate that preschool education may help their children's English language acquisition, but hinder their HL acquisition. The parents of bilingual children reported that language maintenance in the family became difficult as the children spent more time with friends in school and their English proficiency became higher than their HL proficiency. As a result, the parents increasingly accommodated their children's use of English once their children entered school, given children's academic success in school. However, those who see economic values and practical benefits (i.e., SAT II, working in multinational companies) of bilingualism were more likely to commit to preserving their HL and place emphasis on both oracy and literacy in the HL. The parents who spoke to their children mostly in their HL had the expectation that their children would be able to earn high grades in foreign language classes without too much difficulty because of their basis of knowledge.

### **Family Language Practice**

In the previous sections, this study conceptualized and contextualized parents' language ideologies or beliefs. The parents revealed the multiple layers of language beliefs (language as connection, language as culture, language as capital) and parental perception of the function and meaning of language, in particular, English and HL. The results of the study reveal that different languages took on different roles and functions among the families. This section examines how parents' language ideologies or beliefs were manifested in families' language policies and practices, that is, how parents with multiple language beliefs interpreted macro-level language policies, formed language policies for their families, and implemented them in their daily lives.

The study found that parents' language ideologies or beliefs shaped by *linguistic culture* and their life course had mediated their decision-making regarding language use between family members and the form and type of their children's heritage language education. Parental decisions were also mediated by their own circumstances, in particular, familial and economic resources available to the families.

### **Theme 1. Home Language: Early Oracy Development**

The results of the current study indicate that children's home language is crucial to improving their oral communication skills in the HL. In line with existing studies (De Houwer, 2007), young children were more likely to learn the HL if both parents or at least one parent spoke to them in the language. The present study also found that the Asian-language-dominant parents used their HL almost exclusively with their children and thus, their contribution to their children's English development at home was relatively limited in comparison with the English-dominant parents. However, the parents of young emergent bilingual children who first taught their children their HL and spoke predominantly their HL at home also placed emphasis on English, especially English literacy, given the necessity for academic success in school and the domination of the English language in the United States. Yong reflected on his language parenting.

We can't deny the importance of English, living in the United States. As my children spent a whole day with their mother, speaking Korean, their English skills didn't improve. So, we sent them to English daycare. My first child went to half-time daycare and the second one went to full-time daycare. We helped our first son with English, so his English was okay. But, as my second son was often sick, we couldn't help him learn English. So, we chose a full-time daycare for him. With this day care, they could practice speaking in English. They went to daycare without knowing any English. Six months later, they started speaking words at first and then phrases and they made sentences in English. During the preschool years, they read one English book every day. When they read a book, I let them point to each word with a finger. They used to memorize English

words and take spelling tests, so, they both had no problem in using English in kindergarten.

He recalled that his children did not have enough English language skills to function in American schools when they started daycare. What he did was to create a home environment where his children were able to use the first language constantly. Despite his concern about their English development, he continued to speak the language to them in order to preserve the children's first language, Korean. Instead, he sent their children to English daycare and preschool, so they could learn and practice English. As a result, his children could maintain their HL while learning English in preschool. In comparison with the English-dominant parents, the HL-dominant parents monitored their children's English homework and read English books with their children, using their native language. In doing so, their children made a connection between the two languages and thus, they were able to maintain their HL as English skills added to their repertoire.

The demographic and linguistic data results from the questionnaires reveal that the Asian-born parents and U.S.-born parents have some similarities but the differences are notable in terms of language practices. I categorized the parents who immigrated to the United States before the age of 12 as Group A; the parents who moved to the country after the age of 12 as Group B; the parents who were born in the United States as Group C. Table 2 summarized parental language choice and patterns in their daily lives.

**Table 4. Parents' Language Use in Their Daily Lives**

<i>Item no:</i>	<i>Places or People</i>	<i>Age (Years) at migration</i>						<i>U.S. born</i>		
		<i>x &lt; 12</i> <i>(n=4)</i>			<i>12 ≤ x</i> <i>(n=6)</i>			<i>(n=4)</i>		
		<i>H<sup>(1)</sup></i>	<i>E<sup>(2)</sup></i>	<i>B<sup>(3)</sup></i>	<i>H</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>B</i>
1	Home	0	2	2	5	0	1	0	3	1
2	Workplace or school	0	4	0	0	5	1	0	4	0
3	Social gathering with colleagues or peers out of the workplace or the school	0	2	2	2	2	2	0	3	1
4	Community (e.g. church, social activity clubs)	0	3	1	5	1	0	0	4	0
5	with your spouse	0	3	1	6	0	0	0	4	0
6	with your siblings	0	0	4	5	1	0	0	3	1
7	with your oldest child	0	0	4	5	1	0	0	2	2
8	with your youngest child <sup>(4)</sup>	0	0	3	5	1	0	0	1	2
9	with your parents	4	0	0	6	0	0	3	1	0
10	with old family members	4	0	0	6	0	0	4	0	0
11	with young family members	1	3	0	6	0	0	0	2	2
12	With your close friends	0	2	2	6	0	0	0	3	1
13	With people from your ethnic group	0	0	4	6	0	0	0	0	4
14	With your neighbors	0	4	0	0	6	0	0	4	0
15	Discipline your child	0	0	4	5	1	0	0	4	0
16	Intimate conversation with your child	0	2	2	5	1	0	0	4	0
17	Inner speech	0	2	2	6	0	0	0	3	1

**Notes.** (1) H = HL

(2) E = English

(3) B = Both languages

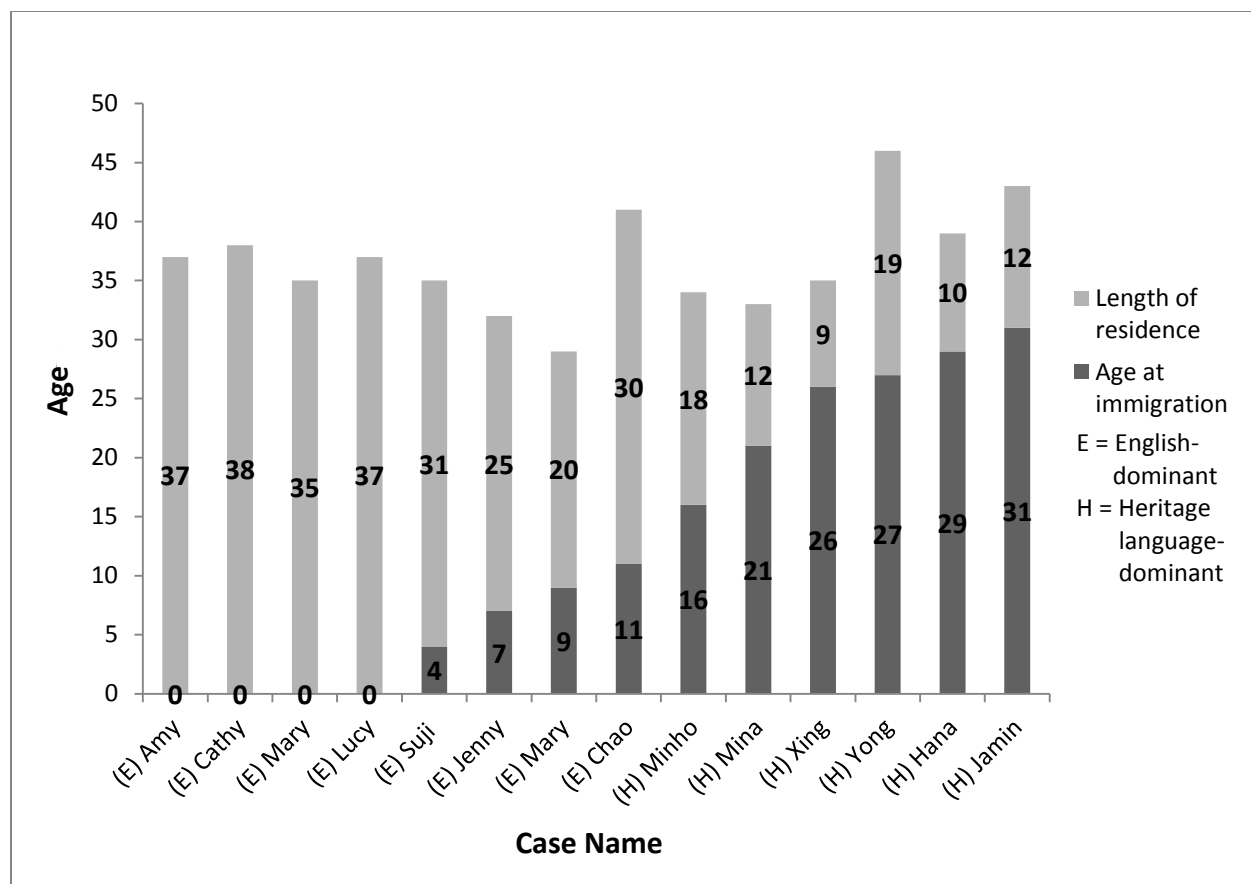
(4) One parent from Group A and one from Group C had only one child.

All the parents in the study spoke exclusively their HL with their own parents, old family members, and people from their own ethnic group. It seems likely that parental language choice with their spouse is dependent on their spouse's need and preference. For example, although

Sujin's husband felt more comfortable speaking in Korean, he preferred to speak to her in both languages, often in English, because he wanted to improve his English skills for his job.

There was a difference in language use in communities among the groups: Group A and Group C had usually socialized with English speakers, whereas Group B had engaged in their ethnic communities in which they spoke their HL. Group A and Group C had many similarities. Both groups spoke their HL as a first language early in childhood, but gradually shifted from their mother tongue to English. As a result of this language shift, they had less competence in their HL; they preferred to speak English in their daily lives. Both groups tended to speak English to their children, spouses, and close friends, whereas Group C preferred to speak their HL with them. Secondly, Groups A and C preferred to use English when they disciplined their children or expressed their emotions as they felt more comfortable speaking in English in contrast with Group B.

The age of parents' migration was examined for their language choice at home with their children. Figure 1 shows the relationship between age at migration and parents' language dominance.



**Figure 3. Relationship between Age at Immigration and Parents' Primary Language**

The study found that age at immigration was the crucial information involving in determining the level of proficiency in the two languages among the participating parents. As shown in Figure 1, parental language choice with their children was closely related to their HL proficiency. Eight out of the participants (i.e., Group A, Group C) reported that their primary language was English. They were either native-born ( $n=4$ ) or those ( $n=4$ ) who came to the United States at age 11 or earlier. For example, Jenny who came to the U.S. at the age of 7 spoke with her husband mostly in English. Amy explained why she preferred to use English at home with her children.

I have to explain everything. It's too much work for me. They always say, 'what's that?', "우유 가져와. 방 치웠니?" They will be like "what?" "방, room", "치웠니, clean." I don't want to do that. It's the last thing in my mind. I don't want to translate a whole time. I do what I manage. I use directives regularly in Korean. They're easy to pick up. Speaking

regularly my thoughts in Korean? No. It makes me not want to say anything because I have to talk twice. It's too much work. It's not fun.

Regardless of ethnicity, the parents like Amy wanted to use the language which they felt most comfortable with and proficient in, which was the language in which they were able to provide quality language input, support effectively, and maintain their parental authority.

Parental input in the HL forms a basic foundation for future mastery of the child's HL. In the study, children's HL proficiency was closely related to the frequency and consistency of parental HL use. The problem of parental HL input, however, was that language function and vocabulary were restricted. This may be because children's daily routines and interactions with their parents at home are almost the same every day and thus, the function and use of parental language are not varied. The parents reported that they usually gave their children simple directives such as requests, commands, and permission in Korean; the patterns and length of their utterances were short and simplified. Therefore, if children learn and use their HL only at home with their parents and thus, their HL is not spoken beyond the home, they may not be able to acquire a variety of their HL and eventually they may switch to English.

## **Theme 2. Heritage Language Schools: Early Literacy Development**

HL schools were a safe space where young children were able to learn and use their HL outside the home. Except for two parents, all parents enrolled their children in HL programs after school through the HL program or attended HL schools weekly. There were three types of HL schools: (1) all-day schools, (2) weekday after-hours schools, and (3) weekend schools.

Chao reported on her children's Chinese immersion school and her use of Chinese language in the home:

My son started Kindergarten this year, a couple of weeks ago. He's going to Mandarin academic in Ballard, a dual-language Chinese immersion school. . . . It offers 6-hour instruction per day, five hours in Chinese and one hour in English. Children in the school

don't really need to learn English except for reading and writing in language art. So, my son is fully immersed into Chinese. In our house, however, we speak mostly English although I sometimes speak to them in Chinese, but very little like "Go and get me a drink."

Chao was an English-dominant parent and she interracially married an English-monolingual man. As she preferred to speak English with her children due to her lack of confidence in writing Chinese, they had relatively less Chinese language input than those who spoke with their parents in their HL at home. Also, as she did not want her children to take extra classes after school or on weekends, she and her husband sent their children to a dual-language Chinese immersion school. Although all the parents in the study wanted to send their children to a dual-language immersion HL school, there were not enough dual-language immersion schools to offer less-commonly-taught languages for young children. If the parents could not afford to pay for private HL schooling for their children, their children were more likely to take HL classes after school or in community-based HL weekend schools run by nonprofit organizations. Classes were generally held two or three hours a week during the weekdays or on the weekends.

Not all the parents taught their children written HL, keeping them practicing it. The parents reported that there was no explicit HL teaching in the home and their conversations with children were very informal, colloquial, and natural. As they acquired the language informally, the English-dominant parents reported that they were not proficient in reading and writing in their HL although they all spoke the language. Amy recalled, "My parents just talked, spoke to me in Korean, so I should understand Korean because that's the language they only spoke, that's how they spoke to me." Depending on parental proficiency and confidence in literacy skills, the parents had different expectations about their children's HL development. Mina who was proficient in Korean, including reading and writing, explained why they sent her children to a Korean language school as follows.

The only reason is to develop high levels of literacy in Korean. They must be able to read and write in Korean. We don't worry about their speaking skills because we speak to them mostly in Korean and we also visit Korea regularly. Whenever we visited Korea, I saw their speaking skills improving a lot. As they didn't regularly practice their own Korean writing skills, we thought that the Korean language school could help their writing.

The English-dominant parents reported that they wanted their children to gain a basic understanding of their heritage culture and language in class, whereas the Chinese or Korean-dominant parents reported that they wanted their children to improve writing skills in their HL in class.

When immigrant parents did not have enough time to teach their children their HL or they felt they did not have adequate HL skills, they usually sent their children into HL schools. The parents reported that going to HL school was not easy for their children sometimes. Firstly, as HL schools were generally held after school or on weekends, children had to have more school days than their peers at school. Secondly, HL schools assigned students to each classroom in accordance with their levels of HL proficiency. Thus, it was difficult for older students with low levels of HL proficiency to adjust to HL schools. Thirdly, the curricula of HL schools were not interesting enough to motivate the children to continue to learn the HL as they get older. Lastly, it seems likely that HL schools were not effective for young children who had less support from their parents. If a heritage school was held once or twice per week, the teacher usually gave lots of homework to the children. Thus, it was difficult for them to keep up with the curriculum without their parents' help. For example, Rosy was a full-time doctoral student, working as a research assistant in university. She was too busy with her study and work so that she could not help with her daughter's Korean homework. Thus, she was often singled out by her teacher. Rosy recalled:

At a regular school she was a very good student and in the Korean school, she was the worst student. We always forgot her books. She had to be taken out privately. She didn't like to feel like she was a bad student. She would hate to go. I couldn't support her because I was in graduate school.

As she was not able to help her Korean enough, her daughter came to dislike going to HL school. As her child was not a good fit in with the school culture, she worried about her child's self-esteem and academic identity in heritage classes as well as her Korean skills. As illustrated above, children's opportunity to learn their HL is significantly affected by not only parental language ideologies, but also their parents' life circumstances. Amy and Mina explained different types of "HL school" choice.

**Amy:** I wanted them to have exposure to Korean and learn the language. This (raising children bilingually) was always back of my mind. At that time, however, too many things were going on in my mind. Now, I'm able to do it because I have time and energy for it.... I like Jin's KLS very much because it's small and fit to my schedule. It's only once a week and only for two hours. The bigger Korean schools, like Rainbow school is on Saturdays. They have much larger Korean communities and offer Korean classes for half a day. I don't want that much work, extra work for Korean. I don't want to dedicate my weekend to learning Korean.

**Mina:** To be honest, I'm a bit embarrassed, but I chose this program because classes are offered on Saturdays. I'm more flexible on Saturdays. If the kids do not go to heritage language school on Saturdays, we have to plan some activities for them every Saturday. That's not easy. I also run a small business, so I sometimes have to meet customers on Saturday. I can meet them after I put them in the classroom. They take swimming, ballet, and art classes during the weekdays, so they don't have enough time after school. Above all, my kids really like to go to heritage language school.

Although they wanted to raise them bilingually, their life events and situations shaped parental choices for bilingual education for their children. Amy preferred a small community and also wanted her children to enjoy weekends like other American children. Hence, her children took extra classes after school during the week instead of on weekends. In comparison with Amy, Mina needed to fill in the time on Saturday and meet her customers; her children enjoyed learning Korean in HL schools. Despite their values on HL maintenance, the environmental

conditions outside the parents constantly influenced parental decisions regarding their choice for bilingual education of their young children.

### **Theme 3. Familial and Economic Resources: Family Members' Composition**

The results of the study indicate that family structure is an important factor that influences family language practices. It constricts or expands the opportunity for young children to learn their HL. Relatives, in particular, grandparents, siblings, and even family members in the native country played a crucial role in HL acquisition of young children. Three out of 14 participants reported that their parents gave them childcare, living in the same house or close to the families. If non-English speaking grandparents lived with the family, children had ample opportunities to hear and speak their HL. Mary said,

Cantonese is her dominant language because my mom watches her while I'm at work. She lives with us on weekdays and my daughter talks to my mom all day. I usually speak Cantonese when I'm with my mom and Gloria. Since Tom became sick, my mother-in-law moved in. Because she's around all the time, she speaks Mandarin and English with her when they play together. On weekends, when my mom goes home and when Tom and I are at the clinic, my mother-in-law watches her. My husband is the only one that speaks exclusively to her in English. I think it would have been a lot harder for her to learn if my mom didn't live with us on weekdays and our family lived far away. My mom is very talkative. She talks to me and Madison all day. Having family around makes such a huge difference. Once a month, we'd take her to my grandparent's house and she would practice Cantonese with them. If our living situation is different, I think Gloria's dominant language would be English.

A strong family connection and commitment to HL maintenance enabled her to raise her child bilingually. It was fortunate that Mary lived close to her mother and her mother-in-law and they took care of Gloria, speaking to her only in Chinese when she was at work although they were proficient in speaking English. As Gloria also needed English language support, Mary's husband, Tom, spoke to her only in English so that she could develop her English skills. To

keep their heritage alive, the family needs familial support from extended family, especially grandparents, and other relatives in the native country.

Siblings also played an important role in bilingual development of young children. The parents mentioned that their children talked to each other in English once one of them entered the English school. Siblings, for example, Yong's twins, usually spend more time together than their parents. Speaking English during the playtime seems to be part of a role-play to them, that is, playing a different role for fun. If older siblings learned English at daycare, in preschool, or in kindergarten; one of them happened to hear the language on YouTube or outside the home, they started imitating what they heard. In the same vein, if older siblings spoke their HL to younger siblings, younger siblings were more likely to use the HL.

The study also found that parents' economic resources constricted or enhanced the opportunity for children to learn and maintain the heritage language. For example, Chao usually spoke to her children in English as English was Chao's dominant language. Although she did not speak with their children in Chinese very much, she made an effort to pass on her heritage language to her children. She hired a Chinese monolingual nanny. The Chinese nanny helped the children's Chinese and Chao helped their English. She also enrolled her oldest child (5 years old) in a private Chinese (Mandarin) dual-language kindergarten. She wanted their children to learn Chinese along with English during the weekdays. To send her child to a private dual-language kindergarten, she had to pay about \$15,000 per year. As a result of her efforts, all three of her children understood Chinese and spoke the language when they had to speak it despite lack of familial supports.

Speaking needs direct contact and practice with other heritage speakers outside the house. If young children almost exclusively communicate in the HL only with their parents at home,

they may gradually lose their motivation to improve their proficiency in the HL while learning and using English in schools. The parents of bilingual children mentioned that regular visits to their native country helped their children enhance their competence in the HL and experience firsthand the culture in the country of origin. Jisu said,

She will need to see and talk to Korean people. I asked her, “Where are people speaking Korean?” She has visited her grandparents in New York, so she said, “New York.” She doesn’t think that there is a country, she knows the country, but it’s not visual to her. She doesn’t understand how far it is. She knows that from here to NY is a plane trip. She knows that that’s very far. I told her me going to Korea. She asked me, “Me go, too?” “Do you know how long it is?” “No” “Do you know how long it is from here to NY?” “Yes” “Two times” “Wow, that’s a long time.” “One day, we will have to go there and you’ll have to see it.” I try to explain to her in a simplest way that she understands that there is another place where people are speaking Korean. I’m hoping that it happens before my parents pass away.

Jisu acknowledged that visualizing the goal is a good way to keep her child motivated to learn Korean. This imagination might help her give a reason why she needs to learn the language which few people speak and use in this country. Visiting their native country where all people speak their HL would be one of the most efficient ways to strengthen young children’s motivation and their ties to their heritage culture.

The mother participants felt more responsibility for their children’s HL education than the father participants. The mothers also felt blamed for their children’s low levels of HL proficiency. This may be because they were unconsciously affected by long standing stereotype about the role of mothers in their child’s education. Suji, Chao, and Mary commented on how they felt about their children’s heritage education and language maintenance.

*Suji:* After I started my PhD program, I could not spend a lot of time educating my children. So, this is a struggle for us. My husband feels that I am not spending enough time educating my children. This was why I was very unhappy with my daughter’s Korean learning.

**Chao:** (Question: your children's first language is English, not Chinese?) Because I'm lazy.... (Q: what is the most effective way to help your children's Chinese?) It has to be me. That's why I feel a lot of burden. No one else can. The burden is on me. I feel I need to outsource a little bit to settle out someone to do it.

**Mary:** My husband isn't super interested in the Korean culture. That's just not him. I know deep down he wouldn't mind if they improve Korean skills, too. That's not his priority for him right now. But, for me, I took pride in and I spent so much time in my life learning about the Korean culture and studying it. I wanted to pass it down to my children.

All three mothers expressed their frustration and a sense of guilt about not helping their children learning the HL enough. They felt like that they could do more and better than what they were doing. They believed that parents, especially mothers, had the responsibility for maintaining their family language for their children. This belief may be based on the mother-child attachment. Mothers are well aware of their impact on early language development in their children and feel their responsibility for maintaining their HL for their children. In terms of HL development, however, family cooperation is crucial to maintaining the HL as HL input to children is limited given the HL is usually spoken only at home. HL input only from the mother would be insufficient to trigger the child's HL acquisition and would reduce the child's opportunity to develop the HL. For this reason, family structure and relationship would be key to determining the success of HL maintenance in young children.

### **Children's HL Learning Experience**

Learning the HL demands commitment of time and effort from children as well as parents, so it is important for children to understand why they need to learn the HL and also to enjoy learning the language. It was common that parents considered their children's learning experiences when they decided whether or not they taught their children their HL. Almost all of the parents of children enrolled in heritage language programs reported that they sent their children to heritage language programs as their children enjoyed learning the HL. Parents who

considered quitting teaching the HL to their children or leaving heritage language schools reported that their children did not like to learn the HL. Hence, children's perceptions of their learning experiences in heritage language programs greatly influence parents' language practices on a daily basis and parents' decisions (not) to join the programs or to stay in them.

English-dominant children whose home language was English had the difficulty in learning the HL in HL language schools. This was partly because children went to a school only once a week and received weekly homework. They were too young to do it on their own without the parents' help. Unlike HL teacher's intention (they advised parents to do it every day little by little), parents usually finished it the day before the school. Consequently, HL homework was always challenging for both parents and children. At the time of the interview, Sujin let her first child stop going to a Saturday Korean language school and enrolled her second child in a Korean-English kindergarten as she was unable to help her older daughter enough to catch up other Korean children in class.

Lack of involvement from parents negatively impacts children's motivation to learn Korean and participation in Korean classes. As the curriculum of Korean heritage schools focuses on writing and reading skills, parents' literacy proficiency in heritage language plays an important part in children's heritage language acquisition. As Sujin's daughter, Gloria, left Korea at a very early age, her written heritage language was not fully developed and this made her less confident in her literacy skills in Korean. It is not surprising that Gloria gradually lost her interest in learning Korean after the first grade. As Gloria sometimes left textbooks at home, her HL teacher pointed out a lack of parental involvement during teacher-parents conferences and wanted more support from Sujin for Gloria's HL acquisition. She did not feel comfortable about this kind of situation. Gloria did not like her assigned identity, "a bad student", in Korean

class and this made her more hate the Korean school. Sujin was afraid of keeping sending her child to the Korean school because in the long term, Gloria may dislike the Korean culture and language. At that time, Gloria was placed to an ESL class at school. It was like a wake-up call to her. She could not stick to Korean-only at home because she did not want her child to lose her confidence due to language.

When she started to go to school, she was in ESL. I felt her English wasn't that good to be successful to make friends, so I started to speak English to her, and then younger sister picked up English. Then, my old daughter became so comfortable with English and she forgot most of her Korean.

She expressed her mixed feeling about her language use with her children. She thought that if she spoke English, they would lose the Korean language, but if she spoke Korean, she would slow them down academically. Although she was not happy with her daughter's Korean learning, she had to emphasize English over Korean for her children's academic success.

Amy also expresses her dissatisfaction with the Korean-only policy in her child's Korean language school. At the beginning, she thought that a Korean immersion school would help her children learn Korean quickly. However, it turned out to be a frustrating learning experience for them. Her English-dominant children who barely understood Korean and spoke conversationally were overwhelmed in Korean-only classes and they did not want to go to Korean language school.

Another issue of complaint from both Jin and Tracy are not understanding instruction. They only speak English at home. It is the language I am most comfortable speaking. I know this is the case with many if not most of the children in the classrooms. I am at least able to read some basic Korean and understand how to speak it, so I can assist Jino and Teresa with homework. However, many of the parents do not have the amount of Korean background I have, so their children are even more lost than mine. In the classroom, it is full Korean immersion with no English at all. I think this would be effective if they were immersed in Korean everyday, but it's only 2 hours a week. Most of them come from English speaking homes. If English were used alongside Korean, there would be a bridge for the gap between English and Korean.

Despite the parent's desire to have them learn Korean and become bilingual, they did not look forward to going to school. Agentive children wanted to construct their own learning in Korean. Their learning experiences greatly impacted and mediated parents' decisions and choices about the form and type of their children's HL education. Parents had to modify their FLP and practice and find an alternative way such as private tutoring and dual-language immersion school to keep them interested in learning the HL.

In sum, various factors played mediating roles in the process of FLP planning and practices. This section shows that parents' decisions about FLP included not only parental or familial factors but also other factors, in particular, children's learning experiences in HL classes which were shaped by HL teachers and their co-ethnic peers in HL classrooms. The study revealed that parents' work condition and their HL proficiency directly impacted children's participation and engagement in class activities and in turn, their learning experiences in Korean classes influenced their self-esteem and identity. It is easy to imagine the difficulty children have being unable to understand others and be understood by them. As non-English speaking immigrant children feel left out in English classes, English-dominant children felt puzzled and acted up in Korean classes.

In addition to parental factors, the combination of teachers' lack of classroom management skills and Korean-only instruction which were a complex matter that parents might not be able to control made children's HL learning more challenging and less enjoyable. Further, their learning experiences directly mediated parents' language practices and family language policies. Therefore, children should be recognized as agents in their HL learning and their learning experience should be investigated to better understand HL maintenance among young children.

### **Challenges of Raising their Child with Two Languages**

The parents in the study recognized what they should do to maintain their HL. They mentioned that children would lose their HL if they do not have the opportunity to use it: if parents speak the language more at home with their parents, it would help their children to learn it. From their first-hand experiences or information from books or professionals, the parents were knowledgeable about child language development and bilingual development. They were well aware of how children learn language, how they become bilingual, and how bilingualism benefits their children. Above all, all the parents had a strong desire to pass on their HL to their children. However, children's HL outcomes were shaped by whether parents really acted according to their knowledge into their everyday lives. This section highlights the two main factors which hindered the parents in maintaining the HL for their children.

Firstly, on the individual level, there were the difference in frequency of HL use and parental expectation for HL literacy proficiency in the HL among the participating parents. The Chinese or Korean-dominant parents "often or almost always" spoke to their children in their HL, whereas the U.S.-born "seldom" used their HL in their daily lives. As a result, the children who spoke their HL at home were entering the early stage of bilingualism unlike the children who spoke English at home. However, only a few parents expected their children to achieve high levels of HL proficiency in literacy. Even parents of bilingual children reported that their children had relatively lower levels of HL literacy than the children at the same age in their native country. As the parents viewed their HL as a tool of communication within the family, they placed more emphasis on oral skills than on literacy skills. Therefore, unless their children are unable to communicate with them, the parents would not be much concerned about their children's HL skills. They also thought that to some degree HL loss was the price for learning

English in the United States. They as minorities believed that it is more crucial to improve English skills than develop written HL skills given the economic and social value of their HL in the English-dominant society. This delay, however, may become a hindrance to continuing to develop their HL skills when their parents are not available for help with their HL. Also, the lack of age-appropriate level of the HL would make them reluctant to use their HL with other heritage speakers as they are old.

Parental language choice and parenting were also affected by a broad environment. The difference in language demand between home and school hinder HL acquisition of young children and it may exacerbate HL loss in the long term. Public education had a negative impact on HL maintenance of children. The parents reported that they had difficulty in controlling the language use of their children as they went on to elementary and secondary school. Once they went to English language school, children's language preferences were more likely to switch to English. If parents did not speak their HL to their children, they may have been less likely to maintain their HL. Even if the family speaks in the HL at home, however, there is the possibility that the children end up with English as their dominant language. The Chinese or Korean-dominant parents reported that they spoke exclusively their HL with their children, but their children used more English in particular after they went to kindergarten. They spoke English exclusively with friends in kindergarten and even in heritage schools, so they might not have the necessity of maintaining and developing their HL. Hence, if parents did not constantly reinforce their use of Korean, they were more likely to respond in English to their parents. If parents accommodate the English use of their children, their children end up being a passive bilingual or losing their competence in speaking the language.

## Summary

Based on interview and questionnaire data, this chapter analyzed parental language ideologies or beliefs; parents' language practices and FLP; challenges of the development and maintenance of their children's HL among the 14 Chinese and Korean American parents. In line with past studies (Duursma et al., 2007; Hoff, 2006), the results of the study indicate that the parent is one of the most influential factors that improve the child's bilingual ability. Parents varied in the degree of HL input they offered and this resulted in different levels of bilingualism and HL proficiency in children. Parental involvement in their children's HL maintenance was closely related to (1) parental commitment to maintain the HL, (2) parental HL proficiency, and (3) familial and economical resources (i.e., family structure) parents have. In terms of oracy in English, parental usage of the HL did not impact children's English speaking skills. But, early exposure to English books strengthened their children's early literacy experiences and in turn maximized children's developing English literacy.

Parents showed multiple layers of language ideology and their language ideologies mediated family language practices. Parents' commitment and involvement were closely related to their language ideology. Based on the results of the study, I conceptualized parental language ideologies or beliefs underlying their language practices. Three major themes emerged: Language as connection, language as culture, language as capital. The parents wanted to raise their child bilingually because of many benefits of bilingualism: Emotional benefits (family relations, self-esteem, identity), educational benefits (thinking skills), and economical benefits (career). Parents' investment in time and money has beneficial returns later on. The parents in the study valued different languages for different functional purposes. They were more likely to see the maintenance of a HL as a connection to their own family and culture and the English

language as an economic asset to their career. They believed that being bilingual would give their children more opportunities in terms of social and economic mobility for their children. As in Lee and Shin's (2008) study, the parents recognized positive association between English proficiency, social class, and social economic status in the United States.

### **Parents and Children as Agents**

The study makes it clear that parents' language beliefs are shaped not only by *linguistic culture* of the speech community, but by their life course. This is part of sense-making process parents took through reflective interpretation. The effect of families' life courses on parents' language ideologies and family language policy is discussed in detail in Chapter Four. The study found that parents' language ideologies or beliefs acted as a filter when they interpreted and appropriated macro-level language policies and formed language policies. Parents are not a receiver of language policies and *linguistic culture*. They implemented language policies based on their interpretation and understanding of macro-level language policies and families' life courses in which they are situated. As a consequence of parents' interpretation, their children's HL proficiency was different among the families.

Parents did not simply implement macro-level language policies or assimilated to *linguistic culture*. Parents' life experience mediated their understanding of *linguistic culture*, thereby made them different choices for language use. That is, even if people grow up in a same society, they may respond differently to the English-only policy depending on their life courses and their personal experience as a linguistic minority. One of the most significant findings from this study is the agentive child in their HL learning and families' language practice. Regardless of their ages, children had agency to influence their parents' decision-making regarding language

policies for their families. Depending on their learning experience, in particular in HL schools, children actively engaged in HL learning or resisted learning and using their HL.

Although social, cultural, and political forces greatly influenced family language planning and practices, parents formed language policies for their own family to accommodate their own circumstances. All the parents in the study were eager to maintain their HL for their children. However, not all parents showed a strong commitment to their HL maintenance with families' language practice. Parents' actual language practice was mediated by other agents in families' life courses as well as their language ideologies. The study reveals the dynamics and complexity of HL maintenance in early childhood. That is, families' language policies and practices are co-constructed by parents, children, and other family members, in particular, grandparents and siblings who live together and interact with children in a same house.

## Chapter 5

### Family Language Policies and Language Practices of the Focal Families

#### Introduction

Home has been perceived as one of the most decisive factors influencing the development and maintenance of HL for children (Winsler et al., 2014). Language development, in particular oral language development of the first language, starts at home long before children enter the school and receive formal schooling. Studies (Bohman, Bedore, Peña, Mendez-Perez, & Gillam, 2010; Craig, 1996; Duursma *et al.*, 2007; Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006; Hammer, Davison, Lawrence, & Miccio, 2009; Hoff, 2006; Huttenlocher, Waterfall, Vasilyeva, Vevea, & Hedges, 2010; Winsler et al., 2014; Young & Tran, 1999) have focused on home settings, in particular, the role of parents in HL maintenance given that the parent is the one who structures language and literacy practices for the child, by authorizing or disqualifying them.

Comparing the environmental context in which two parents (i.e., one Korean-born first generation and one U.S.-born second-generation Korean American parents) are situated, this chapter addresses the characteristics of successful family policy, how the life course mediates family language policy and practice, and who plays an agentive role in maintaining the HL in families. This chapter analyzes and compares the language policies and practices of one first- and one second-generation Korean American families (Bin's and Jin's families) in their daily lives, focusing on how the parents form their language policies in accordance with their language ideologies. Further, this chapter focuses on how parental language beliefs were constructed by parents' personal life history. Chapter 4 also presents the contextual factors that account for the variation in children's HL proficiency. To provide a more holistic and a fuller picture of the intergenerational transmission of HL, the chapter explains the mediating role of family members,

in particular, parent and grandparent in children's HL development and family language socialization practices.

### **Social and Linguistic Profiles of the Focal Families**

**Mina's child, Bin.** Bin was a five-year-old girl. She was born in the United States and she was one year older than her brother (Chan). When I visited her house, she and her brother greeted me with their parents and grandparents. It is surprising that three generations lived together under one roof. Bin's father came to study in the United States from Korea at the age of 16. Hence, he was comfortable speaking and using both English and Korean. After a couple of years, his parents immigrated to the United States and all became U.S. citizens. Bin's mother met Bin's father in college as an international student at the age of 21. After marrying him, Bin's mother moved to the United States and gave birth to Bin and Chan. Most relatives on the mother's side including her parents were living in Korea, so she and her children had visited Korea twice a year to see her parents.

Bin's family was living in a one-level detached house. The living room in the house was decorated with Korean art crafts. It was almost dinner time, so a table was set up with plates, spoons, and chopsticks. Because meals were not ready yet, Bin showed me her room. Bin's room was decorated in pink and she had a lot of books. Korean Alphabet posters including vowels and consonants were hung on the wall. Bookshelves lined one wall, filled with Korean and English books. She had a little bit more Korean books than English books. During the room tour, Bin and I communicated with each other in Korean and she was proficient in speaking Korean. As both parents were working, the grandparents had provided day care for the children. Bin's father graduated with his master degree and her mother graduated from college.

**Amy's child, Jin.** Jin was a biracial five-year-old boy. He was born in the United States and his sister (Aria) was 11 years old. He was living together with his mother and his older sister. His mother, Ann was a second-generation Korean American. Her parents emigrated from Korea before she was born. Most of her family and relatives were living in the United States and only a few of them were in Korea. When she was young, she occasionally visited her relatives in Korea. However, since she married and Jin was born, she had not visited Korean. She had grown up speaking Korean at home with her parents. After she lived separated from the parents and her mother past away, she did not use Korean in every life. Hence, she understood and spoke everyday household Korean, but her dominant language was English.

Jin's family lived in the two-story townhouse and Jin's room was on the second floor. One side of Jin's room was taken up with bookshelves that were filled with books and toys. Most of the books on the bookshelves were English books and a few Korean books were on the shelves. There was a Korean Alphabet poster on the wall. Jin and I communicated with each other in English as he barely spoke and understood Korean. Ann was working full-time, but her parents were unable to take care of Jin. Thus, she was sending Jin to daycare. Jin's mother had a master degree and worked at school. Table 1 summarizes the demographic profile of Bin's and Jin's families, including the family immigration history.

**Table 5. Linguistic Description of Participants: Parents and Their Children**

	<i>Bin's Family</i>	<i>Jin's Family</i>
Family size	<i>n</i> =6	<i>n</i> =3
Parents	2	1
Grandparents	2	–
Child(ren)	2	2
Parents' immigration status	Citizen	Citizen
Parents' age		
Mother	33	37
Father	34	–
Parents' ethnicity		
Mother	Korean	Korean
Father	Korean	White
Parents' birth place	Korea	U.S.
Parents' age at migration		
Mother	21	–
Father	16	–
Children's birth place	U.S.	U.S.
Parents' education		
Mother	College	Graduate
Father	Graduate	–
Parents' occupation		
Mother	Business	Education
Father	Construction Industry	–
Number of children (age)	<i>n</i> =2	<i>n</i> =2
Son	1 (4 years)	1 (5 years, <i>Jin</i> )
Daughter	1 (5 years, <i>Bin</i> )	1 (11 years)

## Language Use

**Bin.** Bin started preschool aged around three. Bin's mother got worried when Bin started an English school. By this time, she could speak very little English. As her playground vocabulary increased rapidly, she did not have any problems being understood in English in preschool. At the age of five, the parents sent her to private school for kindergarten. Although she was the only Korean American child in the school, she settled down well. Bin's parents were very satisfied with her teacher because they had a good relationship with the class teacher, and the teacher had much experience with the children whose mother tongues were not English. Bin attended the ESL program for one year and her English vocabulary increased. Although English was not their priority, the parents had taught her English a little bit before she went to kindergarten to make the transition easier for her. Since she started kindergarten, the parents had encouraged her to read books, speak to them, and watch children's programs in Korean and English so that she could be proficient in both languages.

Bin's home language was Korean: All adults in the family spoke exclusively in Korean at home in order to help the children learn the language. The parents' English was fluent – both written and verbal. Although Bin's parents did not have any difficulty in communicating with Bin in English, they spoke to her exclusively in Korean. Bin heard and spoke mostly Korean at home until she started English preschool. When the parents were working, her Korean-speaking grandparents took care of the children. As a result of the efforts of their parents and grandparents, the children preferred speaking with each other in Korean. Although Bin spoke Korean well like Korean children at her age in Korea, Bin's parents thought that Bin had to work on her writing and reading in Korean. To improve her written Korean, she was enrolled in a Korean HL school. The school was held every Saturdays from 9:30 AM to 12:30 PM.

**Jin.** Because Jin's mother grew up hearing and speaking Korean at home, her speaking in Korean was not a big problem for daily interaction at home. However, she did not receive any formal education at school, so she was not confident in Korean literacy skills, particularly writing in Korean. As she was much more comfortable speaking to their children in English, English was the home language and the children's first and primary language. Jin and his sister always spoke to each other in English as the mother and her sister talked to each other in English. Due to limited input in Korean, Jin and his sister were both enrolled in a Korean HL schools. The Korean classes were every Friday from 4:30 PM to 6:30 PM. Though he was fully immersed in Korean for two hours, he had been left to "swim or sink" in Korean-only classroom. His knowledge of Korean was, however, too little so he had difficulty in understanding the content of the lesson. When the mother found him losing his interest in studying Korean, she decided to send him and his sister to a Korean martial art class, Tae-kwan-do, in order to motivate the children to keep learning the Korean language and culture. As the master was Korean and used some Korean words, she expected them to learn some Korean during the training. It turned out that they both like doing Tae-kwan-do although it did not help their Korean much.

Jin and his sister used to listen to Korean children's songs. They enjoyed singing Korean songs, foods, and drama. Jin also used some Korean words such as food names and family titles (e.g., 아빠 [father], 엄마 [mother], 할아버지 [grandfather], 누나 [sister], 김치 [Kim-chi]) on a daily basis. Except for that, he rarely heard and spoke Korean in everyday life. Due to his level of Korean, his grandfather and other relatives usually spoke to him in English. As a consequence, all the input in Korean provided to Jin came from the Korean HL school. Although the mother was aware of this problem, she did not consider additional support such a

monolingual Korean-speaking nanny or a private Korean tutor for Jin to survive in a Korean-only classroom. Table 2 summarizes the linguistic profile of Bin and Jin, including the pattern of language use in the family and the type of education they had received.

**Table 6. Linguistic Backgrounds of Focal Children**

	<i>Bin</i>	<i>Jin</i>
Mother tongue	Korean	English
Home language	Korean	English
Primary language		
with parent(s)	Korean	English
with sibling(s)	Korean	English
with grandparent(s)	Korean	English
Enrollment of HL school	Yes	Yes
Type of HL school	Weekly Saturdays	Weekly Fridays
	9:30 PM – 12:30 PM	4:30 PM – 6:30 PM
Education	Private Kindergarten	Public T-K
Education before Kindergarten	English-speaking Preschool	English-speaking Preschool

### **Language and Literacy Lives of Families**

The study found that the home has been the crucial site for HL maintenance and parents, especially mothers, played a substantial role in the maintenance of the HL of their children. The parents in the study managed their children's language and literacy events in everyday life such as book reading, TV watching, and grocery shopping. By controlling various language and literacy practices of their children, they helped their children to develop their language skills

outside of the home as well as in the home. It was found that children's literacy and oracy events and practices provided by parents reflected parents' ideologies and beliefs about language in general and HL in particular.

### **Family Mealtimes**

Family eating is one of the most common times parents and children communicate with each other (Cook & Dunifon, 2006), so it is such a special part of the day. Mealtimes have been perceived as the opportunity for children to promote social interaction (Fiese et al., 2006); cultural socialization (Ochs & Shohet, 2006); language development (Snow & Beals, 2006); family identity (Fiese, Foley, & Spagnola, 2006). In light with past studies, this study found that family mealtimes were one of the best opportunities for young children to learn and practice languages with adults and acquire sociocultural norms and traditions. It appears that communicating in Korean during family mealtimes yielded the positive benefits for children's HL acquisition. By eating together, sharing time, and talking, the families strengthened family cohesion and family identity.

**Bin's dinner time.** When dinner was ready, all came in and sat down at a dinner table. Various ethnic foods and chopsticks on the table already set up by the parents. The mother asked the children if they had washed hands before starting to eat, “빈아, 손 씻었니? 가서 손 씻고 와. 찬이도 손 씻고 와 (*Bin, did you wash your hands? Go and wash your hands. Chan, go and wash your hands.*)”. HL acquisition was embedded in various socio-cultural routines and rituals of family mealtimes. As Korean traditional culture and customs are based on social hierarchies and status, much discourse at a dinner table was related to politeness to the elder or to the elder or to the older people. For example, Bin and her brother politely waited for the grandparents to start eating. The following example illuminates how the mother taught the children about table

manners. Hereafter languages other than Korean (English) used in Extracts are capitalized.

Original utterances in Korean were also translated into English as represented in italics.

1. Mother (M): 빈아, 할머니, 할아버지 같이 드시고, 엄마랑 아빠랑 같이 드실꺼니까. 손님 먼저 드려.  
*Bin, grandma and grandpa drink together. Me and dad drink together. So, give it to the guest at first.*
2. Bin: 우리가 물 줄께. 얼음 넣을래요, 안넣을래요?  
*We'll give you water to drink. Do you want some ice?*
3. Researcher: 네, 넣어주세요.  
*Yes, please.*
4. Bin: OKAY! 이게 얼음이고, 이게 물이에요.  
*OKAY! This is ice and this is water.*
5. M: 빈아. 할아버지만 드리면 돼.  
*Bin, put some ice cubes only in grandpa's glass.*
6. Bin: 엄마 넣어줄까, 안넣어줄까?  
*Do you want some ice, mom?*
7. M: 안넣어 줬으면 좋겠어.  
*No, thanks. I'm okay.*
8. Bin: OKAY! 진짜 일 많이 했다.  
*OKAY! I really worked a lot.*
9. M: 빈아, 앉아서 먹어. (찬아) 할아버지 갖다 드려.  
*Bin, sit and eat. Chan, give it to grandpa.*
10. Bin's grandfather (BGF): 감사합니다. 인호가 물 떠왔어? 얼구, 잘 하네!  
*Thank you very much! You brought me a drink of water for me. Good Job!*
11. M: 찬아, 고마워. 밥 먹을 때는 앉으세요.  
*Chan, thank you. Please, sit when you eat.*

In Turn 1, Bin practices pouring the water into the cups. She is learning the relative hierarchy, namely, who should be served first in a given situation. The order of service is affected by one's position and power in the hierarchy. It is common practice that the eldest or people with the highest status are usually served food and drink at first. In this context, however, the researcher should be first served as she is invited to family dinner as a guest, not the grandparents. After the guest, foods and drink are served to the grandparents and the parents in descending order. Bin constructs the concept of power relation and culturally appropriate practice. Bin feels

confidence and a sense of achievement as she successfully completed her task (pouring the water into the cups) with her mother (Turn 8). The grandfather and the mother say thank-you to the children and compliment on their performance in order to reinforce their attitudes and future performance (Turns 10 and 11). In Turn 11, the grandfather uses the honorific word (*감사합니다*) to model the honorific systems for their grandchildren although the older people do not use honorifics to the younger people. Also, they learned various table manners during the meal (Turn 11). For example, the children were educated that it was impolite to interrupt others when they, particularly adults, are in conversation and to eat standing up.

Given that communication is crucial to understanding each other, cultural transmission or cultural learning always intersect with issues of language learning. Bin had received ample input from her family, four adults. There was no explicit language instruction for Bin at home, but every adult in the family spoke to Bin in Korean during the dinner. Bin had a bedtime routine: watching Korean news on TV and reading Korean story books with their grandparents. When she watched Korean news with her grandparents, she asked the meaning of new Korean words. She also likes the grandfather to read Korean storybooks to her before bedtime. In terms of Korean literacy development, the mother sent her to a local HL school and helped her work on 3-page writing worksheets every day.

Korean and English permeate each other in Bin's daily life. Bin and her brother were playing together with the talking toys, *Thomas the Train Bertie*, speaking in Korean. The toy repeated talking in English, "Hello, Percy. I take my job very seriously.... I like telling to the other engines what to do. I'm ready to help.... My name is Spencer." During the dinner, Bin occasionally code-switched from Korean to English when she spoke to her mother as in the following example.

1. Bin: CAN I EAT THE PINK THING?
2. Mother: 이것만? 여기서 먹어, 빈아.  
*Only this one? Eat here, Bin.*
3. Bin: LOOK AT THIS, 엄마! LOOK AT THIS, 아빠! 이거봐봐.  
*LOOK AT THIS, mom! LOOK AT THIS, dad! Look at this.*

As seen above, Bin's mother does not translate her English words into Korean. In Turn 3, Bin first speaks the sentence in English and then, translates it into Korean to draw the attention from the parents. Bin's mother reported that she did not force her to speak Korean and instead, she allowed her to choose the language that she wanted to speak. However, Bin knows when she speaks what language. Bin's use of English had increased since she went to a predominantly white kindergarten. As she learned and used English for academic purposes at school, English and Korean had performed different functions: English for academic performance at school and Korean for communication in the family. Bin was proud of herself counting to 100 in English although not in Korean. The mother reported that Bin's literacy in English had improved faster than that in Korean. She commented, "Bin started her English kindergarten about four, five months ago. But, she already speaks English in full sentences. So, if I talk to her in English, she must switch to English."

**Jin's Thanksgiving dinner.** In comparison with Bin's family, Jin's mother as a working mother occasionally had dinner out or delivered from her favorite restaurant when she did not have time to cook. During the evening hours on weekdays, she helped Jin wash, checked his school bag, and read books with him before bed. Due to commute time, the family had to be out of bed at about 6 AM so the family got to sleep early. The mother said, "I pick them up late because I have tutored children. We don't get home until after 6. There is Tae-kwan-do and then just eating. There is a very little time for anything. They need to sleep because they have to get up early." As she said, she could not think about Jin's Korean practice during the weekdays.

After a full day's work, she did not have much energy left to help Jin's Korean learning. Instead, she usually helped him with his Korean homework on weekends. The mother acknowledged that if she forced Jin to speak Korean to her, miscommunication and emotional strain would happen between them. Becoming bilingual is challenging for children and more stressful for parents.

The holiday is a time of family and family reunion. The holiday like Thanksgiving is a good chance to have different generations mix, spend time with the whole family, and experience cultural traditions. Children get reconnected with their grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins who they have not seen often. Every year, Jin's family goes to Jin's aunt's house (Maria) to celebrate Thanksgiving with other close family members. When I arrived at Maria's house, the room was filled with adults except for Jin and his sister. It seems likely that the family combined the Korean (Chu-suk) and American (Thanksgiving) traditional cultural celebrations. American dishes (i.e., Turkey, pumpkin pie, mashed potatoes, cranberry sauce, gravy) and Korean dishes (i.e., Kimchi fried rice, Korean braised short ribs, mini meat patties) were ready on the table for guests.

The elders talked to one another only in Korean away from the children, and the mother and Maria sometimes joined in their conversations, but their conversations with the elders were usually brief. Ironically, the family members were physically in the same room, but it seems likely that they lived in two different worlds. Given that a close relationship is constructed through communication, it may be challenging for English-dominant children to build a deep connection with their non-English speaking family members. After eating, the grandfather was watching TV on a couch and Jin played a game at his feet. The physical distance between Jin and his grandfather reflected their closeness, but the communication between them was rare due to the language barrier. When the great aunt and uncle were leaving, the mother asked the

children to say goodbye to them. The mother said, “안녕히 가세요! An-nyeong-*hee-ga-se-you* (bye). You guys, did you say bye?” She said goodbye to them, using the honorific (안녕히 가세요 An-nyeong-*hee-ga-se-you*) for ‘bye’ (안녕 An-nyeong). The children shyly said “Bye” to their great aunt and uncle in English.

Talking to older family members requires high levels of Korean oracy. The younger family members should understand pragmatics such as honorifics and formality as well as Korean grammar and syntax. The mother commented, “We can read and write in Korean, but we don’t formally talk in it as we were educated in English. . . . We always speak in English because it’s more convenient. It comes more quickly when we need vocabulary.” Maria also commented, “I’m not comfortable speaking Korean. I understand it better than I speak it, but only simple Korean. I cannot get into a deep conversation that requires above kindergarten vocabulary.” Like Jin’s mother, English-dominant parents with low levels of Korean proficiency were more likely to choose English as their home language over their HL. Parents’ HL proficiency was the substantial factor in determining their use of Korean language at home. To communicate well, speakers need pragmatic knowledge of the target language as well as its grammatical and lexical knowledge. The following extract shows the conversation between Jin’s mother and Maria regarding kinship terms.

1. Maria: It’s weird when we introduce our family to others. I don’t know any of their names. I only have their titles to call them. There are specific titles for them. 큰고모, 작은 고모, 큰 엄마, 큰 아빠, 작은 엄마, 작은 아빠. It’s super confusing
2. Mother: Big dad, little dad.
3. Maria: We don’t ever know the uncle’s real name. Don’t they have American name?
4. Mother: Maybe they need it, but we’re never fortunate to know them. Calling them by name, it’s disrespectful.
5. Maria: But, we can introduce them other than uncle. We don’t know what they would call them.

6. Mother: We only grew up knowing their titles. “That’s your uncle from your dad’s side.” We didn’t know their names because there was no reason to know. Why do we need to know their names? We don’t call them by name. It’s very rude. We only know them by picture, not by name.

In this Extract, Jin’s mother and her sister talked about family titles which Jin needs to learn in order to speak Korean in a socially and culturally appropriate way. Kinship terms reflect the cultural norms of Korean society and it is linked to the concept of politeness and respect. She acknowledges that calling the names of the elder is rude and disrespectful. She places an emphasis on the norm by using negative words twice, “disrespectful (Turn 4) and rude (Turn 6).”

It is surprising that they grew up connecting with their relatives without knowing their names (Turn 6) as this is not usual in Korea. It reflects the mother’s limited understanding of Korean traditions and emotional distance from extended family members. Interestingly, Jin’s aunt is curious about their English names, not their Korean names (Turn 3). The reason why Korean culture stresses family titles is that they signify the hierarchical relationship among family members. Family titles are closely related to the level of closeness in family web and the degree of formality of discourse. They together determine the relative degrees of formality of discourse appropriate to their kinship hierarchy. All cultural knowledge and social norms are intertwined to the delicacy of language use. Without respecting and understanding these social rules and values, it would be difficult for children to use Korean to communicate in socially and culturally appropriate ways.

### **Factors Influencing Children’s Heritage Language Outcomes**

In this section, I explain the environmental characteristics of the focal families causing different levels of HL proficiency in young children. This study reports two main themes constricting or enhancing the development and maintenance of HL of young children: Parents’ language ideologies or beliefs, and the amount of HL input to children. The results from the

study indicate that parents' beliefs influence parental decisions regarding what they do to support their children's HL acquisition. The following section shows variation in parents' management of their children's bilingual education. I explain what environmental conditions caused this variation and how this variation mediated HL outcomes of young children.

### **Theme 1. Parents' Language Ideologies or Beliefs**

Children in bilingual families grow up hearing more than one language in everyday life. However, not all bilingual parents raise their children bilingually. This study found that the parents had various positions on their HL and depending on their language ideologies or beliefs, they chose different strategies to teach their children HL. That is, children were exposed to English and Korean to various degrees according to parents' beliefs about their HL. Parents revealed mixed perceptions of their HL. They perceived Korean language as connection; Korean language as culture; Korean language as capital. In other words, parents believed that learning Korean enables their children to cultivate a strong family bond, "gain acceptance or status" (Baker, 2011) or feel affiliation or attachment to the Korean community and culture. In the following section, I will explain each belief parents addressed in detail.

**Korean as connection.** This metaphor emphasizes the function of Korean as the medium to connect older adults with the younger generation. Both children have grandparents speaking in Korean and extended family members in Korea. Hence, the parents in the focal families wanted their children to learn Korean in order to build a strong bond with their grandparents and stay connected with family members in Korea. Bin's mother and Jin's mother said,

*Bin's mother (BM):* First, we have lived with grandparents for almost eight years. I realized that it is very important to respect their authority. They don't speak English. My parents in Korea don't speak it, either. I don't want my children to ignore or disrespect them because they don't speak English. My children should be able to communicate with

them in Korean. A strong bonding between me, my children, and my parents is really important for me and my family.

**Jin's mother (JM):** I want him to visit Korea. I want him to know about Korea. It would be great if he could speak it fluently one day and communicate with my family members. But, a lot of family members stay here. They all speak English. In Korea, they speak some English, too. But it would be good if he speaks some more Korean and communicate with my grandmother in Korea. . . . I'm going to Korea this winter. It kind of motivates me to try to use more Korean, so that, when my family says something in Korean, he and his sister can understand it.

For both families, Korean serves as a medium of communication with the older generations who do not or understand English. Their desire is to have their children enjoy time with their grandparents without language barriers. Interestingly, Bin's mother viewed language as power and authority as well as a tool of communication. For Bin's parents, speaking Korean is to show respect to older family members who speak only Korean. They had seen some children slight their parents and grandparents because they are more fluent in English than them. Hence, they believed that having the common language in the family could prevent family conflicts caused by generational gaps and weak parental authority. They also perceived grandparents as a figure to hold the family together, so they thought that their authority should be respected. A strong affective bond in the family motivated young children to learn their HL.

**BF:** She likes learning Korean because she loves her grandparents and us. You can't love your family because you like learning Korean. I think, if children have a strong bond with their family, they will become to like Korea and its language.

**JM:** They see their grandpa speaks mostly in Korean. We eat Korean foods. When I watched on TV, she sat next me and glued to the TV. She's really into it. When they were younger, they loved the Korean children songs because it's fun. Jin was very curious about that. A lot of things I do are definitely American. But, the Korean part is important to me. They care it for me. It's important to them because it's important to mom. "This is important to mommy, so it makes mommy happy. I'm gonna do for mommy. I'm sure it's a big part of that. It's good for me.

Given their developmental stage, it seems likely that a sense of belonging to a nation or an ethnic group has emerged. They seek to maintain proximity to an attachment figure which is

the parent and feel a sense of belonging to the family or the parents in proximity. The following extract shows Bin's attachment to her mother and her concept of national identity.

1. Bin: 나는 미국에서 태어 났어요.  
*I was born in the United States.*
2. Researcher: 한국말도 잘하네.  
*You speak Korean very well.*
3. Bin: 엄마가 한국사람이니까.  
*Because my mom is Korean.*
4. BGF: 빈이도 한국사람이지.  
*Bin is Korean, too.*
5. Bin: 나 한국에서 안태어났잖아, 할아버지.  
*I wasn't born in Korea, grandpa.*

Korean language and culture are embedded in Bin's daily life. Bin already sees herself as a successful learner of Korean. Speaking Korean is not special for her because her mother is Korean and Koreans speak in Korean (Turn 3). Given the child's strong attachment to her mother, she wants to speak the language which her mother speaks in order to communicate with her. In Turns 4 and 5, Bin does not agree with her grandfather that she is Korean. Her grandfather associates language with national identity, whereas Bin perceives language as connection or relationship with her family. She has a sense of belonging to the family, not a nation at this point. The close relationship between parent and child is the most significant driving force for the child to acquire the HL.

**Korean as culture.** This metaphor shows that the parents associated Korean with cultural identity. As mentioned earlier, language and culture are closely connected. It is an essential part of culture and transmitted as part of culture. Given that language is a prototype of an ethnic group, to get a full membership to the ethnic group, one should master the language as they engage in and practice the culture only through language (Fishman, Gertner, Lowy, &

Milán, 1985). That is, children can participate in various Korean cultural practices through the use of Korean.

Many language-minority parents wish their children to build a strong, positive cultural identity while acquiring the HL and culture. HL acquisition is accompanied by the internalization of explicit knowledge of the heritage culture and cultural identity development (Lee, 2015; Tse, 2000). Speaking Korean has significance to both families, but in different ways. In the case of Bin's family, Bin's parents associated language with Korean identity. As Korean-born immigrants, Bin's parents and grandparents exhorted Bin to remember that she should not lose her Korean-ness. They wished for her to not only embrace her Korean-ness, but also be proud of it and ultimately for it to become part of her identity. Bin's mother commented,

**BM:** I want my children to be proud of who they are. We identify ourselves with our language, so learning Korean is so important for our children. She swore the Pledge at Kindergarten. Because of that, she said, "Mom, my teacher said, I'm American." I started thinking that I should explicitly explain why she is Korean. I said to her, "You were born here, so you are American. But, mom and dad are Korean, so you're Korean, too. Koreans speak Korean. Thus, you need to learn and speak Korean." I said, "Mom and dad are not American." she questioned herself, "I'm American, but my mom and dad are not American." She became resistant to this separation as she has a strong bond to us. She concluded, "As my mom and dad are Koreans, I'm Korean, too."

As seen in the comment of Bin's mother, the child's identity is shaped in dialogical interaction between parent and child. Bin's teacher told her, with good intentions, that she is American as she was born in the United States. For Bin, she felt inclusive or belonging to the school which was predominantly white. Our view on ourselves is based on our belief on others' perception of us and our feelings related with those perception (Hud-Aleem & Countryman, 2008). As an authority figure in the classroom, the teacher validated her American-ness to be a member of the class. She might desire that her race and ethnicity become invisible. Namely, her race and ethnicity made her *the one* in the class. After diluting her ethnicity, she became *one* of them

there. Despite the teacher's good intentions, this conflicted with what her parents said to her. Given the parent's authority and the child's affective bond to parents, particularly the mother, it is understandable that Bin changed her position on the issue of her identity and negotiated her identity. That is, she is neither Korean nor American, but she is Korean and American at this time. Namely, she added a new identity, American identity, to her Korean identity. Throughout the identity construction process, she may develop her own identity "self" by integrating two or more identities. Bin's father commented on identity as follows.

**BF:** I don't agree with the idea that parents don't teach their children Korean in order to speak English well. They can't be real Americans forever. They are forever foreigners born in this country. We are perceived as first, second, third generations, not simply American. 1.5 generations or second generations will find that they can't break through the glass ceiling of social prejudice. I want my children to view them as Korean American, not American.

For Bin's parents as immigrants born in a foreign country, the issue of identity is closely related to learning Korean language and culture. In comparison with Jin's parents, Jin's mother wanted her children to have pride and enjoyment in their heritage. She commented on Jin's learning Korean as follows.

**JM:** I think Korean is something he needs and something will help him in his life whether it would be to help him identify with Korean, part of him in a sense that he is half Korean and half White. He can connect with both cultures. I want him to know that this is part of who he is. He can't just dismiss it. . . . I want him to enjoy having that dual culture. American and Korean, enjoy both of it because it's a gift. I can get and pick what I like and what I don't like. I get to let him know who I am and I want him to do the same. I want him to be proud of who he is and all of who he is, his American side and his Korean side.

**JM:** I want Jin to appreciate the Korean culture. Language is a big part of it. I want him to understand and may be able to read it, learn some vocabulary. . . . I just want him to feel familiar with it. Maybe right now, I know he's not going to become fluent or even near native like, anything like that. But, I want him to have ensured that he knows something important, who he is.

Because he spoke exclusively in English at home, barely hearing Korean, it might be difficult for him to acquaint himself with Korean language. Jin's mother believes that the HL helps people better understand their culture, enjoy it more, reach out other Koreans, and maintain a connection with Korea. She perceived Korean as a crucial part of the Korean culture and believed that Korean helped him better understand and enjoy the Korean culture. She also expressed the belief that learning Korean would promote his multiculturalism and multilingualism which enable him to appreciate both cultures and selectively accept good things from both cultures.

**Korean as capital.** This metaphor indicates that the parents had been strongly ingrained to believe that bilingualism has the labor market advantages over monolinguals and languages have different exchange values. The parents had different perceptions regarding the economic value of Korean.

*BGF:* My grandchildren should speak both languages well. Korea isn't a poor country any more. Many American companies want to do business with Korean companies. Hence, there will be an increasing need for Korean-speaking people. If you're Korean American, they assume that you're bilingual, speaking both English and Korean well. But, if you don't speak Korean, speak only English, you're not much different from other English speakers. If you speak Korean and more languages, you'll be more competitive than others in the job market.

*JM:* I see learning Korea is something beneficial to them, something good for them, but not crucial. . . (Which language is more important for your children?) Definitely English! Because they live here, this is their environment where they're going to school as far as I know. They need to have a command of English. English is their first language and their home language. That's English. No doubt about it.

Bin's parents and grandparents wanted the children to develop Korean and English literacy to equally high degrees as they placed high economic value on both languages. In contrast, Jin's mother valued the Korean culture, but she did not value its economic value. Hence, she did not see any reasons for learning Korean literacy viewed Korean as a means of personal communication.

**BM:** My husband is working at an American company. He is the only Korean in his company. When his boss has a meeting with Korean companies like Samsung, he used to accompany my husband to the meetings. As he came here in middle school, he wasn't very competent in his writing. When he had to write business emails in Korean, I sometimes proofread them. If you are Korean, there is a high possibility that you happen to do business with other Koreans. So, my children should be able to speak and write in Korean.

**JM:** Speaking definitely. For me, I don't need it academically. It doesn't do anything for me. I don't need to communicate with anyone in Korean written language. But, speaking, it means the difference between developing relationship with someone, communicating with someone like family members or for that... English is only spoken in the classroom. I don't want any other way... I would think most teachers encourage learning other languages, but English has to be the first because you need to have English for academic success. Living in this country, English speakers, you had better learn English.

Bin's mother and Jin's mother had different positions on Korean literacy. Because of Bin's husband, Bin's mother saw the importance of writing skills in Korean as well as in English. She realized that Korean did not have the economic value as much as English without high levels of Korean literacy. The reason for sending Bin to Korean language school is to promote her Korean literacy (reading and writing). In contrast, Jin's mother reported that Korean literacy is not as crucial as English literacy necessary for academic success in schools. She believed that her children should master English language and literacy skills for academic and economic success in their lives. She viewed Korean as a means of communication within the family in the English-speaking nation. Namely, she did see the family values of Korean, but not the economic value.

**The focal children's weekly schedules.** The Parents were asked about daily routines and activities of their children during the week and on weekends. The children's activities consist of kindergarten, after-school programs, enrichment programs, church, and Korean language schools. Interestingly, Jin's peers were ethnically diverse, whereas most of Bin's

peers were white. Language wise, Jin used exclusively English except for his two-hour Korean language school. Bin was exposed to English and Korean in a balanced way. She used only English in her kindergarten and Korean or English in after-school programs. She used mainly Korean, but also reads or hears English (e.g., reads English books with parents, watches English children programs, talks with her younger brother, does English homework) in the home. When she interacted with Korean-speaking adults (grandparents and parents) in the home, she usually used Korean. But, when they were not available, she was naturally exposed to English.

Tables 3 and 4 summarize Bin's and Jin's weekly schedules, focusing on activities the child engages in, language the child uses, and ethnic groups the child interacts with. I add gradation to each time block to show the pattern of children's language use. Dark grey colored time blocks represent the use of Korean; the light grey colored ones represents the use of both English and Korean; no colored time blocks represent the use of English.

**Table 7. Bin's weekly schedule**

<i>Time</i>		<i>Mon</i>	<i>Tue</i>	<i>Wed</i>	<i>Thu</i>	<i>Fri</i>	<i>Sat</i>	<i>Sun</i>
8:30	<i>Main activity</i>	Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Korean School	K-Church <sup>(1)</sup>
–	<i>Language use</i>	English	English	English	English	English	Korean	English
1:00	<i>Ethnic group</i>	White	White	White	White	White	Korean	Korean
1:00	<i>Main activity</i>	Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Home/ Varies	Choir Practice
–	<i>Language use</i>	English	English	English	English	English	Korean	Korean
2:30	<i>Ethnic group</i>	White	White	White	White	White	Korean	Korean
4:30	<i>Main activity</i>	Art Class	Reading/ Swim	Piano Lesson/ Awana <sup>(2)</sup> (K- Church)	Reading/ Ballet	Violin Lesson	Home/ Varies	Home/ Varies
–	<i>Language use</i>	Korean	English	English	Korean/ English	Korean	Korean	Korean
6:30	<i>Ethnic group</i>	Korean	White	White Korean	Asian	Korean	Korean	Korean
6:30	<i>Main activity</i>	HW <sup>(3)</sup> / Free & Family time: TV, playing	HW/ Free & Family time: TV, playing	HW/ Free & Family time: TV, playing	HW/ Free & Family time: TV, playing	HW/ Free & Family time: TV, playing	HW/ Free & Family time: TV, playing	HW/ Free & Family time: TV, playing
–	<i>Language use</i>	Korean English	Korean English	Korean English	Korean English	Korean English	Korean English	Korean English
8:30	<i>Ethnic group</i>	Korean	Korean	Korean	Korean	Korean	Korean	Korean

Notes: (1) K-Church = Korean church

(2) Awana is a Bible study program for English-speaking children run by a Korean church

(3) HW = Homework

**Table 8. Jin's weekly schedule**

	<i>Mon</i>	<i>Tue</i>	<i>Wed</i>	<i>Thu</i>	<i>Fri</i>	<i>Sat</i>	<i>Sun</i>
8:30 – 1:00	<i>Main activity</i> Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Home/ Varies	Home/ A-Church <sup>(1)</sup>
	<i>Language use</i> English	English	English	English	English	English	English
	<i>Ethnic group</i> Diverse	Diverse	Diverse	Diverse	Diverse	Korean, Diverse	Korean, White
1:00 – 2:30	<i>Main activity</i> Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Kinder	Home/ Varies	Home/ Varies
	<i>Language use</i> English	English	English	English	English	English	English
	<i>Ethnic group</i> Diverse	Diverse	Diverse	Diverse	Diverse	Korean, Diverse	Korean, Diverse
4:30 – 6:30	<i>Main activity</i> YMCA	YMCA	YMCA	YMCA	K-Church <sup>(2)</sup>	Home/ Varies	Home/ Varies
	<i>Language use</i> English	English	English	English	English Korean	English	English
	<i>Ethnic group</i> Diverse	Diverse	Diverse	Diverse	Korean, Biracial (Korean+)	Korean, Diverse	Korean, Diverse
6:30 – 8:30	<i>Main activity</i> TKD <sup>(2)</sup> / Home	TKD/ Home	Home	TKD/ Home	Home	Home/ Varies	Home/ Varies
	<i>Language use</i> English	English	English	English	English	English	English
	<i>Ethnic group</i> Diverse (TKD)	Diverse (TKD)	Korean	Diverse (TKD)	Korean	Korean, Diverse	Korean, Diverse

Notes: (1) A-Church = American church

(2) K-Church = Korean church

(3) TKD = Tae-kwan-do (Korean martial art)

As seen in Tables 3 and 4, Bin's daily activities and routine are very different from Jin's. These tables show the environments in which the children grow, learn, play, and function on a daily basis. They also reflect the parents' goals for their children's education in general and their beliefs about language education in specific. Bin and Jin went to kindergarten in the morning. Bin's kindergarten was a white-dominant private Catholic school. Jin's kindergarten was a diverse public school close to his mother's workplace. Jin took after-school programs offered daily by the YMCA. He also took Tae-kwan-do classes three times a week in the evening and basketball classes every Saturday morning. The reason why he started doing Tae-kwan-do is that his mother wanted to motivate him to take Korean classes. The mother said,

*JM:* They just started Tae-kwan-do. They love it. There is more interest than learning Korean. Hopely, they learn Korean there. The master, he incorporates a lot of Korean. I feel like it will reinforce some Korean vocabulary, maybe provide more motivation to learn Korean. That's my hope.

The mother's comment shows that the parent-child relationship becomes bidirectional as children grow up. Hence, communication between parent and child is crucial achieving mutual understanding for their plans (Ainsworth, 1989). Although parents want to teach their children their HL, children may not want to learn the language. Therefore, parents need to make an effort to keep their children interested in the language as Jin's mother did. She wishes Tae-kwan-do would help him become interested in the Korean culture and language.

Bin's after-school programs are various and are specifically arts-based: painting, swimming, piano, ballet, choir, and violin. Jin does not have any activity offered by the Korean community except for Korean language lessons, whereas Bin goes to Korean church every Sunday and takes a child bible class with other Korean children once a week in church, speaking both English and Korean. In contrast with Jin's family, Bin's parents and grandparents actively

engaged in the Korean community through a Korean church every week so Bin played with friends of her own ethnic group, speaking Korean.

## **Theme 2. The Amount of Heritage Language Input to Children**

Children receive HL input from various places, persons, and forms. Young children learn their HL via talking with their parents, watching YouTube videos, reading books in the HL, participating in the ethnic community, or going to a HL school. Some children may receive ample input from multiple resources and some children may not. As a consequence of different amounts of input children receive, children reveal different HL outcomes. According to Valdés (2000), HL outcomes of second and third generations are closely related to use of the HL at home. In the study, the children in the focal families had received different amounts of input in their HL. Jin had received less language input than Bin and moreover, most of his input came from HL school settings. Due to insufficient language input, Jin barely spoke and understood his HL. In contrast, Bin had received ample, multiple points of input from many heritage speakers as well as parents and grandparents. The amount of input in the HL is due to the difference in parents' involvement in HL education. The parents who wanted the best for their children allocated their efforts and money to different areas for their children and managed their children's environment such as home language and daily routines. Based on their beliefs and values, they implemented different strategies to facilitate their children's heritage learning. In the next section, this study presents how parents managed to create opportunities for their children to learn the HL in detail.

**Home language and literacy environment.** Language development of young children is hugely affected by the interaction between parent-child and child-child activities occurring in their daily lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1998). Studies (Houwer, 2007; Mu & Dooley, 2015) have also

supported that parents' input, especially the mother's language, are crucial for children's HL. Bin and Jin had lived in very different language and literacy environments. As mentioned earlier, HL input Jin had received came mostly from his heritage classes as his mother spoke exclusively in English at home and his grandfather did not talk to him in Korean, either. He barely heard and used Korean outside the home as well as in the home as his mother did not engage in the Korean community.

In contrast with Jin, Bin heard and spoke Korean every day, visited her heritage country every year, and lived with Korean-dominant grandparents under one roof. When her family stayed in Korea for one or two months, Bin was fully immersed into Korean. Her grandparents played a crucial role in Bin's HL acquisition. Bin's grandparents commented,

**BGM:** We read aloud to my grandkids and talked a lot with her. Bin loves to read books with us. If she doesn't like it, we wouldn't do that. But, she really likes it. She sits beside us and listens to our reading quietly for hours. We read a line and she repeats the line back to us. If we just read to her, she doesn't like it. She wants an eco-reading. Her grandfather has never said no to her when she asks him to read to her.

**BGF:** We have about 200 Korean books. She brings 3 or 4 books to me before bed. She always chooses long books. She said to me that she could get to sleep if I read to her. After reading, she retells the story to her parents.

Her grandparents were a good language teacher for her. They scaffolded Bin's reading, by modeling out loud for Bin and also teaching new vocabulary and pronunciation. Importantly, they did not force her to practice reading. As Bin wanted to read with her grandparents, they provided the home environment in which she could enjoy reading. This reflects the close relationship between grandparents and the child. Bin's and Jin's mothers commented on the importance of grandparents' engagement in their children's HL education.

**BM:** Many children live with only their parents. Bin is living with four adults and she definitely has more exposure to Korean. We are sometimes too tired after work. When we are too tired to converse with my children, Bin goes to grandparents and asks them to read books for her. She used to watch the Korean TV with them. She loves it.

She loves her grandparents. My children know that they must speak to grandparents in Korean to meet their needs when we are not present.

**BGF:** If we're not living with Bin, she may not want to learn Korean. We know that once I start to speak more English to them, their Korean will be lost. Her parents speak English very well. She knows that we can't speak English. Bin already said to her younger brother, "You shouldn't speak to grandma and grandpa in English."

**BGM:** If we start speaking English, they would never learn Korean. We have never thought of using English as our English is not so good. We just speak to them in Korean. If they don't understand our Korean, they will handle it. They can also ask us. If we don't do so, they can't get a Korean identity. We should teach them how good Korean language and culture are. That's important. We don't set up the time for it or think of it consciously. Whenever we get an opportunity, we do so naturally. It's part of our daily lives.

**JM:** If my dad is around, or my mom or someone else speaks Korean all the time and lives with us and they use Korean with Jin, he must have more exposure and practices. But, it's all on me. It's really hard because when I'm so busy with other things, I forgot. It's just easier to speak in English.

As seen above, grandparents can be of great help if they live with the family, in terms of language maintenance. Especially when non-English speaking grandparents babysit their grandchildren for their working parents, children may naturally learn and use their HL as well as developing a strong attachment to their grandparents. If they, like Bin's grandparents, speak to them only in Korean by choice or by chance, their grandchildren have to learn and speak Korean to communicate with them. Bin's grandfather believed that this uncertainty and ambiguity drove them to learn Korean. They also felt a great responsibility for the development of HL of their grandchildren in comparison with Jin's grandfather who lived apart from Jin's family and hence, he respected Jin's mother's language parenting rather than offering opinions about Jin's Korean education.

In terms of home literacy environment, Bin's mother reported that Bin had about 200 Korean books and about 100 English books. Her grandparents read Korean books to her for 30 minutes every day and the mother read English books to her for 15 minutes every day and Korean books for 10 minutes every two or three days. As she always brought Korean books to

her, Bin had to read one English book with the mother every time they read one Korean book together. In comparison with Bin, Jin had about 170 English books and about 30 Korean books. She read English books to Jin for 15 or 20 minutes every day, but not Korean book.

**Explicit Language Teaching at Home (Homework).** Many parents involves in their children's education by helping them with homework. Homework from the Korean HL school can be a good chance to practice Korean at home depending on how the family helps young children with their homework. Jin's mother commented on his HL school and her help with homework:

It (NKLS) is basically two hours of the Korean immersion. All in Korean, the teacher speaks in Korean for two hours. There are classmates, speaking in English, which is good.... Usually we would spend two nights on his homework to finish up. For Aria (Jin's sister), we should spend two or three nights, but she gives it to me at the last minute. She had to read a page three times during the week. We did it last night. We were supposed to spread it out. It would be more effective if we just read it every night. We did it more than three times. But it's really hard to pack it in especially since we just started doing Tae-kwan-do, too. Our schedule is so packed. It's hard to manage all the stuff. But, I just want them to have that exposure. I don't expect them to become fluent in Korean.

In terms of HL teaching at home, parent involvement has been perceived as one of the most influential factors promoting their children's HL outcomes. It was common that mothers of the focal children regularly had helped their children with Korean homework. However, the language each mother used during homework time was different from each other. The following examples are extracts of the conversations between mother and child during Korean homework time.

**Extract 1. Bin**

1. M: 그다음. 이거 뭐예요?

*Next. What is this?*

2. B: 'ㅂ (비읍)

*[B-up]*

3. M: 그렇지. 'ㅂ (비읍) 에' | (이)'붙으면 뭐야?

*That's correct. How 'ㅂ [B-up]' + ' / [ee]'?*

4. B: '비'  
*[bi]*
5. M: 그렇지. '비'는 뭐예요? 뭐가 있을까?  
*That's right. What is 'ㅂ/[bi]'? What words start with '[bi]'?*
6. B: 'B'  
*B*
7. M: 내리는 '비'  
*Falling rain*
8. B: I SAY, 'B'야. ABC  
*I SAY, 'B'. ABC*
9. M: 아, 그것도 '비'가 될 수 있어. 근데, 내리는 '비' 있지. '눈비' 할때, '비' 가 이렇게 쓰는거지.  
*Ah, that's right. It can be 'ㅂ/[bi]', but I say falling rain. When we say about rain and snow, that's 'ㅂ/[bi].' You can write it like this.*
10. B: 응.  
*I see.*
11. M: 써봐. 이빈아, 이것도 써야 돼. 'ㄷ' 예쁘게.  
*Bin, write this. This one, too. Write 'ㄷ' beautifully.*
12. B: 이거 내이름에 있잖아.  
*My name has this letter.*
13. M: 아, 그렇네. 빈이 이름쓸때 있네. 거기다 'ㄴ (니은)'만 붙이면 '빈' 이지.  
*That's right. When you write your name '빈/[bin]', you just add 'ㄴ [n]'.*

### **Extract 2. Jin**

1. Mother (M): What's the first sound of this word?
2. Jin: "나"
3. M: "나팔" trumpet, "나팔"
4. Jin: "나팔"
5. M: Okay.
6. M: This one is?
7. Jin: "나감"
8. M: "나무"
9. Jin: "나무"

10. M: Oh, good! You're recognizing "가" and "나." Color the 나팔. 노랑색.
11. Jin: 노랑색.
12. M: It means yellow color.
13. Jin: (coloring a trumpet) What about pink?
14. M: Pink.
15. Jin: pink? Are you learning?
16. M: yeah, I'm learning some Korean, too.
17. Jin: like me and 누나 (sister)?
18. M: I didn't know 가지. I know everything else here except 가지.
19. Jin: Are you learning from me and 누나?
20. M: Yeah, most from you.
21. Jin: Why?
22. M: Because all the vocabularies in the pictures. What color is the 나무?
23. Jin: 나무(tree)? I need brown and green. (coloring the picture of 나무)

Both Bin and Jin are learning basic combinations of Korean consonants and vowels. The difference is the language of instruction. Bin's mother is helping her homework in Korean, whereas Jin's mother is doing the same thing in Korean. As a result, Jin had less input in Korean than Bin.

As an emergent bilingual child, Bin shows a tendency to connect Korean and English in Turns 8 and 12. She first found that two letters, 비 [bi]' and 'B', in different languages have the same pronunciation. In Turn 12, She also finds the sound '비 [bi]' in her name '빈' written in Korean which is sounded [bin]. In the conversation between Jin and his mother, Jin is curious about the color names in Korean. He wanted to expand the topic of the lesson, so Jin asks her about a Korean equivalent for 'pink' in Turn 14. The right answer is '분홍색' but she says to him 'pink.' Jin's response is very interesting. As he feels that his mother does not know the answer, he asks her if she is learning Korean like him (Turn 15) and she accepts it. In Turn 18, she also does not know the meaning of 가지 (eggplant). These occasions shows her lack of Korean

vocabulary. She might be embarrassed with the fact that she did not have much Korean vocabulary. This influenced her confidence in speaking to her children in Korean and she became unwilling to use Korean in the home on a daily basis.

**Parental Expectation.** As seen in Bin and Jin, community-based HL schools have been noted as one of the most common strategies that parents consider for their children's HL education. Both parents sent their children to HL school, but there is the difference in the home environment between Bin and Jin. Unlike Jin's family, Bin's family had offered ample environmental resources which enabled her to speak and understand well enough in order to do well in her Korean HL school. This gave her high levels of self-esteem and confidence in her Korean skills. Further, Bin's parents had actively engaged in the Korean community, so Bin had more opportunities to hear and use Korean outside the home than Jin whose mother was distant from the Korean community. Bin's parents had a high expectation about Bin's Korean proficiency, that is, she should have a writing proficiency, including speaking and reading equivalent to that of an educated native speaker, whereas Jin's mother wanted the children to have exposure to Korean language and culture. She believed that they might be able to speak and read Korean in the long term. In terms of language, her expectation for her children was not language-specific. She wanted her children to "love learning languages", and "enjoy diverse cultures." Jin's mother answered to the question about her expectation about Jin's Korean level:

**BM:** I have a really high expectation about Korean proficiency for my children. Now, they are too young, but I will push them to study it hard. Both writing and speaking in Korean are very important. We can communicate with other even if we don't speak Korean fluently. But, in terms of writing, we should learn and practice it very hard.

**JM:** Just exposure. I just want them to be familiar with that culture. I want them to know some very basic commands and vocabulary... . It's gonna be speaking part. But, that's really hard because they don't have that practice. If they have interest in it, it will come when the time is ready.

These differences between two families yielded different levels of HL proficiency and different attitudes towards the Korean language learning in children. Bin liked to go to Korean language school, whereas Jin did not enjoying learning Korean in Korean language school. Jin's mother said:

They (Jin and his sister) both are not motivated to go to the Korean school. The big part is because of in-Korean only. I don't think that's helpful to children who come from the home situation where they speak English at home. They only speak in English at home and that's what I'm comfortable speaking with them. It takes too much effort to speak in Korean. So, when they go to the Korean school, they're only in less than two hours. They're lost. I'm not trying to continue to go to the Korean school next school year. It's their second year and I think we gave it a good try and the kids don't seem that they really don't want to keep going. I don't know how much they're really getting from the Korean school.

As his mother points out, Jin's negative attitude toward the Korean language school may be based on his frustration caused by his lack of Korean language proficiency rather than his disliking the Korean language and culture given that he enjoyed doing his Korean homework with his mother who helped him in English. By using English instead of Korean, his mother changed Korean homework from indecipherable codes to comprehensible literacy input to him.

### **Summary**

The point of this chapter is to provide ethnographic evidences supporting multiple agents engaged in children's HL maintenance in families, mediating invisibly parents' decisions. The chapter highlights the agentive parents in forming language policies for their families, in particular, the close relationship between parental language ideology or beliefs and family language policy in the maintenance and development of HL of young children addressed in Chapter 5. One of the most significant findings is that parents' perceptions of social status of their HL had the most influence on family language policies and language practices of the focal families. Bin's parents had high expectations for their children's Korean literacy unlike Jin's

mother. Bin believed that Korean has the economic value like English, so Korean reading and writing skills are as important as speaking skills whereas Jin's mother did not see any necessity of Korean literacy skills in the United States. Jin's mother believed that English has more socioeconomic power and authority than minority languages including Korean. Also, there was a discrepancy between what parents wanted to do and what they actually did for their children's HL acquisition. Jin's mother knew what she was supposed to do for language maintenance, but she did not actually practice it in her daily life due to their circumstantial difficulties.

The parents invested in the HL maintenance because of the following benefits: (1) building deep connections with their children, (2) promoting their children's self-esteem and cultural identity, (3) producing academic and economic benefits to their children (i.e, thinking skills, being more competitive in the labor market). Practicing their own heritage culture helps young children to promote positive attitudes toward their heritage culture. In comparing the two families in terms of language practices, Jin had much less input in Korean from his family than Bin. Although his family had appreciated Korean material culture such as Korean foods and Korean dramas, their daily conversation is in English and as a result, English dominated his family life. Although Jin's mother had cultural knowledge regarding Korean norms and values, she did not translate this knowledge into daily practices or transmit it to the children as she felt more comfortable about the American cultural values than the Korean ones.

In terms of cultural learning, family eating was one of the common routines for the focal families to communicate and connect with each other and build unity in the family. Korean cultural practices reinforced family bonds in harmony with public life outside of the home. Cultural practices like family meal times in this study, are good opportunities for young children to learn their own cultural norms and values by enjoying cultural activities and ceremonies.

Cultural practice was the best way to imbue ethnic spirit into young children and build a sense of cultural identity as well as learning Korean. In comparing the focal families, Bin's parents explicitly taught cultural norms and values in their HL as Jin's parent did the same but in English.

It was notable that HL teaching by the parents had occurred in both explicit and implicit ways. In most times, Bin had learned Korean through everyday talk with her parents and grandparents on a daily basis. Learning and teaching were invisible on the surface level in these settings and she had acquired her HL implicitly through daily interactions with her family members in the home. During the conversations, her parents and grandparents did not usually correct her linguistic errors and instead, they focused on the content of her speech rather than its form. They retold or recast her ambiguous or incorrect words when they did not understand her or when they taught her the honorific rules. In terms of Korean literacy, they taught her Korean literacy in explicit ways especially when they helped her with her Korean homework. In the case of Jin, his HL learning had happened only through formal lessons in English at home and in Korean in Korean language school.

I argue that children must have a routine time and the ideological and implementational spaces (Hornberger, 2002) to hear, speak, and connect with their parents in their HL. Family mealtimes were a safe space for children to nurture their family identity and a sense of belonging to their family and community. The findings from this research support that parents' Korean use with their children and their high expectations for their children's Korean literacy promote the possibility for the intergenerational transmission of the Korean language. Also, enrollment in a Korean school and parents' consistency in Korean use at home influence the children's perception of the importance of their HL. Also, the results showed that children were motivated

to learn their HL when they felt strong affective attachment to their non-English speaking family members such as parents and grandparents.

### **Families' Life Courses and Language Policies**

The focal parents in the study had expressed multiple layers of language ideology regarding their HL: Korean as connection, Korean as culture, Korean as capital. Findings reveal that parents' language ideologies or beliefs were shaped by and also shaped families' life courses, that is, the sociocultural environment in which their home environment was nested. The parents did not simply act as *receivers* (Johnson, 2013) who assimilated to *linguistic culture* and implemented macro-level language policies in their children's education. Based on their interpretation and understandings of such culture and policies, they made choices for language use for their children's HL acquisition and took actions regarding their children's HL education. Parents' language ideologies and families' life courses intersect in this process.

According to Dorner (2012), "families' life courses affect the ways that they interpret and make decisions about educational policies and related programs" (p. 462). Two important components of life course include "the historical time and place in which people live and the developmental timing of particular events, or the impact of one's age and generational status during those events" (p. 462). When the focal parents formed language policies for their families, they first interpreted language policies at the macro level and appropriate them at the micro level. In the study, families' unique life courses shaped their decisions (not) to use the HL (or English) at home or enroll their children in particular HL programs and in turn, it shapes children's developmental pathways of learning their HL and their HL outcomes.

Although both focal parents had similar language beliefs about their HL and motivation to learn and maintain their HL, their choices for HL use at home and their actual commitment to

maintain their children's HL were made in accordance with their changing familial and social contexts in which families are situated. Given lack of language input in and home HL exposure, many parents who were successfully taught their children their HL relied on HL-dominant speaking grandparents and transnational trips, and rarely a native HL-speaking nanny to provide HL language exposure. In the family interviews, grandparents also expressed their multiple language ideologies similar to the focal parents. Grandparents who showed strong commitment to their grandchildren's HL maintenance and actively engaged in promoting the HL use of their grandchildren were likely to view their HL as a resource and a relationship. The focal parents made choices for their home language use that influenced the children's HL proficiency in accordance with familial resources available to them like HL-speaking grandparents living with the families. Based on the findings from the study, I argue that not only parents, but also other family members—grandparents, siblings, family members in their native country—have agency to mediate children's HL acquisition and socialization.

## Chapter 6

### Findings from the Korean Heritage Schools of the Focal Children

#### Introduction

HL schools have a long tradition within the United States for over the last two hundred years and emerged within various ethnic communities to maintain language and culture (Crawford, 2004). Shibata (2000) posits that weekend schools are “one of the most effective ways to teach children a HL since parent s' efforts, patience, and resources are limited” (p. 465). The reason for the popularity of community-based HL schools among minority parents is that children learn their HL and culture; practice the HL with other co-ethnic peers; develop ethnic identity, and form co-ethnic friendships (Shibata, 2000). HL schools are the ideological and implementational spaces for children to share what they experience, see, hear, read, and do with other heritage speakers through the HL.

Despite the popularity of HL programs among linguistic minority families, little research has been done on teaching and learning the HL in heritage language schools, in particular, the agency of teachers and children. Children’s learning experiences in HL schools should be examined to understand the interdependence between home and HL school and children’s agency in their HL socialization and learning. In this study, all of the parents except for one second-generation parent had enrolled their children in HL programs at the time of the interviews. I investigated how HL teachers’ language ideologies and their communicative interaction with children mediates teaching, learning, and HL acquisition in HL classes through classroom observations, interviews with teachers, teaching materials (worksheets, handouts, homework), and audio recording of classroom activities.

I chose Bada Korean language school (BKLS) and Nara Korean language school (NKLS) because Mina and Amy who participated in the second phase of the study enrolled their children in these schools and many parents participating in this study also sent their children to these schools. Bin's teacher was Ms. Park at BKLS and Jin's teacher was Ms. Lee at NKLS. My main focus of observations was on communicative interaction between teachers and children and linguistic and cultural practices which the children were exposed in those schools. BKLS and NKLS were weekend Korean HL schools at Korean churches located in California. The primary data in this study were collected through formal and informal (multiple) teacher interviews regarding teachers' language ideologies in general and their instructional practices and perspectives on HL maintenance in particular. Weekly classroom observations were conducted in Ms. Park's (2 hours on Saturdays) and Ms. Lee's (3 hours on Fridays) classes for about 10 weeks.

In what follows, I begin with a brief overview of Korean language education in the United States and then describe the context of BKLS and NKLS and the characteristics of instructional practices operated by the two Korean HL teachers. I then analyze the classroom interactions between teachers and children and between children in HL classes, and teachers' perspectives on the teaching and maintenance of HLs. By doing so, I elucidate in what ways HL schools contribute to language maintenance and how children with different linguistic backgrounds mediate the process of teaching and learning the HL in HL classes. I highlight the ways that teachers and students engage in discursive processes through their spontaneous talk which contribute to cultivating their cultural values and identities and emphasize the emergent process in which students cognitively make a connection between Korean and English and expand their repertoires (Durgunoglu & Oney, 2000; Hakuta & Diaz, 1985). More importantly,

this chapter addresses the mediating role of multiple agents, in particular, HL teachers, co-ethnic peers, and the focal children in the process of teaching and learning the HL to maintain the HL.

### **Korean Heritage Language Education in the United States**

There is a huge diversity among HL learners in terms of their linguistic knowledge and their experiences regarding HLs. According to Valdés (2001), HL students speak or at least understand the HL even though they have limited or no literacy skills. However, Leeman and King (2015) broadly define HL learner as one who has “a familial, ethnic, or identity connection to the HL (independent of linguistic ability)” (p. 213). Based on these definitions, Korean HL learners refer to “those who have an ethnolinguistic affiliation to the Korean heritage, but may have a broad range of proficiency from high to none in Korean oral or literacy skills” (Lee & Shin, 2008, p. 134).

HL learners’ linguistic backgrounds, familial language (Leeman & King, 2015), life history and circumstances, and motivations to learn Korean (Lee & Shin, 2008) are varied widely. Most of Korean learners, especially children of immigrants, in the United States have some degree of linguistic competence in the Korean language because they grow up communicating with their Korean-dominant parents. However, an increasing number of Korean language learners are raised up in the home where Korean is not spoken on a daily basis. A majority of first-generation Americans speak almost exclusively Korean when they talk to their children, whereas second-generation Korean Americans speak predominantly English in everyday life (Danico, 2004). Given such a wide variation among Korean HL learners, they may have linguistic, social, and emotional needs different from foreign language learners.

It is also important to consider great variation in “heritage language educational experiences, availability of heritage language reading materials, and opportunities for heritage

language use” (Leeman & King, 2015, p. 213). In the English-dominant context, HL programs are found in the secondary and college/university foreign language settings. For instance, approximately 90% of students in college-level Korean language courses are heritage speakers (Lee & Shin, 2008). Compared with dual-language and foreign language education programs, HL teaching takes place in many different instructional settings. HL classes are held in the evening or on weekends for a few hours after normal school hours and include linguistic and cultural content. Therefore, community-based HL schools “complement rather than replace the students’ regular education in English” (Leeman & King, 2015, p. 212).

Korean American children have less opportunity to develop Korean proficiency in the public school settings. KL classes are typically found in foreign language instruction for the first time at the university level (Lee & Shin, 2008). Surprisingly, 90% of students enrolled in college-level KL course are HL learners. KL education programs for children, however, are mostly community-based out-of-school programs (afterschool programs, weekly programs). These programs are operated by Korean Christian churches because the churches already have resources necessary to start new Korean HL classes, strengthen unity of the Korean community, and pass down Korean culture to younger generations. Teachers and teacher assistants are volunteers from the Korean community and many of them are parent volunteers. Korean Christian churches are perceived as a center of the Korean community for worship and other secular socialization activities. They preserve not only Korean HL, but also Korean cultural traditions, ethnic markers, and values central to Korean identity (Min, 2005). Surprisingly, about 60,000 students attend approximately 1,200 Korean HL schools in the United States (Lee & Shin, 2008). Los Angeles and New York are ranked as the first and second regions respectively in

terms of the number of enrolled students. There are about 260 schools around in Los Angeles and about 210 in New York.

Like other community-based HL schools (see Wu, Palmer, & Field, 2011), Korean HL schools have also faced internal challenges. For example, studies (Choi, 2016; Kim & Kim, 2016; Shin, 2005; Shin, 2015) have showed that Korean HL teachers undergo limited financial aid, lack of professional development opportunities for teachers, a shortage of teaching materials, a sense of isolation from mainstream education, low self-efficacy, a high teacher turnover; a shortage of qualified and experienced teacher, and a lack of creative and interesting lessons. These external and internal issues have influenced children's attitudes toward HL learning. Cho (2000) and Lee (2002) indicate that students' HL proficiency is not meaningfully related to HL school attendance and students show the lack of motivation to go to Korean HL school after the normal school time.

#### **Bada and Nabi Korean Language Schools**

Bada KL school (BKLS) and Nabi KL school (NKLS) are weekend Korean HL schools. BKLS and NKLS were established in 2011 and 1984 respectively. Both schools are organizationally and financially governed by local Korean churches. Teachers, however, have the freedom to design curriculum for their classes. Teachers of both schools are staffed by parents of the students or volunteers from the Korean community. Parent volunteers provided various kinds of community services such as supporting school events and sharing their skills with schools. Both schools have similar educational objectives: They provide Korean language education and cultural enrichment to children so that they can preserve and appreciate Korean heritage. Each language program aims for promoting cultural pluralism and positive ethnic identities. Teachers place students based on an informal interview and the students' previous

training in Korean characters. Graduation between the levels is determined on discussions between parent and teacher based on the results of children's assessment.

BKLS and NKLS are different from each other in terms of the number of students, class time, and family backgrounds, although they are within the same city vicinity. Learners in both schools take only two classes at a time. Each class is scheduled for a 50- to 55-minute period and there is a 20-minute snack/break time between classes. As for the student enrollment and class time, BKLS has approximately 100 students aged from 3 to 12 or 13 and NKLS has about 30 students aged from 3 to 11. Both schools have classes for preK—8 graders. BKLS meets Saturdays from 9:30 am to 12:30, including 30 minutes for optional club activities (art, math, Tae-kwan-do, table tennis, Korean SAT, basketball). The school provides a five-leveled Korean language course according to learners' age and Korean proficiency: Introduction to Korean, Kindergarten I/II/III, Basic I/II, Beginner I/II/III, Intermediate I/II/III. It also offers one preliminary class only for English-dominant children. There are approximately six students in each class.

In comparison with BKLS, NKLS is held on Fridays from 4:30 pm to 6:30 pm. The school does not offer any extracurricular programs and any special class for monolingual English speaking children. The school also provides a five-leveled course according to learners' age and Korean proficiency: Red, Orange I and II, Yellow, Green, Blue. Color names represent the level of Korean proficiency. Red is the lowest level for very young children and Blue is the highest level for older children and adolescents. In terms of family background, most of the parents in BKLS are first-generation immigrants and thus, they communicate with each other in Korean at school. As they are members of the Korean church which govern BKLS, they are actively involved in the Korean community. In contrast, many parents in NKLS are second-generation

and thus, they are relatively distant from the Korean community. As English is their primary language, they usually speak in English at school unless they talk with those who do not understand English at all.

### **Classroom Context: Teachers and Students**

As mentioned earlier, Mr. Park is Bin's teacher at BKLS and Mr. Lee is Jin's teacher at NKLS. Table 1 and 2 provide background information of the teachers and children. This information will help you contextualize their statements. Table 1 summarizes the teachers' demographic backgrounds including their linguistic backgrounds.

**Table 9. Demographic Characteristics of Teachers**

	<b>Ms. Park at Bada KLS (<i>n</i>=100)<sup>(1)</sup></b>	<b>Ms. Lee at Nabi KLS (<i>n</i>=30)</b>
Gender	Female	Female
Age	Late 30s	Middle 30s
Country of origin	Korea	Korea
Age (Years) at migration	Early 30s	Early 30s
Education	Completed college	Completed college
Race of spouse	Korean	Korean
Number of children	1	1
First language	Korean	Korean
Primary language	Korean	Korean
Home language	Korean	Korean
Classroom language	Korean	Korean
Years of teaching Korean in U.S.	6	4
Prior to entering the Korean school in U.S.	Tutor at a large tutoring company in Korea	Care staff at an orphanage in Korea
Class level	Pre-k Basic level	Pre-k Basic level

Notes: <sup>(1)</sup> Approximate number of students enrolled

Both teachers are in their 30s and came into the United States with their husband from Korea when they were about 30 years old. They both have one child and graduated college. Their primary language at home and in the classroom is Korean. Ms. Park and Ms. Lee had been teaching Korean to young children aged between three and six years in the United States for four or five years. As seen in Table 1, they have very different life experiences in Korea before teaching Korean in the United States. Ms. Park has 10 years of experience as a Tutor at a large tutoring company in Korea, whereas Ms. Lee worked as a direct care staff at a Korean orphanage for most of her career although she had some private tutoring experience. Their teaching experiences in Korea prior to migration and life experiences they had as a teacher and a parent in the United States had constantly shaped and reshaped their Korean instruction in the Korean schools.

Table 2 shows that Ms. Park's students and Ms. Lee's students have very different demographic and linguistic backgrounds which influence their learning Korean in the classroom. Ms. Park has seven students aged four to five years and Ms. Lee has eight students aged three to five years respectively in their classes. Only child, Bin, is in kindergarten in Ms. Park's classroom, whereas three children, including Jin, are in T-K or Kindergarten in Ms. Lee's classroom. In terms of parental ethnicity, every student has at least one parent who speaks and understands Korean. All parents of Ms. Park's students are Korean-born first-generations, whereas those of Ms. Lee's students were Korean-born first generations or U.S.-born second-generations. In particular, half of the children in Ms. Lee's classroom had non-Korean fathers: Two Whites, one Chinese, one Mexican. The rest of them had both Korean parents. All the children in the study except for four monolingual English-speaking children spoke with at least one parent in Korean at home. All children in Ms. Park's classroom spoke with their parents in

Korean at home and they all were emergent bilinguals, whereas only two children spoke exclusively Korean at home. Among Ms. Lee's students, only two children spoke with her parents exclusively in Korean in the home.

**Table 10. Demographic Characteristics of Students**

	<i>Ms. Park's class</i>	<i>Ms. Lee's class</i>
	BKLS <sup>(1)</sup>	NKLS
School	(approximately n=100)	(approximately n=30)
Gender		
Girl	4	5
Boy	3	3
Age (Years) Range	4 to 5	3 to 5
<5	6	5
≥5	1	3
Mother's ethnicity		
Korean.	7	8
Non-Korean	0	0
Father's ethnicity		
Korean	7	4
Non-Korean	0	4
Home language		
Korean	6	2
English	0	4
Both	1	2
Number of students with siblings	7	5
NR <sup>(2)</sup>	-	3
Number of teacher assistants	1	2

Notes: <sup>(1)</sup> BKLS = Bada Korean Language School, <sup>(2)</sup> NR = no response/missing data

### **The Layout of the Classrooms**

The teachers' classroom sizes were very different from each other. Ms. Lee's classroom was approximately three times as big as Ms. Park's. Ms. Lee's classroom looked very similar to a regular kindergarten classroom in the United States. To make her classroom feel warm and inviting, Ms. Lee decorated the classroom with various themes. She, for instance, decorated her

classroom with colored leaves and pumpkins for fall, snowflakes for winter. She prepared school supply boxes on the desks for her students to use them without asking her permission. The posters of the Korean alphabet were hung on the wall of the classroom. A small-medium size screen is located on the back wall of the classroom. The shelves in the classroom were filled with many children's toys and Korean and English storybooks. The students were usually interested in toys rather than the books. They played with toys at the back or just jumped around the classroom during the snack time. The classroom had an attached restroom with a child-size toilet and sinks. The students' desks were pushed together so every desk was facing another one. The teacher's desk was put on the end of the group of eight. Her students sat in desks, facing one another. They constantly turned their heads or their chairs to the right or left to see the teacher or the white board.

In comparison with Ms. Lee's classroom, Ms. Park's classroom looked much calmer. There was no furniture or decoration in her classroom except for a white board and one small group table and chairs for group instruction. A kidney table with seven child-size chairs was in the center of the classroom and extra chairs were piled up in a corner for visitors. There is not much room for children to move around the classroom. During the snack time, all students at BKLS ate and shared meals together in the church cafeteria near the classroom, where those at NKLS ate meals in their own classroom. On the wall behind her was a whiteboard. The classroom has a window into the hallway for parents and visitors to watch children in class. Ms. Park and her seven students sat around the kidney table. She sat at the center of the table, facing the students. This seating arrangement seems to facilitate free discussion, allows her to monitor student work, and ensure the clear visibility for every student and the teacher. Interestingly, both Ms. Lee and Ms. Park do not move much. Due to the class size, they usually stand up and move

slightly in order to write on the whiteboard or to gesture at it. During individual work, the teachers and the teacher assistants circulate to monitor student learning and individually help the students who need help.

### **Instructional Focus and Practice**

Ms. Park and Ms. Lee spoke mainly Korean in their classes and encouraged their students to speak only in Korean. In Ms. Park's classroom, a medium of instruction and communication was Korean. In Ms. Lee's classroom, Korean was the language of instruction, but a medium of communication between children was English. Both teachers had used audio lingual techniques (oral drills, repetition), songs, and storybook reading for a whole class. Teachers' instructional practices varied according to the teacher's beliefs about teaching and learning.

Not surprisingly, students' HL proficiency restricts or expands peer interactions. The lower Korean proficiency the student had, the more the teacher dominated the class discussion. Ms. Lee always included at least one or two task-based activities into the class (i.e., creating arts and crafts), but students' spontaneous interaction and initiation were limited. This can be, in part, attributed to lack of students' Korean proficiency. English-speaking children acknowledged that English was not the legitimate language in Korean school and hence, they did not speak up or communicate with their peers in English during the class time. As a result, the teacher dominated the class discussions and the class became teacher-centered.

In comparison with Ms. Lee, Ms. Park's class activities were more likely to be teacher-centered (e.g., tracing letters, practicing Korean letters with worksheets). However, spontaneous, impetuous, and unplanned talks took place more often during class. This might be not only because Ms. Park constantly improvised her classes according to her students' responses to her questions, but also because the students had oral skills to express their emotions and needs in

Korean which was the legitimate language in the classroom. All students in the study could communicate with peers in English. However, the students in Ms. Park usually spoke with each other in Korean, whereas those in Ms. Lee spoke with each other in English. Unlike Ms. Park's students, for most of Ms. Lee's students except for two students, English tended to be their first language.

**Bin's teacher, Ms. Park.** She stressed that the objectives of Korean HL education are to develop a positive ethnic identity and foster Korean cultural values (e.g., respect elders) in young Korean Americans. The focus of her instruction was on mastery of the Korean Alphabet so that all students can read and write the Korean alphabet and words in a year. Mr. Park commented:

In the first semester, students learn Korean vowels and consonants and then, in the second semester, they learn the consonant-vowel combination. I know my son's teacher assesses how well students read and write Korean, but my students are too young to take a test. Instead, I observe and document students' learning. I also check their homework. By doing so, I can see if they're learning, if they write the Korean letters correctly in the stroke order rule, if they recognize the letters, if they trace them well, speak Korean well. I keep records of student learning process. Based on that, I choose a student of the month.

Her class routine was composed of three steps. When the students arrived, they usually engaged in some kind of warm-up such as playing with Korean-English flash cards and composing words with Korean alphabet blocks until all students came in the class. In step one, she checked students' homework if they completed it in the correct way. In step two, she introduced new topics through whole class dialogue and looked through each page of that day's worksheets together with the students. In step three, every student worked on their worksheets independently and if they needed help, she and teacher assistants provided individual feedback on their work. She assigned approximately 30 minutes for full class instruction. For the rest of the class time, she and a parent assistant individually helped the students.

Every week, the students received worksheets used in the classroom and for homework which include tracing letters, coloring, puzzle (cut & paste), and simple math calculation. In her classes, students did a lot of letter tracing practice. Writing is body movement involving hand-eye coordination. It requires fine motor skills for children to hold a pencil and draw the lines straightly and cursively. Given their ages (four to five), writing well was not an easy task for such young children. As they did not have enough hand and finger strength, some students had difficulty in controlling their hands in order to write the Korean alphabet. Hence, they complained that their hands hurt when writing and in turn, they did not like to write.

Ms. Park believed that visual tracing and writing exercises would reinforce letter recognition. Students learned sounds and names of all the letters of the Korean alphabet and the correct stroke order by repeating stroke exercises and writing each letter properly with tracing letters worksheets. Ms. Park reported that her teaching also adapted and restructured her instructional practices in ways that make Korean lessons fun and enjoyable for U.S.-born students who were educated in English-speaking world.

They (Korean American students) are different from those in Korea. They are so tired of studying English. If we force them to correct every mistake they make, they feel overwhelmed and think “learning Korean is too hard and it’s not fun at all.” I know the stroke order rules are important, but learning Korean should be fun. I teach it to them, but I don’t think it’s a good idea to push them too hard. We need to have not only consistency, but also flexibility in teaching young children. It’s case by case.

As seen above, she acknowledged that she could not teach Korean American children as she taught Korean children in Korea. She emphasized consistency and flexibility: She was not only consistent the majority of the time, but also flexible enough to do things differently in certain situations, by negotiating instructional practices and language use according to students’ personality types and their Korean proficiency levels.

**Jin's teacher, Ms. Lee.** Mr. Lee stressed that learning Korean should be fun. Thus, the focus of her instruction was on students' engagement and their interest in learning Korean. She emphasized the importance of embodied (sensory and corporeal) experiences in child development. She said, "I learned this from books. Learning is intertwined to emotion, body, and brain. Children need to explore using all of their senses and experience everything with their bodies. They learn better through play, so I usually use games and quizzes to make learning fun." In her classes, she created a lot of hand-on activities, art, and crafts for her students who barely heard and spoke Korean in the home to enjoy learning Korean.

Children at higher grade level who are proficient in Korean would be okay to learn to read and write. But, young children and second generation children should first learn listening and speaking skills. My students learn Korean by experiencing Korean culture and foods. For example, we make Tteok-guk (Rice-cake soup), Sik-hye (sweat drink) and eat them together in Korean traditional holidays. If I am too strict and class is boring, they may not come to class. If they do neither like their teacher nor have any motivation to learn, they quit learning Korean. It's enough for me if they like coming to school and learning Korean.

In her comment, she emphasizes that parents need to help their child develop oral communicative skills at home before they send their child to the Korean language school. Children need to listen and talk before learning about the language formally. Hence, they first learn speaking before reading and writing. To motivate students to learn Korean, she included various cultural activities and tasks appropriate for children's developmental stages. The parents of the children also like her lessons. Lyn's mother commented,

My kids like the school. They don't complain, "I don't want to go." They had fun every time. . . . Lin loves that artifact. When they started to study about family, the teacher asked us to send family pictures to her. She printed out all the pictures of the students' families and then cut out all the faces and glued them on the tree. So kind! She did do that for every student.

Her class routine also consisted of three parts. Firstly, she gave instruction for a whole class using audiolingual methods. For example, she first introduced pictures and their names. She read the name and asked students to repeat after her. Secondly, the students and Ms. Lee played a matching game together which matched each picture with the correct name. Lastly, the teacher combines an art lesson with word recognition. For instance, when students learned the names of sea animals, every student made their own books. They glued the pictures of sea animals with their names onto pages for the submarine-shape book. After that, they played a magnetic fishing game together. The teacher puts sea animals in a container and a student who caught a picture of a sea animal from the container with a fishing pole had to speak its name out. Ms. Lee commented on her beliefs about teaching and learning language as follows.

I don't remember the book names, but I read books about parenting because of my daughter. I learned that the age of zero to three is the most critical period for a child's brain growth. I have seen many children in the school begin to learn Korean at the age of four or later, after the critical first three years. As for language learning, the earlier is the better. I include a lot of hand-on activities as children learn best by doing and experiencing through all of their senses.

As seen above, Ms. Lee relates language learning to child development. She believes that parents need to teach their children Korean before they send their children to the Korean language school. She believes that age matters in learning language and hence, children need to be exposed to Korean before they attend the Korean HL school.

In terms of oral language development, there was not much room for an authentic communication in Ms. Lee's classroom because Ms. Lee's students did not have an adequate level of oral proficiency for communication in Korean. Extract 3 shows an example of the class conversation which frequently occurred in Ms. Lee's classroom. Bolded alphabet letters in parenthesis stands for the IRF/IRE (Initiate-Response-Follow-up/Evaluate) sequence.

**Extract 3. Ms. Lee**

1. T: 저게 뭘까요? 이름을 말해보세요. 누가 해볼까? 미나? **(I)**  
*What is it? (pointing a picture on the whiteboard) Tell me its name. Who wants to try? Mina?*
2. Jane: 귀.**(R)**  
*Ear.*
3. T: 맞았어요. 귀. **(F)** 다같이 말해보세요. 귀! 나는 누구일까요? 손들어 보자. 진이? 누구? **(I)**  
*Correct. Ear. Say it together. Ear. Who am I? Raise your hand. Jin? Who?*
4. Jin: 할머니. **(R)**  
*Grandmother.*
5. T: 힌트 줄게요. **(F)** 손들어 보세요. 나는 누굴까요? 로이? **(I)**  
*I give you a clue. Raise your hand. "Who am I?" Loy?*
6. Loy: 누나. **(R)**  
*Sister.*
7. T: 누나. 맞았어요! 잘 했어요! **(E)**  
*Sister. Right! Good job!*

In Extract 3, Ms. Lee uses the IRF/IRE sequence which is perceived as the most common pattern of discussion between teachers and learners. In this sequence, the teacher initiates, the learner responds, and the teacher gives feedback. Communicative interactions in the class were limited as Ms. Lee determined who answers and what is discussed in the classroom. This sequence has been criticized as it constricts the learner's communicative skills and cognitive development (Waring, 2009).

In Turns 1 and 3, for example, Ms. Lee initiates the conversation with a factual question "what is it?" and she calls one or two students to answer. In Turns 2 and 4, Jang and Jin respond to the teacher's questions. In the classroom, Jin always spoke in English except for when he was called to answer as in Turn 4. Although he answered the question in Korean, this did not help him improve his linguistic and communicative skills in Korean because comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985) and output (Swain, 1985) in an IRF dialogue were very limited. In Turn 4, his answer was wrong, but Ms. Lee did not directly give him a right answer. Instead, she gives a

clue to the whole class. In Turns 3 and 7, the teacher gives feedback such as “Correct!” and “Good job!” on the student’s performance. The role of follow-up in her classes was to evaluate, whereas that in Ms. Lee’s classes was discursive (Cullen, 2002). Although this pattern ably develops meaningful communication in a controlled form (Waring, 2009), it did not happen in Ms. Lee’s classes due to learners’ low levels of proficiency in Korean.

Given the limitations of children’s oral Korean skills, Ms. Lee was more likely to use inference-based and factual questions which tested students’ understanding in a given topic, whereas Ms. Park was more likely to employ experience-based questions allowing students to engage in relevant and extended conversation (Gort, Pontier, & Sembiente, 2012). Ms. Park questioned to support students’ meaning-making. Unlike Ms. Lee’s students, her students tended to initiate conversations by asking questions, nominate topics of interest to them, and negotiate their meaning.

## **Results**

### **Korean as an Official Language in BKLS and NKLS**

Both BKLS and NKLS have a school policy regarding the use of language. Korean is the official language for communication and instruction in schools. Hence, all students should speak only Korean in schools. Although they talked to their teachers and younger students in Korean, I often saw older students communicating with each other in English outside the classroom during class recess. Extracts 4 - 7 illustrate teachers’ management of students’ use of English in the classroom.

#### ***Extract 4. Mr. Park***

1. Yeun: I CAN BE AT SUPERSPEED.
2. Woo: 한국말 해.  
*Speak Korean.*
3. Teacher (T): 한국학교에서 영어쓰면 안좋은 거야.

*It's not good to speak English in the Korean school.*

4. Sun: 영어는 영어 학교에서 써야해.

*Use English in English schools.*

***Extract 5. Mr. Park***

1. Yeun: I'M READY.
2. T: 다 썼어요. I'M READY 가 아니라.  
다 썼어요 (I'm done), *not I'M READY.*
3. Yeun: 다 썼어요.  
*I'm done.*

***Extract 6. Mr. Park***

1. T: 우리 정리하자.  
*Let's clean up.*
2. Hye: IT'S ALMOST TIME FOR HOME.
3. Yeun: THIS ONE?
4. T: 선생님이 'THIS ONE' 이라고 가르쳤어?  
*Did I teach you to say 'THIS ONE'?*
5. Yeun: 이거 뭐예요?  
*I-ge-mo-ye-yo (this one).*
6. T: 그치. 이거 뭐예요 해야지.  
*Right. You should say '이거 뭐예요 (I-ge-mo-ye-yo)'.*
7. Dae: TWENTY.
8. T: 이십해야지.  
*Say '이십 I-sip'.*
4. Dae: 이십.  
*I-sip (Twenty).*

***Extract 7. Mr. Park***

1. Yeun: CAN YOU PASS IT?
2. TA: 은아, 한국말 써야지, 한글학교와서는.  
*Yeun, speak in Korean when you're in the Korean school.*

As seen above, emergent bilingual children in Ms. Park's classroom occasionally switched languages from Korean to English. When they spoke English, Ms. Park reminded them that they should speak only Korean in class, by explicitly reminding them of 'Korean-only rule' with

value-laden words, ‘good, bad’ (Turn 3 in Extract 4), translating their English words into Korean for them (Turn 2 in Extract 5 and Turn 8 in Extract 6), and repeating their English words to make them correct it on their own (Turn 4 in Extract 6). In Turns 2 and 4 in Extract 4, Yeun is pressured by Woo and Sun to conform to the Korean-only rule. Moreover, Ms. Park with authority ensures that the use of English is not acceptable in the context of the Korean school. Yeun may feel peer pressure to fit in a group in the classroom.

However, Ms. Park and Ms. Lee were not consistent with the school language policy and they too switched languages sometimes especially when focused on the content of communication and the flow of information rather than Korean language itself. In the case of Ms. Lee, she did not force them to speak only Korean despite the school language policy because many of her students like Jin were English-dominant and thus, they did not have basic linguistic skills in Korean. Also, she appears to think that the Korean-only rule might result in unexpected consequence such as hating learning Korean and going to the school.

### **Emergent Bilingual Skills of Children**

Living in linguistically and culturally diverse society, bi- and multi-lingual speakers practice more than one language from their linguistic repertoire on a daily basis. This is called *code-switching* which refers to “a highly skilled bilingual mode activity in which both L1 and L2 are used simultaneously, including intrasentential and intersentential switches, rather than the monolingual mode in which they are used separately” (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012, p. 657). Code-switching enables multilingual speakers to develop a link between two languages, use language fluidly to communicate efficiently and effectively, and support the development of bilingual oral language and literacy skills (Wei, 2011). Young children in the study had spoken with their parents mainly in Korean at home and at the same time spent a significant amount of

time in English-speaking preschools on a daily basis. Learning two languages, their linguistic repertoire had increased dramatically every day. In so doing, code-switching had evolved among these emergent bilingual children who had learned English sequentially or simultaneously along with their mother tongue. This indicates that young children constantly construct and reconstruct their scheme to accommodate to new language information. That is, they integrated two languages to increase the efficiency of communication rather than develop two separate language systems.

To negotiate for meaning, emergent bilingual children in Ms. Park's classroom switched languages to communicate with their peers and teachers in active ways, whereas Ms. Park and Ms. Lee did it to respond to the language of their students in reactive ways. For example, Ms. Lee switched to English to help her monolingual English-speaking students understand the content of the lesson. In this case, she used English to communicate with her students who spoke mainly in English. She tended to improvise her teaching according to her students' responses in terms of language use. Extracts 6 and 7 illustrate examples of Ms. Lee's language use in the class to help English-dominant students with low levels of Korean proficiency. She uses code-switching in Extract 6 and Extract 7 in order to maximize her students' understanding of what she is saying and to promote students' participation in class activities.

In most cases, she did not translate, recast, or retell their English words to improve their Korean skills. She did not also force them to speak Korean in the class. One of the most common pedagogical techniques used by both teachers was to have children chorally repeat new Korean words out loud as in the following extracts. Extracts 8, 9, and 10 illustrate examples of pedagogical uses of English in the class.

***Extract 8. Mr. Lee***

1. T: 제이드, 이제 선생님이 MOVIE 보여 줄꺼야. MOVIE 보면 ANIMAL 이 숨어 있어. YOU CAN FIND FISHES. 누가누가 숨어 있는지 찾아 보자.  
*Jade, I'll show you a MOVIE. There are ANIMALS hidden in the MOVIE. YOU CAN FIND FISHES. Let's find them.*
2. (Jin comes up to the front to see the screen.)
3. T: 진, 자리에 가세요. 붐~ 친구들 잠수함 있어요. 예쁘게 LISTEN 하고 REPEAT 하는 친구들, 선생님 잠수함 줄꺼예요. 예쁘게 앉아야지요, 미나처럼.  
*Jin, please, go back to your seat. Brum-rum-rum-rum. Look at this submarine. I'll give this submarine (picture) if you LISTEN carefully and REPEAT after me very well. Let's sit straightly like Mina.*
4. Jin: NO.
5. T: 선생님 따라 해봐요. “게야, 안녕.” “거북아, 안녕.” . . .  
*Repeat after me. “Hi, Crab!” “Hi, Turtle!”*
6. Jade: CAN YOU DO IT AGAIN?
7. T: NEXT TIME. 영화 안에서 누가 나왔어요? 문어 나왔어요?  
*NEXT TIME. What was in the movie? Did you see an octopus?*

***Extract 9. Mr. Lee***

1. T: WHAT DO YOU SEE? I SEE A
2. Jane: WHALE, WHALE, WHALE!
3. T: HOW DO YOU SAY IT IN KOREAN?
4. Kate: 고래!  
*Go-rae (Whale)!*
5. T: 다같이, 고, 고, 고래!  
*Say it together. Go-go-gorae!*
6. Students (Ss): 고래.  
*Go-rae!*
7. T: 고래하고 인사해보자!  
*Let's say hi to Go-rae!*
8. T & Ss: 고래야, 안녕.  
*Hi, Go-rae!*
9. T: 고래야, 고래야, WHAT DO YOU SEE? I SEE A  
*Go-rae, Go-rae, WHAT DO YOU SEE? I SEE A*
10. Jane: SHARK, SHARK.
11. T: 상어. 따라 해보자. 상, 상, 상어!  
*Sang-o (Shark). Please, repeat after me. Sang, sang, sang-o!*
12. T & Ss: 상어야, 안녕.  
*Hi, Shark!*

13. Kate: (지난주에) 상어 지노가 잡았어. 지노가 상어 잡았어.  
*(Last week) Jino caught a Shark. Jin caught a Shark.*
14. T: 친구들, 상어가 입을 찢었어!  
*Friends, A shark opens his mouth!*
15. Kate: 무서워!  
*Scared!*
16. Jin: THAT'S NOT REAL. THAT'S NOT REAL.

***Extract 10. Mr. Park***

1. Woo: 너무 BUMPY 해.  
*It's too BUMPY.*
2. T: 그게 무슨 말이야?  
*What does it mean?*
3. Woo: 이거 너무 BUMPY 해.  
*This is too BUMPY.*
4. T: BUMPY 가 무슨 뜻이야?  
*What does BUMPY mean?*
5. Sun: 나두 몰라. BUMPY.  
*I don't know BUMPY.*
6. T: 아, 울퉁불퉁 하다고. BUMP 할때 그거. 이게 매끄럽게 나오지 않나 보구나.  
*I see. It's rough like BUMP. Your crayon doesn't come out well.*
7. T: ‘가’ 찾아보세요. 가운데 있어요.  
*Let's find ‘가[Ga]’. It's in the middle of the page.”*
8. Hee: 가운데가 뭐예요?  
*What does ‘가운데 [Ga-un-dae]’ mean?*
9. T: MIDDLE. 가운데.  
*MIDDLE. ‘가운데 [Ga-un-dae]’*

In Extract 8, Mr. Lee uses one or two English words to replace key content words in a sentence, but she does not translate them into Korean. Hence, the children may not know how to say ‘MOVIE’ in Korean. In comparison with the teaching strategy used in Extract 8, Ms. Lee and Ms. Park take the different language teaching approach, in Extracts 9 and 10. When Ms. Lee asks the students about the animal’s name in a picture in English, Kate responds to her question in English (Turns 1 and 2 in Extract 9). Then, she asks Kate to say it in Korean and but she still

speaks in English. Kate understands her question and switches to Korean to answer (Turn 3).

This pattern continued until the conversation ended.

In Extract 9, she helped children use both languages fluidly and develop interconnection of two languages. They learn that 고래 is a whale in English and these two words from different languages have the same meanings. Acknowledging the interconnectedness of languages, they are able to use these words according to the communication setting. She modified the American popular children's story "Brown bear, Brown bear, what do you see?" to teach sea animals in Korean. Interestingly, the teacher's use of English triggers children to respond to her in English. This also happened between children in the study. For instance, one emergent bilingual child used English and the other child responded to her/him in English. This continued until the teacher or peers stopped them speaking English.

Using two languages, the teacher provided the opportunity for the children with various levels of language proficiency in English and Korean to engage in the process of learning, promote their understanding of the lesson, and incorporated both dominant and less dominant languages, and extended their language repertoire (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012). In Turn 16 in Extract 9, Jin thinks that the shark is not scary because it is only a picture, not a real shark. He may understand what is happening through Ms. Lee's exaggerated voices, her animated gestures, and the pictures. This is a good teaching example of how teachers can make language input comprehensible to young children with low levels of the target language.

In Extract 10, Woo used the English word *Bumpy* and the teacher does not know its meaning. Ms. Park first asks its meaning to Woo, but he cannot explain it in Korean. In Turn 5, she asks it to the class, but nobody knows it, including Sun. Before long, the teacher figures out its meaning and shares it with the children (Turn 6), so Ms. Park and her students add new

vocabulary (i.e., bumpy, 울퉁불퉁) to their language repertoire. In Turn 8, Hee does not understand the Korean word ‘가운데 [Ga-un-dae]’ produced by the teacher and asks its meaning to the teacher. In the following utterance, the teacher translates ‘가운데 [Ga-un-dae]’ into English, *MIDDLE* (Turn 9) instead of explaining its definition in Korean. This short extract shows that children tend to constantly ask questions to construct the link between languages if they have the reasonable levels of oral proficiency in the target language.

As mentioned earlier, Ms. Park and Ms. Lee incorporated code-switching in their instruction with pedagogical purposes to scaffold the students’ understanding on lesson content, make the Korean language more comprehensible, and bring into the classroom students’ prior knowledge of English. Names in English had been used in class more frequently than other English words. This may be because names tend to be more rapidly learned and more often chosen to be used by children (Rosch, 1973). Table 11 illustrates some examples of English words and expressions chosen by teachers and their students to name a few.

**Table 11. Examples of code-switching**

<i>Categories</i>
1. Names (specific person, place, things)
a) School theme: Scissors, glue, eraser, pencil, crayon, folder, teacher, homework
b) Color & Shape: Red, pink, blue, grey, triangle, circle
c) Number: one, two, ten, twenty, hundreds
d) Food: Pizza, hamburger, candy, apples
e) Animals: Butterfly, caterpillar
f) Day/month: September, November
g) English loanwords in Korean: Computer, banana, party, chocolate, guitar, drum
2. Idiom/Phrasal expressions: Me too, I know, I’m done, I’m ready, line up, turn on/off
3. Emotion: Happy, hungry, smile

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*Categories*

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4. Direction: Stop, clean up, stand up, count, sit down, time-out
  5. Others: daycare, please, pee, poo, song, movie, lost, baby, boy, sometimes, time-out,
- 

The act of code-switching is expected to take place when listeners and speakers negotiate their meaning in multilingual settings. Based on the findings of the study, it is more likely to take place when young child is talking with someone (e.g., parents, teacher, or peers) who knows her/him well enough to be able to interpret his intension from their dialogues.

Given that young children learn by observing and by doing, emergent bilingual children may learn the fluid usage of languages by experiencing code-switching in daily communication. For instance, many bilingual children grow up seeing their older siblings code-switching when they talk to their parents and when they talk to each other. They may also see their parents who talk to them in Korean switch to English when they buy grocery at a store, order foods at a restaurant, or talk with neighbors. It was also easy to find parents code-switching while they communicated with their children in the Korean language schools. One day, I saw a father interviewed going back and forth to English or Korean with his two children at the parking lot in BKLS. He talked to them in Korean and at times in English and so they did as well. In the class, teachers and children occasionally had switched languages intrasententially or intersententially.

Extract 11 illustrates an example of code-switching occurred in the class.

***Extract 11. Mr. Park***

1. Hwan: (littering the floor with dusty pencil shavings.) 나, 눈 내리고 있어요.  
*I'm making snowfall.*
2. Teacher assistant (TA): 여기다 버려야지.  
*Throw them into the trash can.*
3. T: 여기다 버리면 안돼. 검은 눈?  
*You shouldn't throw them here. Black snow?*
4. Bin: 환이가 먼저 했거든.

*Hwan did it first.*

5. Hwan: 네가 눈 내린다고 했어.

*You said you made snowfall.*

6. Bin: YOU ARE THE ONE WHO FIRST DID IT.

7. Hwan: I KNOW.

8. Bin: ALRIGHT. I DON'T CARE.

9. T: 둘이 벽에서 손들고 있을까? TIME-OUT 할까?

*You two, are you going to stand beside the wall, raising your hands up? Do you want 'TIME-OUT'?*

10. Sun: TIME OUT.

11. Hwan: YOU TIME OUT.

12. Hwan: I DON'T LIKE 글씨 찾기. NOT EASY.

*I don't like to find letters on the sheet. NOT EASY.*

13. Bin: YEAH, IT IS.

14. Hwan: NO, IT IS NOT.

15. TA: 한국학교에서 영어 쓸꺼야?

*Do you speak English in the Korean school?*

16. Bin: 선생님이 영어 하지 말라고 했잖아.

*Teacher said that we shouldn't speak English in the class.*

17. T: 그래, 그렇게 한국말 잘 하면서.

*Right! You speak Korean so well.*

18. Hwan: 너가 먼저 영어 시작했잖아, 아주 옛날에.

*You did speak English at first a long time ago.*

19. TA: 괜찮아. 누가 먼저 시작한 것이 중요한 게 아니야. 이젠 **STOP** 하면 되.

*That's okay. Who did it first doesn't matter. It would be okay if we both stop now.*

20. Bin: TIME-OUT. YOU'RE GONNA HAVE A REAL PROBLEM.

21. Hwan: NO, I'M NOT GONNA HAVE A REAL PROBLEM.

In Extract 11, Ms. Park's students replace one or two Korean words with English equivalents (Turns 9 and 12) or speak a short sentence in English (Turns 6, 7, 8, 20, 21). For example, the term *time-out* is an English loanword in Korean. There is a similar term *벌* in Korean, but its meaning (it includes physical punishment) is not exactly same as the term *time-out*. *Time-out* is an educational intervention to discipline children employed by parents or teachers in some western countries. Hence, young children who were born, grow up, and receive

education in the United States are more familiar with the term *time-out* than the term *ㄹ*.

Through their experiences, they know that getting put in time-out is embarrassment in front of peers. In Extract 11, Bin frequently switches languages, Korean to English. In Turn 6, in the midst of the conversation, Bin switches to English to defend herself when Hwan blames her for making a mess. In Turn 7, Hwan who blamed Bin in Korean now accepts responsibility for his mistake in English. He might think that Ms. Park did not pay attention to the conversation in English as much as that in Korean. It is interesting that Bin preferred English to Korean in order to solve the disagreement between her and Hwan. She might think that English is the language that she better defend herself in school settings.

Familial environment increase the use of code-switching although the students' teachers explicitly discouraged them to speak English in the classroom. Young children grow up seeing code-switching practices by their older siblings as well as by their parents. Ms. Park and Ms. Lee stressed that code-switching practices were normal among young bilingual children with school-aged siblings. A Four year-old girl, Yeun, for example, is the one who switched languages most often in the class. This can be attributable to her older sister who talked to Yeun in English. Because of her she had more opportunities to hear and speak English than other children who do not have siblings. This results is consistent with the results of Bridges and Hoff's (2014) study that younger siblings with older siblings are more likely to be advanced in English language development because older siblings are more likely to use English in talking to younger siblings and thus, younger siblings have more exposure to English than their older siblings did in their childhood before their schooling at the age of three or four.

It seems likely that code-switching emerged when children build cognitive or conceptual connections between their knowledge of Korean and English. For example, Ms. Park was

teaching counting in Korean. All students began counting in Korean, following the teacher. Suddenly, Hwan started counting in English and the rest of them like dominos followed him and counted in English together. She reported that some of parents viewed English as academic language and Korean as family language. Hence, they taught their young children basic math skills like numbers in English to prepare their children for academic subjects. Like Bin, most of the students, especially at the age of four or five, read English children books or watch children's programs like *Sesame Street* on TV or *YouTube Kids* with their parents or alone to prepare for English-speaking kindergarten or to entertain. Hence, many of them already have at least some English skills when they entered the Korean HL school. Moreover, they used to counting to 20 or more in English although they had difficulty in counting to ten in Korean. Interestingly, Ms. Park asked them to count in Korean, by saying "COUNT TO 20 IN KOREAN" in English as they did not stop counting in English. She may think that English is more efficient to draw attention from the students than Korean. English and Korean seem to have different functions, English for cognitive operation and Korean for personal communication.

Basic linguistic and communicative knowledge of English and Korean are essential to use those languages fluidly. In comparison with Ms. Park's students, many of Ms. Lee's students except for three girls did not have basic linguistic and communicative knowledge of Korean. Although Jane, Kate, and Yun are emergent bilinguals, only Kate actively spoke Korean in the classroom. Ms. Lee told me that Yun's Korean is the best among three children, but she barely spoke Korean in class. Jane, who was one of the youngest children in her classroom, also did not speak Korean, but actively participate in class activities. The following is an example of how they respond to the teacher who speaks to them in Korean.

**Extract 12. Ms. Lee**

1. T: 정리하자.  
*Let's clean up.*
2. Jane: I NEED TO GO.
3. Kate: 나, 이거 가지고 왔어.  
*I brought this.*
4. T: 2 분 남았다.  
*Two minutes left.*
5. Jane: TOO LATE. I SHOW YOU HOW TO DO IT.
6. Researcher: 뭐해요?  
*What are you doing?*
7. Yun: MATCHING GAME.
8. Jane: ONE MORE TIME, ONE MORE TIME.
9. T: 이제 시작할까? 모여라.  
*Let's get started. Come here. (The teacher starts counting down to 0)*
10. Jane: STOP IT! STOP IT! LET ME PUT GARBAGE AWAY. LET ME PUT GARBAGE AWAY. LET ME PUT GARBAGE AWAY. TOO LATE.

In Extract 12, Kate (4 years) responds to the teacher's direction in Korean, whereas Jane (biracial, 3 years) and Yun (4 years) talks to the teacher in English. It is apparent that three girl understand Korean based on the coherence of the dialogue. For example, I asked to Yun, "뭐해요? *what are you doing?*" and she answered, "matching game." When Ms. Lee started counting down to Zero, Jane asked her to stop counting and let her throw garbage into a trash bin. But, the teacher did not hear it and started the class. Jane disappointedly said, "too late." Unlike Lee, Yun and Jane might feel shy speaking Korean or she might need comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985) and comprehensible output (Swain, 1985) in Korean.

In the case of Jane, I had a chance to see Jane's mother talking to her in Korean on a school event day. Her mother used code-switching to communicate with her and promote her bilingual skills and accommodate her language choice. The following is a dialogue between Jan and her mother.

1. T: 더 먹고 싶은 친구는 여기 있어. 더 먹고 싶어?  
*If you want to eat more, there are more foods here. Do you want some more?*
2. Jane: I WANT TO
3. Jane's mother (JM): 제인, 엄마가 저거 줄까? FISH? 여기 다 먹을 꺼 줄까? 콩나물?  
*Jane, do you want mommy to give it to you? FISH? Put some foods here? Bean sprouts?*
4. JM: THERE ARE A LOT OF MORE. DO YOU WANT MORE? 제인, 떡 좀 더 줄까?  
*THERE ARE A LOT OF MORE. DO YOU WANT MORE? Jane, do you want some more rice cake?*

In dialogue, Jane understands Korean well although she did not respond to her mom in Korean. When Ms. Lee asks if there is anyone who eats more, Jane answer to her, saying “I want to.”

Jane's mother commented on language switch,

She understands Korean very well. She did speak Korean very well. Last year, she stayed in Korea for one and half years with my families. She went to a Korean daycare there. Actually, she spoke Korean better than other Korean children in daycare. At that time, she spoke only Korean and her Korean was really good. Even after she came back, she spoke to her father only in Korean. Because she kept speaking only Korean, he told her, “English, please. English please.” She started speaking English again and now she talks with her father in English. She still understands Korean, but it's difficult to express herself in Korean. She has an older sister and she told me that Jane spoke to her in Korean. I asked her when she would speak Korean. She told me, “I don't know how to speak Korean.” It seems to change. I ensure that she would be able to speak Korean if she go back to Korea.

Jane certainly understands Korean a lot, but it appears that her oral Korean language skills have not emerged yet. She may not need to speak Korean because most of people around her, including her parents who are the most important people in her life, speak and understand English. Given that she spoke to her sister in Korean, she may also have a high affective filter hindering her use of Korean publicly (Krashen, 1985).

Ms. Lee's monolingual English-speaking students, like Jin, got disengaged and frustrated during class time because they did not understand her well and she accidentally ignored them when they talked to her in English. When I found him disengaged in class activities, he said to

me, “I don’t understand.” Although Ms. Lee switched to English in order to facilitate their English-speaking students’ understandings, misunderstanding and miscommunication were almost inevitable as she should not speak too much English during the class. The problem is that it is not easy for teachers to find a fine line between relying on English and using English to help English-speaking children learn Korean.

Extract 13 illustrates an example of miscommunication between Ms. Lee and her students. In Extract 13, Ms. Lee and Jade, who barely speaks Korean, do not understand each other. In Turn 3 in Extract 13, she let him throw litter in a trash bin, but Jade does not understand her English and she also does not understand him. In Turn 9, he gives up negotiating meanings with her and changes the topic, but miscommunication happens again (Turns 10 and 11). Jade expresses his frustration, saying to a teacher assistant, “I don’t know what she is talking” in English.

***Extract 13. Ms. Lee***

1. T: 우리 친구들이 이렇게 많이 잡았어요.  
(playing a game with the students during the snack time) *Our friends have caught so many sea animals.*
2. Jade: (approaching the teacher) I’M DONE. (holding a garbage by hand)
3. T: 그러면 GO, THROW.  
*So, GO, THROW.*
4. Jade: GARBAGE.
5. T: 응?  
*What?*
6. Jade: GARBAGE.
7. T: 응?  
*What?*
8. Jade: LET ME JOIN, TOO?
9. T: 휴지통, 휴지통, 휴지통.  
*Trash bin, trash bin, trash bin.*

10. Jade: (approaching the TA) I DON'T KNOW WHAT SHE IS TALKING. (going to Ms. Lee) CAN I JOIN NOW? CAN I JOIN, TOO? (speaking it louder and louder) LET ME JOIN, TOO. LET ME JOIN, TOO.
11. Jade: CAN I DO IT?
12. T: YES.

As seen in Extract 13, when misunderstanding took place in the midst of the conversation, monolingual English-speaking children became passively engaged in communication with the Korean-speaking teacher. Given Vygotsky's concept of the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1980), comprehensible output (Swain, 1995) and language acquisition may be not possible if children do not receive enough comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985) to produce the target language.

### **Language Socialization**

Schieffelin (1986) determine language socialization as the process of becoming a member of society. Ochs (2003) posits that young children develop cultural repertoire through mediated social interaction with adults and participation in social and cultural activities in "a community of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Vygotsky (1978) places an emphasis on cultural mediation and negotiative interactions through language. From a language socialization approach, children need to acquire social standard and manners to get along with others, make friends, and get their needs met in socially and culturally appropriate ways. Through dialogic interaction with adults, students acknowledge their own behavior and social expectations and eventually internalize sociocultural rules so that they are able to fully participate in their community.

Young children in the study had participated in various cultural and communal activities while learning Korean. The curriculum of the Korean language program in BKLS and NKLS is composed of Korean language and literacy, social skills, and Korean culture. Because they are

interrelated, young children learned Korean language and literacy while learning social skills and Korean culture. Extracts 12, 13 and 14 illustrate examples of *socializational teaching* (Wei & Wu, as cited in Wei, 2011).

***Extract 14. Ms. Park***

1. Hwan: I NEED SCHISSORS. INEED SCISSORS. I NEED SCISSORS.
2. T: 조금만 기다려.  
*Please, wait a minute.*
3. T: 우야, SCISSORS 줄때는, 이렇게 반대로 주는 거야. 이렇게 하면 위험하지. 칼이나, 이런 것은 손잡이가 상대방에게 향하게.  
*Woo, when you pass SCISSORS or knives to another person, pass them handle first. Otherwise, they are dangerous.*

***Extract 15. Ms. Park***

1. TA: 환아, 너 가서 다시 가져와. 던지지마. 던지는 거 **않**좋아.  
*Hwan, go and bring it again. Don't throw things. That's not good.*
2. Yeun: 공만 던지는 거야.  
*You can throw only balls.*

***Extract 16. Ms. Lee***

1. T: 누가 해볼까? 진? 상어 찾아보자. SHARK, SHARK.  
*Who wanna do? Jin? Let's find a shark. SHARK, SHARK.*
2. (Jin bumped into a girl by accident. She's crying.)
3. T: 진, 친구 뒤로 밀쳤어요. 친구 밀치면 안되요. 와서 친구한테 SORRY, 사과해야 해. 아니면 뒤로 가야해.  
*Jin, you pushed her. Everyone, please, don't push your friend. Will you come and say SORRY to her? Otherwise, you have to stand in the back.*
4. (Jin is walking to the corner of the room without saying sorry to the girl)
5. T: 진, 뒤로 갈꺼예요? 그럼 이따 엄마한테 이야기해야 돼. 괜찮아?  
*Are you going to the back? If you don't apologize her, I'm going to talk to your mom later. Is that okay?*
6. T: 친구들 절대로 때리면 안되요. TOUCH 하면 안되요.  
*Everyone, please, don't hit your friends. Please, don't TOUCH. .*
7. Jin: I'M NOT SPEAKING IN KOREAN. JUST STOP IT!

In Extracts 14, 15, and 16, Ms. Park and Ms. Lee teach students about not only Korean language, but also cultural values and social manners, using unexpected teachable moments that arise in the class. That is, children learn what actions are socially acceptable in school, in their community, and in society through the use of Korean. In Extract 14, Ms. Park teaches Hwan how to pass scissors to others for their safety through the use of Korean and English. Hwan asks for scissors in English and the teacher replies to his request in Korean. In Extract 15, the teacher assistant enforces the class rule that students should not throw things in the classroom. In Extract 16, Ms. Lee tells the class how they treat one other and apologize for their mistakes. She asks Jin to apologize for pushing her in a quiet voice, but the conversation does not go well. However, Jin does not understand her and thus, he cannot communicate with her. He says to the teacher in an angry voice, “I’m not speaking in Korean. Just stop it.” In Jin’s mother’s interview, she said, “I’m sure he does understand some, but he wants to understand everything. I think there is frustration and some anger even though there are fun activities. . . . He has frustration and some anger because he doesn’t understand it.” Given that dialogic negotiation is important for teaching social rules and cultural values, Ms. Lee could not persuade Jin to apologize to her and he was also unable to express his feelings due to language barriers (Turn 9 in Extract 16). Social and cultural rules are usually taught by adults in natural settings and eventually internalized in children’s mind through communicative interaction between children and adults. Hence, children’s Korean language proficiency plays a decisive role in learning and internalizing the social norms and cultural values in the Korean HL schools.

### **Fostering an Appreciation for Korean Cultures**

To maintain the HL, language minorities need places to learn, speak, hear, or use their languages in their lives. These places can be physical places for using the HL, but also mental

room for honoring their HL and culture, acknowledging and reflecting on their relationship with their HL, and maintaining their motivation to learn and practice it (Baloy, 2011). Above all, BKLS and NKLS created time and space for children to learn, practice, and appreciate Korean language and culture with assistance from fluent Korean speakers.

Given that language is closely related to culture, Ms. Park and Ms. Lee stressed that students should learn Korean language by experiencing Korean customs, values, and tradition. Experiencing Korean traditional holidays (e.g., Chu-suk, Seol-nal) and foods (Kim-chi, Duk-guk) is part of an essential curriculum of both BKLS and NKLS. In addition, Korean traditional values (respecting elders) were both implicitly and explicitly taught in the Korean HL schools. Through cultural mediation (Vygotsky, 1980), the students learned to foster an appreciation for Korean cultures and promoted their cultural identity.

First, BKLS and NKLS enabled Bin and Jin to get involved in cultural activities with other Korean children. The Korean language schools provided children with ample opportunities to experience and observe various cultural practices by creating the settings in which children engaged. Many parents, especially second-generation parents, who sent their children to a HL school wanted their children to celebrate traditional holidays and have same-ethnic friends while learning their HL at school. While in HL schools, children enjoyed a variety of cultural activities. On the Seol-nal (Lunar New Year) event, for example, Jin and Bin in each school ate Duk-guk (rice cake soup) together with other students for lunch. After eating, teachers and volunteer parents helped students play Yut-nori (Korean traditional board game) and Je-gi-cha-gi games. All the adults in the hall spoke with one another in Korean to negotiate the game rules, cheer up young children, or discipline them. Many young children in NKLS came to the school, wearing

Han-bok (Korean traditional dress). They bowed to their parents to show respect for them. After learning how to make Kim-chi in Korean, they all made Kim-chi with their parents and teachers.

These cultural activities were great opportunities for young children to experience the Korean tradition and customs as well as the Korean language. In so doing, young children were exposed to and immersed in a lot of the Korean language and culture, by seeing, eating, hearing, and doing. They had practiced their Korean language skills through conversation with Korean-speaking peers and adults and thus, they had ample opportunities to produce comprehensible output (Swain, 1995) which push them to speak in Korean as well as comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985). Eating Korean foods and playing Korean traditional games together cultivated students' sense of belonging and community and build relationships with other Koreans in the Korean community.

**Korean names and identity.** Every class, Ms. Park and Ms. Lee started their classes with “name writing”. Everyone in the classroom liked to write their names in Korean. Jin also liked to write his name in Korean and proudly showed me his Korean name, “Look. It’s my name.” His English name “Jin” was written in Korean, “진.” Surprisingly, every child, even a three-year-old girl, knew how to write their names in Korean regardless of their levels of Korean proficiency. Personal connection between language and identity promotes language maintenance among minorities. In Lee’s (2013) study, children had two names; one in English and one in Korean. They identified themselves either Korean or English names in accordance with who they interact with. The author argues that U.S.-born children developed their sense of identity as Korean by using Korean names in the Korean community. As in Lee’s (2013) study, all students in Ms. Park’s classroom and all Ms. Lee’s students (except for biracial students) had two names: one in English and one in Korean. Writing their Korean names on their worksheets was the very

first thing they should do in class. Extract 17 shows children's attitude toward their Korean name.

***Extract 17. Ms. Park***

1. T: 캐틀린이라고 왜 쓰고 있어? 이지은이라고 써야지.  
*Why are you writing Caitlyn? Write 이지은 (Lee, Ji, Yeun).*
2. Sun: 내 이름을 썼네.  
*Oh, I wrote my name.*
3. Hun: 너, 영어 이름이 뭐야?  
*What is your English name?*
4. Sun: 제니퍼.  
*Jenifer.*
5. T: 정은선이라고 써야지. 정은선.  
*Write 정은선 (Jung, Yeun, Sun). 정은선.*

As seen in Extract 17, Ms. Park's students have acknowledged that their English name is used in English-speaking school or in their English-speaking community, while their Korean name is used at home or in the Korean community. Hence, they use their Korean name in the Korean school as they speak Korean in the Korean school. In Turns 1 and 5, Ms. Park reminds Yeun and Sun of their Korean name. For example, in her monologue, Sun says, "I wrote my name." (Turn 2). And then, when Hun asks her English name, she identifies herself with her English name, Jenifer. But, the teacher asks her to use her Korean name. Although both are her names, this time, she identifies herself with her Korean name, 정은선 (Jung, Yeun-Sun). She told me that she liked her Korean name more than her English name because her grandfather made her Korean name. Like Sun, emotional attachment strengthened children's positive attitudes toward Korean language and culture. They developed the connection between Korean and their identities and a sense of *fluid identity* (Lee, 2013).

**Identity development.** Many parents participated in the study were concerned about their children losing their cultural root and identity. Young children in the study had recited

American “Pledge of Allegiance” and national anthem in preschools, hearing from their teacher that they are American. These ideological practices had influenced young children’s concept of identity. They had developed identity as American in American schools, whereas their ethnic identity like their HL became invisible in American schools. Teachers emphasize the sameness to tie children with different ethnicity all together, by ignoring the ethnic differences that make them unique. As a result, they had a dichotomous perception of identity: They labeled people as either Korean or American depending on their birth place. As seen in Extract 18, U.S.-born students tended to perceive themselves as American.

Identity education was the hidden curriculum in the Korean HL schools. There was no special class time assigned for identity education. Instead, Ms. Park used teachable moments as seen in Extract 18. Using teachable moments, she scaffolded children’s understanding of the connectedness of Korean language and identity.

***Extract 18. Ms. Park***

1. T: 영어로는 너무 잘하는데, 한국사람이니까 이걸 할 줄 알아야 다음에 시계 보구.  
*Everyone speaks English very well, but you need to read the numbers in Korean because you are Korean. If you do it well in Korean, you can read a clock in Korean.*
2. Hwan: 난 영어 사람이야.  
*I’m English*
3. Sun: 나는 미국사람이야.  
*I’m American.*
4. T: 그래. 너희는 MADE IN AMERICA  
*Right, you’re made in America.*
5. Hwan: 나는 KOREAN.  
*I’m Korean.*
6. Sun: 엄마, 아빠는 한국사람이구, 내동생이랑 나는 미국사람이야.  
*My mom and dad are Koreans. Me and my sister are Americans.*
7. Hwan: 나두 한국사람이야.  
*I’m Korean, too.*
8. Dae: 너도 미국에서 태어났어?

- Were you too born in the U.S?*
9. Hwan: 응. 너두?  
*Yes. So you, too?*
10. Dae: 응.  
*Yes.*
11. T: 미국에서 태어나도 우리는 뼈속까지 한국사람인거야. 엄마, 아빠가 한국사람인 경우는 미국에서 태어난 AMERICAN 이지만, KOREAN AMERICAN. 그래서 한국계 미국사람인 것이지.  
*We were born in the U.S., but we are Korean down to our bones. If your parents are Korean, you're KOREAN AMERICAN though you are AMERICAN born in the United States. You're Korean American.*
12. Sun: 못 알아 듣는데.  
*I don't understand.*
13. T: 여기에서 있는 모든 사람은  
*All the people here are,*
14. Dae: AMERICAN, AMERICAN
15. T: 그런데, KOREAN AMERICAN 이야.  
*KOREAN AMERICAN.*
16. Hwan: 아빠, 나 여기에서 태어났어?  
*Dad, I was born here?*
17. TA: (TA is Hwan's father.) 미국에서 태어났지.  
*Yes. You were born in the U.S.*
18. Hwan: 누나도?  
*Sister, too?*
19. TA: 누나도.  
*Yes. She was born here, too.*

In Extract 18, Ms. Park tries to convince their students that they should speak Korean well, because they are Koreans (Turn 1). However, Sun and Dae did not understand her (Turns 3 and 8). In Turn 8, Dae asks Hwan his birth place because in his mind, those who were born in the United States are Americans. Although she emphasizes their blood ties with their parents, Sun does not understand the teacher, saying “I don’t understand.” (Turn 12) and Dae insists that they are Americans because they were born in the United States (Turn 14). He makes a link between birth place and nationality: Koreans were born in Korea, American were born in America. Hwan

identifies himself as Korean although he was born in the United States like his peers. While listening to this dialogue, however, Hwan seems confused about his identity. In Turn 16, Hwan asks his father if he and his sister were born in the United States. Hwan may gradually accommodate his identity, Korean to Korean American, rather than “either-or” identity as others do. Given that ethnic identity is closely associated with language, Ms. Lee did not explicitly teach or have a direct talk with her students about ethnic identity as most of her students were not able to speak even basic Korean.

**Learning cultural norms and values through Korean.** Learning language entails not only linguistic rules, but also social and pragmatic rules. Young children must get used to socio-cultural norms as well as grammatical and lexicon rules in order to communicate with others in Korean in grammatically and pragmatically appropriate ways. Among many linguistic rules related to cultural norms, the Korean honorific system which signifies different levels of formality, hierarchy, and respect is the most important sociolinguistic rule (Rhee, 1994). “Korean society is strictly stratified as to levels of seniority and social status derived in part from Confucian philosophy” (Wang, 1995, p. 197). Thus, children need to get accustomed to social hierarchy and relationship between speaker and listener such as age, social status, and intimacy to converse with other in linguistically and culturally appropriate ways (Jo, 2002).

In the classroom setting, the teacher has more power and superior position than the students in terms of age and social status (Rhee, 1994). The teacher has the authority as an expertise and s/he is much older than the student. However, the relationship between teachers and students (in particular, young children) are relatively closer than any other social relations such as between employers and employees and between professors and students. Therefore, it is tricky to understand these social functions and another person’s relative power and hierarchical

status in order to communicate with others in socially and culturally acceptable ways. Extracts 19 and 20 illustrate how young children learn the system of honorifics.

**Extract 19. Ms. Park**

1. Hwan: 이거 한 다음에, 우리 저거 할꺼야? [*hal-geu-ya*]  
*After doing this, are we doing that?*
2. T: 우리 그거 할꺼예요? [*hal-geu-ye-yo*] 다시 물어 보세요. [*bo-se-yo*]  
*Would we do that? Please, ask the question again*
3. Hwan: 우리 저거 할꺼예요? [*hal-geu-ye-yo*]  
*Are we going to do that?*

**Extract 20. Ms. Park**

1. Yeun: 연필 깎아야해. [*hae*]  
*I need to sharpen my pencil.*
2. Woo: 나도 연필 깎아야해. [*hae*]  
*I need to sharpen my pencil, too.*
3. T: 연필 깎아야해? [*hae*] 어떻게 말해야 될까요? [*yo*]  
*I need to sharpen my pencil? How should you say it?*
4. Bin: SHARPEN IT?
5. Woo: 연필 깎아야해요. [*hae-yo*]

This study found that young children had learned and practiced honorific systems in natural conversation settings. As Ms. Park has a higher social status and is older than her students, they should use honorific verb ending. When the student does use honorific forms, Ms. Park retells students' words (깎아야해? [*hae*]), so they self-correct the word (깎아야해요. [*hae-yo*]) as in Turn 3 in Extract 20. As Bin misunderstood the teacher's question "how do you say it?", Bin's response was "SHARPEN IT." Bin did not notice that Yeun and Woo did not use the honorific verb ending when they talked to the teacher. This may be because Ms. Park did not always demand her students to use the honorific form when they talked to her. Additionally, informal, casual forms of Korean are also used to express closeness and affection or to talk with young children like parent-child talks. Given the age of students, Ms. Park used both informal and honorific forms

of Korean in her classes. Ms. Park commented on Bin's response, "I thought that Bin know how to use the honorific forms of Korean very well because she lives with her grandparents. But, she doesn't. If students don't learn and practice honorific systems at home, it's hard to get used to."

Another way to teach honorific expression is that she used to recast (할꺼예요? [*hal-geu-ye-yo*]) their word (할꺼야? [*hal-geu-ya*]) so that they can learn its correct form as in Turn 2 in Extract 19. It seems that children know how and when to use honorific expressions because they self-corrected their word when Ms. Park repeat their words. However, their knowledge of honorific systems has not been stabilized yet. Given the complexity of the Korean honorific systems and the students' levels of Korean proficiency, Ms. Lee did not demand her students to use the honorific forms of Korean. Conversations between Ms. Lee and her students were also similar to those between mother and child as in Ms. Park's classes.

### **Spontaneous Communication**

This study found that teachers' lecture time and their talk time were determined by children's levels of Korean proficiency. The lower children's levels of Korean proficiency were, the more the teachers' lecture time and their talk time increased. In contrast, the higher children's levels of Korean proficiency were, the more the children's spontaneous comments and questions increased during the class. Children's spontaneous comments and questions are important because they indicate their focus of attention and the degree of their participation in class activities. Children's spontaneous questions show their effort to "fill their knowledge gap by eliciting information from the adult" (Moschovaki, 2005, p. 2). Ms. Park's students who were emergent bilinguals produced more questions and comments than Ms. Lee's students with low levels of Korean proficiency during the class as seen in Extract 21. Extract 21 illustrates children's spontaneous communication in Ms. Park's classroom.

**Extract 21. Ms. Park**

1. Bin: 저 체리 봐봐.  
*Look at that cherry.*
2. T: 저 체리는 알록달록 무지개 체리네.  
*The cheery is a rainbow cherry.*
3. Bin: 예쁘다.  
*Pretty.*
4. Sun: 내 체리는 그렇게 안하고 이렇게 해.  
*My cherry looks different.*
5. T: 미술은 답이 없어. 자기 하고 싶은대로 하면 돼.  
*There is no answer in art. You just do whatever you want.*
6. Hye: 나, 체리 먹어 보니까 너무 맛있었어요.  
*I have eaten cherries. They were so yummy.*
7. T: 좀 있으면 체리 나올 시기 겠다.  
*Cherry season is coming soon.*
8. Yeun: 은이 벌써 체리 먹는데, 은이 벌써 복숭아 먹어 봤는데.  
*I already ate cherries. I already ate peaches.*
9. T: 벌써 복숭아도 나왔지.  
*Peaches are already available on the market.*
10. Woo: 선생님, 선생님, 파인애플은 씨가 없어. [yup-so]  
*Teacher, teacher, Pineapples don't have seeds.*
11. T: 씨가 없어요. [yup-so-yo]  
*No seed.*
12. Woo: 씨 없어요. [yup-so-yo]  
*No seed.*
13. T: 맞아. 씨가 없지요. 체리가 씨가 있을까, 없을까요?  
*Right. Pineapples don't have seeds. Do Cherries have seeds?*
14. Woo: 있어. [i-so]  
*Yes, they have seeds.*
15. T: 있어요. [i-so-yo]  
*They have seeds.*
16. Woo: 있어요. [i-so-yo]  
*They have seeds.*
17. Bin: 그리고 사과는 씨가 있어요.  
*And, apples have seeds.*
18. T: 그치. 씨가 있지요.  
*Yes, they have seeds.*

19. TA: 사과씨는 POISONOUS 해.  
*The apple's seeds are POISONOUS.*
20. Woo: 레몬도 씨있는데, 레몬씨는 너무 짝금해.  
*Lemons have seeds, but they are too small.*
21. Sun: 하지만, 우리는 수박씨 삼켜요.  
*But, we eat watermelon seeds.*
22. T: 수박씨 삼켜?  
*Did you swallow them?*
23. TA: 수박씨는 삼켜도 되는데, 사과씨는 삼키면 안돼.  
*You can swallow watermelon seeds, but you shouldn't swallow apple seeds.*
24. Yeun: 포도씨는 삼켜도 되요. KOREAN 께.  
*You can swallow grape seeds, KOREAN ones.*

Bin already finished her coloring and waited for other students to complete it. As this discussion unfolded, Ms. Park's students related experiences with the features of Cherry such as color, taste, and seeds and various fruit seeds, edible seeds and non-edible. This discussion is not about the class activity (coloring), but it allows the student to create the connection between their experiences and scheme (Oyler, 1996). During the conversation, she recasts Wood's word (있어 [i-so]) with the honorific form (있어요 [i-so-yo]). The teacher assistant uses code-switching (i.e., Poisonous) as he might intend to improve students' English vocabulary and bilingual literacy skills or forget the Korean equivalent for the English word *poisonous*. Yeun also used code-switching to differentiate Korean grapes from seedless American grape.

In Turns 1, 6, 10, and 21, the students initiate the conversation and the teacher facilitates sustained conversation. The following are examples of the child-teacher spontaneous interactions. The teacher responds to the previous utterance which a student produces and invites other students to elaborate on the topic (Turn 15).

1. Bin: Look at that cherry. (Turn 1)  
 Teacher: The cheery is a rainbow cherry.
2. Hye: I have eaten cherries. They were so yummy. (Turn 6)  
 Teacher: Cherry season is coming soon.

3. Woo: Teacher, teacher, Pineapples don't have seeds. (Turn 10)  
Teacher: Right. Pineapples don't have seeds. Do Cherries have seeds?
4. Sun: But, we eat watermelon seeds. (Turn 21)  
Teacher: Did you swallow them?

In the dialogue above, students introduce their personal experiences and experiential knowledge and extend the topic, by bringing new information into the class discussion. In Turn 11, Ms. Park validated Woo's authority as an expertise (Oyster, 1996) by agreeing with his statement and is attempting to elicit a response from other children by questioning about different fruits. Woo's initiation indicates a learner's active participation in learning as a collaborative knower. Everyone elaborates on the topic and add new information based on her/his experiences, keeping dialogue coherent.

It was found that both teachers mainly focused on fluency and meaning rather than accuracy and form. They had rarely corrected their students' grammatical errors. Ms. Park had frequently given feedback on the children's use of the honorific system of Korean and Ms. Lee had emphasized the children's vocabulary. As the teachers acknowledged that constant correction of a child's speech decreased students' production, they corrected children's semantic or pragmatic errors, not grammatical errors in order to encourage them to speak. The syntax of the sentences produced by both teachers was simplified and abbreviated and tuned the children's speech. For example, the teachers tended to omit first-person and second-person singular pronouns or prepositions; put the subject at the end of the sentence; made a sentence short. As a result, teachers' utterances were very casual and tuned to the children's levels of cognitive development as well as Korean language proficiency.

### **Heritage Language Schools are not Enough**

Homework is a good opportunity for children to practice and use Korean at home as well as reviewing the learning that take place in class. Because students met for classes once a week,

Ms. Park and Ms. Lee provided homework to help students' Korean learning. It was common practice for Ms. Park and Ms. Lee to send their students home every week with worksheets to do. They encouraged parents help with their children's homework until they could complete homework on their own. They reported that some parents of older students complained about the extra homework because their children could not afford extra time for the weekly homework. They thought that their children were already busy with the schoolwork from the mainstream school and extracurricular activities. Ms. Park commented, "Going to school usually triggers children's shift from Korean to English. Once children enter school, they become too busy to give enough time to learning Korean. Parents and their children see English-speaking school as more important than Korean-speaking school. Korean homework starts to stress children out and the amount of time engaged in homework increases, many of them end up with avoiding learning Korean."

All the children in the study relied on their parents, especially their mother, to complete homework because it was too challenging for their young students to do their homework without their parents' guidance.

***Extract 22. Ms. Park***

1. T: 빈이가 수업 태도가 정말 좋은데, 왜 숙제를 안해오는지 모르겠네. 숙제하기 힘들어?  
*Bin, you behave very well in class, but I don't understand why you haven't finished your homework. Was it too hard for you?*
2. Bin: 엄마가 자꾸 거기서 멈추라고 해서.  
*My mom stopped me there.*
3. T: 거기서 그만 하고 멈추라고 해? 엄마하고 상담을 해봐야 겠어.  
*Did she stop you there? I may talk to your mom.*

***Extract 23. Ms. Park***

1. T: 은이, 이번주 숙제를 엉망으로 해놨네. 이런적이 없었는데. 은이 어머님께 글을 써야 겠구나.

*Yeun, you did your homework wrong. You have never done it before. I may write a letter to your mom.*

2. Yeun: 은이 엄마가 TIME 이 없어서, 언니가 뭐 하라고 말하고 그냥 언니도 숙제하고 나두 숙제하구. 엄마가 체크 못했어, 내 동생때문에. 지금은 엄마가 아파.

*Yeun's mom didn't have time. After my sister told me what I should do, she just did her homework. I did my homework on my own. My mom didn't check my homework because of my brother. My mom is sick.*

3. T: 그렇구나.아빠도 바쁘시니까 잘 못 도와주시지.

*I see. Your dad is also too busy to help you with homework.*

Extracts 22 and 23 illustrate the importance of parental involvement in HL learning. As seen above, if mothers are sick or they do not help their children with homework, young children were not able to complete it. The younger children need more parents' support for their Korean language learning.

There was a close relationship between parents' Korean language use and children's levels of Korean proficiency. In this study, all monolingual English-speaking children in the study communicated with their parents in English, whereas all emergent bilingual children used Korean for communication with their parents. The following are two examples of common dialogue patterns occurred in BKLS and NKLS.

#### ***Extract 24. BKLS***

1. T: 빈아, 다음주는 세개 해와. 알았지.  
*Bin, you have three (worksheets) for next week. Okay?*
2. Bin's mother: 빈아, 너 뭐 해 오래.  
*Bin, you have something to do.*
3. T: 다음주 수요일까지 세개 해와.  
*You must get it done by next Wednesday. Three (worksheets).*
4. Bin's mother: 빈이 한테 무척 혼났어요. 엄마 때문에 벌 받았다고.  
*She was so upset at me because she was scolded by you because of me.*

#### ***Extract 25. NKLS***

1. T: 같이 있어도 괜찮을 것 같아요.  
*You can be with Jin in the class. It would be okay.*

2. Jin's mother: 제가 있으면 더 잘 할 수 있을까요? ARE YOU GONNA BEHAVE WELL AND STUDY?  
*If I'm here with Jin, could he do better? ARE YOU GONNA BEHAVE WELL AND STUDY?*
3. Jin: YEAH.

As seen above, Bin's mother communicates with Bin and her teacher in Korean. In contrast, Jin's mother speaks with his teacher in Korean and then, switches to English to talk to Jin. As Jin's mother used Korean only when she talked to Korean speaker, Jin received less Korean input than Bin. This indicates that language input provided by parents plays a decisive role in children's HL acquisition. The teachers also emphasized the importance of parents' engagement in their children's HL learning as follows.

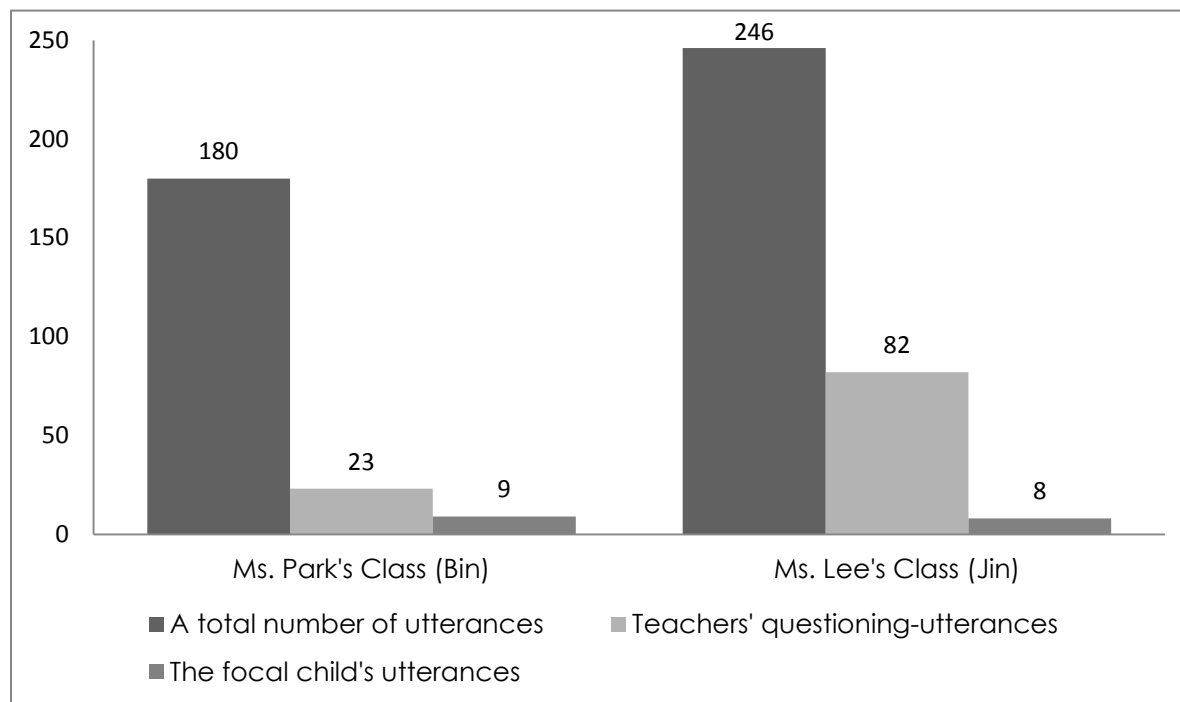
**Ms. Lee:** As the class focuses on listening, reading, and writing, children have relatively less opportunity to practice their oral language skills in class. Therefore, simply learning Korea at a heritage language school is not enough for children to become proficient in speaking Korean.

As Ms. Lee addresses, learning Korean only at a HL school is not enough for children to become proficient in speaking Korean. Jin's mother commented,

My children are not motivated to go to the Korean school. The big part is because of Korean-only instruction. I don't think that's helpful to children who come from the home situation where they speak English at home. They only speak in English at home and that's what I'm comfortable about speaking with them. It takes too much effort to speak in Korean. So, when they go to the Korean school, they're only in less than two hours. They're lost.

She acknowledged that Jin had received limited Korean input and also the input he received was not comprehensible. I randomly chose one session from each teacher's classes observed and compared the quantity of students' and teachers' production in terms of the number of utterances

in Figure 1.



**Figure 4. The number of utterances in a one-hour period of the class time**

For one-hour of class time, for example, Ms. Park and her students produced approximately 180 utterances and among them, Bin produced 9 utterances and the teachers produced 23 questioning-utterances to ask questions to the class as a whole. In comparison with Ms. Park's class, Ms. Lee and her students produced approximately 246 utterances and among them, Jin produced 8 utterances and the teachers produced 82 questioning-utterances to ask questions to the students. Lyn, who was an emergent bilingual, produced 45 utterances to answer questions. This reflects her great enthusiasm on the one hand and her dominance in discourse on the other hand. When Ms. Lee did not select someone to answer, Lyn tended to blurt out answers. Because Lyn was almost always the first child who put a hand up to answer, the teacher tried to give the opportunity to every child and make all children participate in discourse by calling on students to respond.

The smaller number of utterances in Ms. Park's class is due to two factors: Ms. Park's students talked longer than Ms. Lee's students and Ms. Lee produced many short closed-ended questions which had the students answer in chorus or individually. Also, Ms. Park's students waited for their turn without interrupting others' utterances. In considering reasons for this lesser number of Ms. Park's questioning-utterances, Ms. Park's students tended to self-initiate their utterances rather than responded to Ms. Park and had active peer interactions during the class. It was also found that Bin's utterances were predominantly in Korean, whereas Jin's utterances were exclusively in English in that class period. The table below lists all utterances produced by Bin and Jin in the class period.

***Extract 26. Bin***

1. 이빈이 숙제 꺼냈어요.  
*Bin took out homework.*
2. 나 아무 것도 없는데.  
*I have nothing.*
3. 안보여, 안보여.  
*I can't see, I can't see.*
4. 할머니, 할아버지는 엄마가 힘들데.  
*Grandpa and grandma, my mom is tired.*
5. 나 BABY 아닌데.  
*I'm not a BABY.*
6. 선생님, 선생님, 나 목 말라요.  
*Teacher, teacher, I'm thirsty.*
7. 선생님, 나 초코렛 태권도에서 먹어. 아빠가 태권도 선생님이예요.  
*Teacher, I eat Chocolates in Tae-kwan-do class. My daddy is a Tae-kwan-do teacher.*
8. 선생님, 연필이 없어요.  
*Teacher, I don't have a pencil.*
9. 선생님, 화장실 가고 싶어요.  
*Teacher, I need to go potty.*

***Extract 27. Jin***

1. CAT.

2. I SAID 'CAT' FIRST.
3. 안녕.  
*Hello.*
4. NOBODY LISTEN. NOBODY LIKES A SHARK BECAUSE IT GOBBLES UP. YOU HEAR ABOUT THAT?
5. STOP IT.
6. I'M NOT SPEAKING IN KOERAN. JUST STOP IT.
7. CAN I DO IT?
8. CAN YOU SEE MY PICTURES, TEACHER?

Surprisingly, many of their utterances were not really related to the topic being taught. In the case of Bin, she was more likely to listen to her peers and do worksheets on her own in the class. However, she actively expressed her thoughts and needs in Korean if she needed to do. For example, many of her utterances were related to her needs/requests or the response to the prior utterances addressed to her. For example, Turn 1 (*Teacher, Bin (I) took out homework*) was her response to the teacher's direction, *Everyone, take out your homework*, and Turn 6 (*I'm thirsty*) means *I want to drink water. Can I drink water, teacher?* Unlike her, Jin spoke mainly English in the classroom. He spoke Korean only when he was forced to speak it, for example, when the teacher called on him to answer. Most of Ms. Lee's questions were simple closed-ended questions which could be answered by one Korean word. During read-aloud time, he guessed what the story was about based on illustrations and voiced his thoughts on the story in English. Even when Jin's utterances were related to the topic of the lesson (Turn 4), he did not draw attention from the teacher as he spoke in English. This appears to make him feel ignored (*Nobody listen*).

This study found that the higher the ratio of questions to statements did not necessarily mean the more interactive teaching. This could provide children with more opportunities to speak, but the form (e.g., open or closed questions) and function (e.g., factual or reflective questions) of speech and the extent of the participation of all the students in the class need to be

considered (Myhill, 2006). The quantity and quality of language input provided by peers were crucial for HL acquisition in the class. The focal children in the study had a similar number of utterances during the class. They both did not speak Korean much during the class time. The important difference in input between them in class is the quantity of HL input by their peers to them. That is, if peers did not speak Korean, children's opportunity to learn Korean was severely reduced.

Further, comprehensible input does matter. This study shows that HL teachers should make instructions comprehensible to young children so that they can keep their motivation to learn the HL. To acquire a language, children need sufficient comprehensible input before they speak the language (Krashen, 1985). Both Ms. Park and Ms. Lee emphasized that two or three hours in class each week was not enough for young children to acquire Korean and thus, parents should speak with their children in Korean in the home on a daily basis. The results from the study revealed that Korean HL schools alone were not enough for HL maintenance. Using Korean as a home language was inevitably necessary for young children to become familiar with the language. Children with reasonably well developed oral skills in Korean or approaching that stage at the entry into the Korean school are likely to maximize the effect of Korean language schools.

### **Summary**

The key finding from the study was that the Korean language schools acted as a dynamic space in which children were able to promote the fluid use of languages, enlarge their language repertoire, and propel interaction forward in contrast to American schools in which HL-speaking children were forced to become a monolingual English speaker and made them blind to their ethnic and linguistic differences. As their bilingual skills unfolded, young children's fluid

usages of languages increased and made them feel empowered. The fluid language use took place when teachers positioned themselves on an equal footing with their students; when the language boundaries between languages were fluid and permeable (Creese & Blackledge, 2011), when the classroom climate was safe and inclusive (Conteh, & Brock, 2011). Co-ethnic peers also played substantial roles in HL acquisition. Peer input in the HL was crucial for young children's HL acquisition in early childhood as the focal children spent most of class time listening to others rather than speaking during the class. Bin had received comprehensible input from her Korean-speaking peers as well as her teacher, whereas Jin had barely heard and learned Korean from his peers, who mainly spoke English in the classroom.

Ms. Park and Ms. Lee did not focus on the form (i.e., grammaticality, accuracy) of students' utterances, but on the meaning of their messages so that the children could feel confident in producing and attempting oral language. This might be partly because the teachers believed that the children were too young to learn the linguistic knowledge. Ms. Park used less controlled class discourse or allowed her bilingual students' spontaneous comments and questions during the class time. Given low levels of Korean proficiency of her students, Ms. Lee checked monolingual English-speaking students' understanding of the lesson with yes/no or one-word questions. Initiation-Response-Follow-up (IRF) sequences were often found in her speech. IRF-dependent instruction by Ms. Lee constricted creative, flexible, de-centralized communication.

The Korean language schools in the study had helped children learn their HL and understand their ethnicity more personally through cultural activities so they can correctly identify themselves as Korean American and become a global citizen. To this end, young children in Korean HL schools had learned how to use Korean by using it communicatively. The

Korean HL school acted as a safe space which enabled children to learn and practice Korean and honor their ancestors and culture outside the home. They had honored, respected, and appreciated Korean traditional holidays and ate Korean foods collectively. They practiced speaking Korean with their peers and adults in socially and culturally appropriate ways according to relational hierarchies and social power such as age, kinship, and gender. In so doing, they had developed cultural competence and a sense of belonging and forged a cultural identity in them.

### **Teachers and Children as Agents**

Although the Korean language was the official language in the Korean language schools, children made choice for their language use in accordance with their levels of proficiency in both Korean and English rather than following the Korean-only school policy. The older children were, the more often they ignored the language use norms of the school and preferred speaking English with other peers regardless of their levels of proficiency in Korean. In contrast with past studies, young emergent bilingual children tried to use both English and Korean to build a connection between the languages and to construct their repertoires. They had used both languages flexibly to make sense of their world, negotiate for their meanings, support their understandings, and build conceptual and linguistic knowledge.

Classroom policy about language choice for communication and instruction was determined by HL teachers' interpretation of the teaching and learning contexts. As Korean was the official language of instruction and communication in class, their oral Korean proficiency at school entry constricted or enhanced their learning in Korean HL schools. The intention of the school policy was to promote the Korean use among children and preserve the purity of the Korean language. However, this policy resulted in the exclusion of children from English-

dominant families. As the teacher partly agreed with the intention of the school policy, they did neither visibly object to the school's Korean-only policy nor allowed their students to speak English in class. However, they acknowledged that English already permeated through every aspect of their students' lives and thus, the use of English was inevitable in class for children who had a reasonably good grasp of both languages.

I argue that the process of learning the HL in the Korean language schools is co-constructed by HL teachers and children. The HL teachers constantly made decisions about when to use which language, with whom, in what contexts on a case-by-case basis. For the sake of learning the HL, they used code-switching as a teaching strategy as well as enacting the Korean-only policy in class. That is, they sometimes implemented the Korean-only policy in the class and sometimes objected to the restricted use of English in class and used both languages to facilitate the children's Korean learning, just as the parents helped their children with HL homework using both languages. As the HL teachers directly interacted with the children in class, they knew that the Korean-only policy was not always the best way for the children with different levels of HL proficiency to learn the Korean language. They witnessed that it often made English-only children feel powerless and clueless during the class. In this regard, the HL teachers included the English language into the class language repertoire and this might make HL learning become manageable for the English-dominant children.

Further, I argue that teachers' class policies are greatly influenced by parents' commitment to maintain the HL as well as their interaction with the children, their language ideologies and teaching beliefs, and their life experiences as parents. For this reason, even if children are taught in the same classroom, they may vary in their HL proficiency and their degrees of participation in class activities. The children developed attitudes toward the HL

language in their HL schools and brought those various learning experiences with them into the home and in turn, they mediated their parents' language practices and their decision-making about family language policies as they influenced their teachers' language teaching practices and their decision-making about the classroom policies.

## CHAPTER 7

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

#### Introduction

When we focus on a forest, we often miss every tree, and vice versa. Quantitative research often fails to capture an individual human's life story behind a big number, as qualitative research misses a big picture of phenomena. Recognizing this, I have made efforts to give insight into the families' life stories who wanted to maintain their HL and how difficult it was in the soil of the United States, by explaining the interconnection between the family and the larger environments. This qualitative study on early bilingual language development can complement with quantitative studies which have provided a variety of factors that influence children's bilingual language outcomes without addressing how and why they operate the way that they do.

The main object of this study is, therefore, to give deep insight into the interplay between persons and multiple surrounding environments and their effects on family language practice children's heritage language development, by documenting children's language socialization within the home and outside the home. As mentioned earlier, the process of FLP is complicated and multifaceted. This study focused on the context in which a child's language socialization happens, the way family life is structured, and the linguistic culture in which the family functions. The study elucidates what contextual factors influence parents' decisions about family language planning and practice in maintaining the HL for their children, focusing on the multiple layers of the context in which children learn and speak the HL.

The significance of this qualitative research is that the present study contributes to the area of bilingual language development of young children, which has been less studied due to

practical difficulties. The study provides a window into the initial stage of bilingual language development of young children. The study also makes a distinctive contribution by providing empirical evidences of the interactive effect of multiple agents and multiple layers of environment on bilingual development and HL development of young children. By contextualizing HL practices of immigrant families within and beyond the home, this study provides valuable insight into the effect of the meso levels of the sociocultural environment on FLP for HL maintenance of young children.

In line with past studies (Bohman et al., 2010; Hammer, Davison, Lawrence, & Miccio, 2009; Hoff, 2006; Huttenlocher, 1998, Huttenlocher, Waterfall, Vasilyeva, Vevea, & Hedges, 2010; Ishizawa, 2004; Lao, 2004; Place & Hoff, 2011), the present study supports the notion that the parent is one of the decisive factors that influence the child's bilingual ability and his competence in the HL. The results of this study elucidate the context in which that influences children's HL outcomes. Firstly, parents play a significant role in HL maintenance of their young children. It was parents who helped children learn their HLs and continue to practice on a regular basis. They orchestrated bilingual resources (i.e., nanny, bilingual books, ethnic media, HL programs), connected their children with their ethnic culture, and provided them with the opportunity to speak with heritage speakers. Parental involvement in their children's HL maintenance is significantly related to (1) parents' language ideologies and beliefs regarding their HL, (2) parental HL proficiency, and (3) familial and economic resources. Further, parental expectation about HL literacy of their children was influential in promoting HL proficiency. Most of the parents in the study expected their children to learn how to speak the language, but a few of them had a desire to teach their children how to read and write the language and this was closely related to their perception of an economic value of their HL.

Findings from the study show a contrasting demographic and linguistic portrait of the lives of first generation and second generation parents. This result is consistent with past studies (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000, Stevens, 1999) in that age at migration is closely related to English proficiency level and thus, those who arrived in the United States before age 12 were more likely to prefer to speak English. If the parental dominant language was English, the child received less adequate input in the HL and his motivation to learn the language decreased. Children of the second-generation parents in the study had less exposure to their HL, which may lead to HL loss. As past studies (Arriagada, 2005; Minami, 2011) have shown, parental hesitation and reluctance to speak the HL to their children originated from their lack of competence and confidence in oracy and literacy skills in the HL. Parents preferred to converse with their children in the language that was the most confident and proficient. This was because the use of parental dominant language in family interactions was closely related to the maintenance of parental authority.

Children of the HL-dominant parents, that is, the first-generation parents in the study yielded emergent bilingual skills. They had accommodated their language use to the interlocutor's language preference. They had developed the concept of language separation and begun to assign the separate function to languages, considering the topic of the conversation and the social context in which they engaged (Reyes, 2004). For example, the children acknowledged that they had to use Korean in Korean HL schools, just as they had to speak only English in English schools. At the same time, they tended to make a connection between the two languages and thus, code-switching strategies had emerged among the emergent bilingual children.

Children's language proficiency in the HL was also closely related to the quality of exposure to HL they received. The parents in the study had used simplified speech and communication checks for their children's comprehension. The fine tuning of parents' speech to their children's language level helped them learn the HL. The level of comprehension and speaking fluency of children were closely related to the quantity of parental language input. Parents with lower expectations about their children's HL proficiency tended to speak with their children mostly in English or irregularly mix one or two words in the HL (usually the name of things such as family titles and foods) in utterances. This irregular, scarce, sparse use of the HL did not promote their children's bilingual skills much.

Findings stress that children's HL outcomes are dependent on not only how individuals in the family interact with one other within the home environment, but also how they interact with the sociocultural environment in which the family is embedded. In particular, linguistic culture had substantial influence on parental decisions relative to their children's HLE. The study yielded that children's opportunities to develop their HL depended on what physical and cultural environments were available to them. Findings indicate that family language practices are deeply affected by the sociocultural contexts in which each family is situated (Caldas, & Caron-Caldas, 2000; Mucherah, 2008) and FLP change over time in accordance with the family's own circumstances.

### **Multiple Agents and Multiple Layers of Family Language Policy**

Parental involvement with respect to the concept of parental agency was broad from home language and literacy practice, to choices for the form of HL education after school and the engagement of a community of practice. There was a wide range of parental perceived competence for supporting their child's HL. Since every family had diverse life stories, the

parents in the study revealed their varying feelings about HL maintenance. Parents formed language policies for their families, balancing between what they want and what society demands, considering social resources they have. Hence, situational and circumstantial environments have the impact on parental decisions about language choice for interaction with their children and the type of their children's language education. Variation in FLP constructing the home environment resulted from the interaction between parents' language beliefs, which were stemmed from relatively long-lasting social ideologies, *linguistic culture*, parents' circumstances, and families' life course. I argue that given the *multiple arbiters* (Johnson, 2013) in multiple contexts in which HL learning and teaching take place, children's HL outcomes are not always predictable or able to be controlled by parents, although parents are one of the most significant factors to shape children's HL development.

From an ecological perspective, a child needs to acquire a language not only in the home environment between family members, but also more broadly in a speech community. For the success of HL maintenance, therefore, every heritage speakers (i.e., the immediate family, the extended family, the ethnic community) has to share the responsibility for HL maintenance for young children. The study also shows that the linguistic culture of the speech community, invisibly but enormously influences its member s' belief system. The English-dominant second-generation parents did not see their HL as a language of communication on a daily basis. They valued the language as their heritage, but not as a practical, efficient tool of communication in the family. By contrast, the HL-dominant first-generation parents used the language in their everyday lives and thus, their HL is the official language of communication in the family.

Findings highlight the mediating roles of multiple agents, in particular, parents/grandparents/HL teachers/co-ethnic peers in multiple layers of environment in which

children's HL learning and practice take place. Past studies have found various factors which influence children's HL proficiency in the process of HL maintenance, but mainly focused on parents in the home setting. This may be because of the common belief that language maintenance of minorities is the responsibility for parents. However, I argue that parents alone are not necessarily enough to pass down the HL to their children. Children move from place to place, not being fixed in the same single place. They learn to use language through communicative interaction with various people while moving from place to place. Therefore, language learning does not, cannot, and should not take place only in the home. In the same vein, parents are not the only people who influence children's HL learning, though they have the most important impact on HL acquisition of their young children.

I argue that every person who directly and routinely interact with children influences the children's HL acquisition and, further, mediates their parents' HL language planning and practice. In the study, parents, family members, HL teachers, and co-ethnic peers who routinely interacted with the focal children brought their unique life history and beliefs about HL/English, and personal preference for language use with them. They together made choices for the language of communication and co-constructed a local language policy on a case-by-case basis. As a result, the macro-level language norms such as the HL school policy (the Korean-only policy) and the national policy (the English-only policy) were not implemented or enacted in the local sites as what they intended. Johnson (2013) refers to them as "a language policy arbiter who has the ultimate decision in how a policy is implemented...wields a disproportionate amount of power in how a policy gets created, interpreted, appropriated, or instantiated relative to other individuals in the same context" (p. 100).

More importantly, this study highlights the agentive nature of children in their HL learning and maintenance. I argue that children have agency to reject or accept language policies which target them. They influence their parents' language planning and practices for HL maintenance, as in the cases of Amy's and Suji's children. Parents in the study reported that they sent their children to HL schools because the children enjoyed learning HL and if they did not like it, they would not force them to go to HL school. For example, Jin's mother, Amy, wrote a letter to a NKLC's principal and asked to increase the use of English during the class to facilitate HL learning of English-speaking children as Jin found it difficult to understand Korean and resisted going to Korean language school. She considered quitting the school if the school policy did not change to favor English-speaking children. In the meantime, she sent Jin to Takwon-do classes to make him interested in Korean culture and rekindle his motivation to learn Korean.

In sum, this study reveals that HL maintenance and loss of young children are not the sole responsibility of individuals (parents) and families. Although family language policy is created by parents who want to maintain their HL and control language use in their families, researcher should investigate not only multiple layers of environment surrounding children, but also multiple agents at multiple contexts (Johnson, 2013). More importantly, young children should be considered as agents who appropriate their HL learning contexts and who greatly influence parents' language planning and practice.

### **The Main Research Questions**

This section summarizes the findings from the study, focusing on the main research questions addressed in Chapter One.

### **1. How do parents in the study express their language ideology or beliefs about HL maintenance for their children?**

Parents' language beliefs were closely related to how they explained why their children need to learn the HL. Firstly, the parents in the study perceived language as connection, culture, and capital. They viewed the HL as a tool of communication and connection. Humans pursue connections with others and grow in relationships (Jordan, 2009). "Relationships involve a sense and perception of being a part of (as opposed to apart from) another person, feeling connected to the other person whether that be sharing certain ideas and values or sharing certain feelings" (Jordan, as cited in Lewis & Olshansky, 2016, p. 388). Connection leads "to an increased motivation and ability to take action, greater understanding of self, other, and the relationship, increased sense of worth, and a greater desire for more connection" (Miller, as cited in Lewis & Olshansky, 2016, pp. 388). Communication is very crucial for the social, emotional, and cognitive development of young children. Through communication, children who have meaningful conversations and supportive relationships with their parents, family members, and other adults are more likely to overcome challenges and suffering including racial anxiety (Hartling, 2010). Language barrier between generations can weaken the family unity and dilute a sense of the family. Therefore, learning the HL is crucial to maintain the connection with family members who feel more comfortable speaking in the HL.

Secondly, the parents perceived language as culture. Language is not only part of culture, but also a medium of culture. It is the best medium to transmit heritage traditions and culture from one generation to the next. It is considered an indicator of ethnicity as the most typical feature to categorize ethnic groups is language. Hence, through the HL, parents pass down cultural values, traditions, and customs to their children. From a social learning approach,

parents, grandparents, or other family members are good cultural teachers and resources for young children. Through constant exposure to the heritage culture, children conceptualize their heritage culture and develop their cultural identity, and have a sense of belonging to their heritage culture.

Lastly, the parents viewed language as capital. They acknowledged the social and economic benefits of being bilingual. The parents who saw economic values in their HL emphasized the importance of HL literacy. They knew that language cannot be an economic asset if speakers do not have literacy skills. Hence, they held high expectation for HL proficiency in both literacy and oracy. Despite parental efforts to maintain their HL, children are likely to lose HL proficiency once they begin their schooling. This may be because the culture in the United States pushes English, their parents place emphasis on English and academic performance, or they have greater exposure to English in school. The parents tended to assign different functions and roles to languages. That is, their HL is thought to be mostly to communicate in the family and “English is considered to be a tool for social inclusion in a broad sense: a conduit for economic and social advancement” (Park, 2011, p. 443). Because of the importance of English in school, the first generation parents provided their children early exposure to written English although they spoke with their children mostly in their HL. As a result, early bilingualism had emerged among the first-generation parents’ children who had received language input in both languages.

## **2. What strategies do parents use to help their children acquire and maintain their heritage language?**

Although the process of learning a mother tongue is relatively easier than learning a second language later on, learning the HL as a first language demands parents’ efforts and

commitment to maintaining the language when their HL is less-spoken and taught in the community. The results of the study indicate that parents have the agency to control their children's language education. Parents plan their children's daily routines and activities to realize their expectations for their children's language proficiency. In HL learning, parents dedicate themselves to promoting their children's HL skills by placing their children in the learning context in which the language is used. Firstly, parents modeled how to interact with family members and people with the same ethnicity using the HL. Thus, parents' moral and cultural modeling and instruction occurred more explicitly than their HL transmission. Probably, parents' moral and cultural modeling and instruction were likely to be more explicit and focused than their language teaching as children grow up.

Secondly, the children learned the HL through cultural practices. Cultural practices became part of family routines and fun family activities, occurring in natural settings. As children acquire their first language without explicit instructions, the first-generation parents did not deliberately teach their culture and language to children in comparison with the second-generation parents. This cultural comportment cultivates and nurtures children's competent membership in their families and communities (Ochs & Shohet, 2006). Eating together builds closer relationships within the family while sharing experiences and time spent together as a family. "Family dinners may be part and parcel of a broader package of practices, routines, and rituals that reflect parenting beliefs and priorities (Musick & Meyer, 2012, p. 28). For example, eating Korean foods were a bridge to connect the family to their heritage culture, bring them together in the holiday seasons, and stay engaged in their children's lives. It was a good, easy way for the children to experience the Korean culture. Parental socialization patterns also

influenced their children's language use and patterns. If parents socialize actively with their ethnic group, their children are more likely to have more exposure to the HL.

Finally, the parents showed that they sent their children to a HL school when they did not have enough time and language skills to help their children's HL, when they wanted to teach their children written HL, or when children did not have proficient heritage speakers around them. HL schools were a space where young children were able to regularly hear and learn the language. The schools enabled children to continue to practice their HL and culture without any fear of failure. The results of the study indicate that HL schools require language input and support from parents and in the same vein, a child's language acquisition requires additional reinforcement as well as the home context. Hence, they can neither completely replace the role of the parent and the family nor fit every child with different levels of HL proficiency. That is, HL schools supplement language learning and teaching in the home. De Houwer (2007) argues that language input at home does not necessarily lead to children's active use of language. Parents need to expand language input resources for their children. Language input from various resources would maximize HL exposure for young children (Wang, 2015).

### **3. What contextual factors contribute to language maintenance and loss among young children?**

Family ecology matters in maintaining the HL among young children. Firstly, parents' HL proficiency is closely related to the amount of language input children receive. The parents tended to communicate with their children in the language which they had high proficiency and more dominance, regardless of ethnicity. The parents with low levels of HL proficiency tended to speak English to their children. One of the significant findings is that parents' strong commitment to HL maintenance which is closely related to their actual practices is more

influential than their HL proficiency to promote children's HL learning. In the study, not every child liked HL schools and not every parent had sufficient resources. Thus, the parents made efforts to motivate them to continually learn HL, by using ethnic movies, songs, and books. They used their limited resources selectively and strategically in different situations, depending on their children's reactions. Instead of sending their children to HL schools, sometimes they had to find alternatives to help their children's HL maintenance.

Secondly, family structure influences parental decision with regard to their children's language education. Young children may learn their HL from anyone who speaks it, but those who have consistent input from parents, grandparents, and older siblings produce better outcomes (Wang, 2015). Also, the results showed that children are more likely to maintain their HL when they feel strong attachment to their non-English speaking family members such as parents and grandparents (Park, & Sarkar, 2007). Children living with non-English speaking grandparents are more likely to speak their HL. Grandparents and parents share responsibility for children's HL acquisition, so they make an agreement regarding the use of language at home and collaborate each other for their common goal. Above all, parents need to have a strong will and sense of commitment to help their children maintain the HL.

Lastly, educational ideologies and linguistic culture affect parental beliefs about HL maintenance. Especially, parental cultural identity is manifested in language socialization practices and their attitudes toward HL maintenance along with educational ideologies they hold (Worthy & Rodríguez-Galindo, 2006). Kiyama (2010) argues that educational aspirations and expectation of immigrant families are closely related to educational ideologies (e.g., *Family deficit model, funds of knowledge*). For instance, parents and teachers who view the HL as "funds of knowledge" would be more likely to encourage children to master their HL than those

who do not. For them, HL maintenance may not only be an investment for social and economic mobility, but also the historical and personal connection to their country of origin. Thus, negative or indifferent attitudes of teachers and schools toward HL may create situations for a possible negligence in HL maintenance efforts (Lee & Oxelson, 2006).

#### **4. What are the necessary conditions leading to the maintenance of the heritage language of young children?**

Language is a plant growing in the sociocultural soil of society. It would never survive if its roots are not able to push down into the soil to anchor. That is, it would become extinct gradually if it loses function in society (Kramsh, 2003). If the dominant group in a country does not support a diversity of languages, the use of a HL may decline and in turn, the language may disappear. Firstly, comprehensible input matters. Children acquire language by using it in everyday interaction. That is, they learn by observing, listening, and doing in real life. When their learning is situated in real life, they would be able to learn best. Through the use of HL, parents model for their children how to interact with family members and build a close relationship with them. Parents' language use with their children is the most crucial condition to the maintenance of their children's HL. Parental speech was fine-tuned to the child's ability to speak, to understand and to be understood, and to keep focused on the same topic. Without parents' ongoing language supports, their children would not be able to learn and maintain their HL. Parents and HL teachers may be not very articulate when they teach children their HL in explicit, formal ways. In relatively formal teaching settings such as HL classes and HL homework tutoring by parents, for example, both teachers and parents used question-response-feedback forms, such as "what is that?", "It's a \_\_\_\_.", "Right. It's a \_\_\_\_." In casual, spontaneous

conversations with children, however, they had used various vocabulary and sentence patterns, and children tended to initiate conversations and participate actively in conversations.

Heritage speakers who received less input at an earlier age and no schooling in the language later on may not fully acquire all of the uses. To learn and maintain the HL, children need to hear and speak their HL with their parents on a daily basis and if possible, with different HL speakers through various activities. In Lee, Choi and Marqués-Pascual's (2016) study, the authors also found that 20 Mexican and Korean children used limited types of language function use and at this developmental age, young children mostly engage in seeking or conveying information. Therefore, children may not be able to acquire a variety (formal/informal, casual/academic) of the HL although they build a basic foundation of that language though only in verbal communications between parents and children. Parents' high expectations for HL literacy and a language-rich environment are the important factors which enhance children's HL proficiency. Although not many of the parents in the study expected their children to master written HL, heritage literacy skills would help children continue to polish up their HL when their parents or other heritage speakers are not available to help their HL learning and eventually they can become an independent language user.

To maintain the HL, young children need ample opportunities to hear HL tuned to their levels of HL proficiency in order to acquire it successfully. Sufficient HL input is the most crucial to triggering HL acquisition. However, exposure doesn't mean "intake." Language barriers caused a deep crack between them. Following Krashen's comprehensible input theory (1985) and Vygotsky's zone of proximal development theory (1980), in learning the HL in the United States, unplanned exposure which doesn't fine-tune to the level of the child's HL proficiency isn't helpful at all and negatively affects the child's motivation to learn his native

language. It makes him confused, inferior, and shameful about his HL skills, especially those who have lack of patience for confusion. The results from this study indicate that both quantity and quality of input are important in HL development and maintenance for young children. Without constant use of parents' language tuned to their children's language levels and support at home, the HL school alone is not enough and HL acquisition would not happen among young children.

Ethnic identity is crucial to children's HL maintenance in English monolingual society. The study discovered that parental attitudes toward ethnicity positively influenced their children's cultural identity. Because ethnolinguistic identity is closely related to self-esteem, positive attitudes toward ethnicity and the place of their origin made children value their HL and preserve it. If parents valued their HL as cultural and social capitals, their children also wanted to preserve and pass down the language to the next generation. Children can strengthen their HL through interactions with proficient heritage speakers and the HL will act as a medium which connects children with their ethnic community. Children need ideologically safe and physical spaces to practice their HL, appreciate their culture, develop a sense of identity and belonging, and promote a sense of pride in their heritage culture (Baloy, 2011). Without providing adequate environments, both ideological and physical spaces, where children practice and appreciate their own language, intergenerational transmission of a HL is not likely to occur (Baloy, 2011).

Table 11 illustrates the main themes that emerged from the data of the study and summarizes the factors of influence in the process of FLP. This study found that none of the factors in the table acted separately, but rather, families' language policies and practices were the result of a combination and interaction among them and so does a child's HL proficiency.

**Table 12. Multiple Layers of Family Language Policy**

	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Subcategory</i>
<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Language as Connection</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family unity</li> <li>• A sense of belonging</li> <li>• Stay connected with family members</li> <li>• Communicating with family members in the native country</li> </ul>
	<b>Language as Culture</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural activities (foods, festivals, clothes, holidays)</li> <li>• Cultural identity</li> <li>• Cultural pride</li> </ul>
	<b>Language as Capital</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demand on the market</li> <li>• English domination: English as a global language</li> <li>• Economic benefits of bi-/multi-lingualism</li> <li>• Language as an economic asset</li> </ul>
<b>Ecology</b>	<b>Linguistic culture</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• English domination</li> <li>• Social culture: diversity vs. uniformity</li> <li>• Bi-/multilingualism &amp; monolingualism</li> <li>• Social status of minority languages</li> </ul>
	<b>Language policies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• English as the official language of communication and instruction in the U.S.</li> <li>• English as the official language in such domains in government, the media, the law institution, education<sup>(1)</sup></li> <li>• Pro vs. Anti-bilingual education policy</li> </ul>
	<b>Familial &amp; Economic resources</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family structure: Grandparents, siblings, single parent vs. two parents</li> <li>• Spouse's ethnicity (Intra-racial vs. Inter-racial marriage)</li> <li>• Mother's employment</li> <li>• Hiring a HL speaking nanny or tutor</li> <li>• Private, Public school, or charter school</li> <li>• English-only vs. Dual-language immersion school</li> <li>• Visiting the native country regularly</li> </ul>
<b>Agency</b>	<b>Home language</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parents' perceived competence in HL &amp; English proficiency</li> <li>• Parents' language ideologies and belief</li> </ul>
	<b>Type and form of children's HL programs (HL school)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Private vs. Public</li> <li>• HL-only daycare vs. Dual-language immersion daycare</li> <li>• Dual-language immersion kindergarten</li> <li>• Weekdays, weekend, or a dual-language immersion school</li> </ul>
	<b>Community of Practice</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural activities in the home (i.e., eating ethnic foods, celebrating traditional holidays, watching movies &amp; drama in HL, listening to ethnic songs)</li> <li>• Involvement in the ethnic community or organization</li> <li>• Having close friends from the same ethnic group</li> <li>• Identifying with their cultural heritage, especially norms and values</li> </ul>

Note. <sup>(1)</sup> Crystal, 2012

### **Limitations of the Study and Direction of Future Study**

This study's contributions are limited in two major ways. First, given the qualitative nature of this study such as a relatively small number of participants and a nonrandomized sampling method, findings from this study cannot represent the whole Chinese and Korean American population or fully cover the diversity of these populations. Hence, findings can be applicable to other Chinese or Korean Americans or other ethnic groups, but they cannot be replicable or generalizable. However, this study sheds light on the variation in FLP produced by the Chinese and Korean parents of young children within specific contexts. This study can provide a good starting point for future research that more closely investigates FLP of ethnic communities having a sufficiently large ethnic population.

Also, given the parents' academic background, the results might have the limitation of generalizability. All the parents in the study had obtained at least a bachelor's degree except for one parent with an associate degree. According to the 2012 Pew research center's report, Chinese and Korean Americans have higher educational attainment rates than most other Asian groups, as well as the natural group. Over 80% of U.S. Chinese and Korean adults at the age of 25 and older (82%, 92.3% respectively) have a high school diploma; over half of them (51.1%, 52.6% respectively) have obtained at least a bachelor's degree. This is higher than the Asian-American share (49.0%) as well as the national share (28.2%). Thus, despite the limitation of generalizability, the results of the study can contribute to building a detailed picture of parental language policy and practice among highly educated Asian parents.

Furthermore, the contributions of this study are limited by the nature of short term qualitative research. Given discourse represents a person's invisible perception and belief underlying their behaviors, discourse data (i.e., interview transcripts, field notes) are crucial to

understanding parental language beliefs and practices. The interview and observation data collected in the study provide much detailed and valid information on HL development and maintenance. Nonetheless, as the present study was conducted in a relatively short period time, it may capture minimal progress during childhood, not long-term changes in HL development. As bilingual development and HL acquisition are a long process that continues throughout the life span, individual children's bilingual skills and their heritage language proficiency may change according to their life trajectories over the life span. Therefore, future study may profit from longitudinal investigation which can provide a full window into the process of HL development and maintenance among children.

### **Why do We Care for Heritage Language Loss of Their Children?**

According to Fishman (1989), many immigrants living in the home where a non-dominant language is spoken experience a complete language shift or language loss within three generations. I witnessed in the study that the language barrier created an invisible wall between generations. The conversations between family members, especially elders and children, were shallow and were often filled a long silence. The language barrier hindered intimate conversations between grandparent and grandson. Language is not simply a tool of communication. It is a medium to emotionally connect individuals and in turn, make them feel a sense of belonging to the family.

There are two opinions about language. First, not all languages are valuable. As the world become more and more globalized, people have seen the benefits of being bi-and multilingual and now many people want to learn a foreign language alongside their dominant language. English has become a global language through American world dominance in economy and finance. Given economic benefits of bi/multilingualism, many people would argue

that language is social and cultural capital. However, every language has different prestige and status, so people have different levels of power depending on the language that they speak (Fairclough, 2015). That which is considered important to learn is often dominated by the politics or the institutions of the surrounding culture. If a language is spoken by the dominant group, every subgroup in society must learn it to succeed academically and professionally.

Baker (2011) argues that

(e.g., as immigrants) their first language is insufficient to meet the educational, political and employment demands, and the communicative needs of the society in which they are placed. . . . must become bilingual to operate in the majority language society that surrounds them. Consequently, their first language is in danger of being replaced by the second language. (p. 4)

As Baker points out, the problem of this approach is that minority children learn the dominant language at the expense of their first language (Roberts, 1995; Wright, Taylor, & Macarthur, 2000).

The other opinion is that all languages are valuable. From this approach, language is not simply an economic asset or a property, but part of human rights. Communication is not just about ‘talking to others’, but “connection to relate and emphasize with other humans.” Language, in particular, HLs, is a means to connect individual to others and foster a deep relationship with “mutual empathy and mutual empowerment” (Jordan, 2009). Jordan (2010) characterizes “growth-fostering relationship by (1) an increase in energy; (2) increased knowledge and clarity about one’s own experience, the other person, and the relationship; (3) creativity and productivity; (4) a great sense of worth; and a desire for more connection” (p. 4) Human relationship develops and grows in dialogue with self and others. The Parent-child relationship

keeps growing continually through their dyadic interaction. Thus, the loss of HL does not simply mean losing a language itself. It means that children lose “the sense of kinship associated with language” (Fishman, 1996) and “mutual empathy, mutual care, and mutual responsiveness” (Jordan, 2010) with their parents, their family members, and their ethnic people.

HL maintenance is the linguistic human right of minorities (Wong-Fillmore, 2000; Peirce & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994). Many HL speakers equate themselves with their language. The HL was perceived as the core of identity among the participating parents. One HL-dominant parent said to me, “I want my children to feel the same level or depth as I feel. So, when I say, ‘I love you’, they feel how much I love them.” The parents expressed the desire that their children were able to understand the meaning and importance of their HL in their lives. For immigrant and immigrant descent parents, the HL reflects who they are and where they came from. Anzaldúa (1987) said, “If you really want to hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity – I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself.”

Although many stakeholders in society deal with HL maintenance as either political or cognitive issue, it is closely related to social and emotional issues of immigrants and their families. In particular for the children, their HL and culture are the foundation of social and emotional growth of young minority children and their intellectual growth would be promoted on that foundation later on. Children of immigrants compose a meaningful number and they will participate as active adults in our society. If they lose their HL due to the oppression of the dominant language group, language loss may not simply mean a personal loss. It would ultimately weaken the social bonds and community feeling and the solid foundation of human rights which are crucial to building a safe, inclusive, just society for all.

## **If Heritage Languages Matter, What Should We Do?**

### **For School Teachers**

Valdés, González, García, and Márquez (2008) argue that educational institutions hold up “hegemonic beliefs about monolingualism.” Influenced by American ideologies and beliefs about language, teachers are disinterested in HL maintenance and thus, children’s HL competence is rendered invisible in the mainstream classroom (Lee & Oxelson, 2006). Heritage students rarely or never have the opportunity to interact, express, think in their HL in classes (Verma, 2000). Once early bilingual children start school, they quickly assimilate to the language and culture of their peer group in order to become its member. This unfavorable school culture may exacerbate language attrition among early bilingual children. Therefore, it would be more challenging for children to maintain their HL without inclusion of HL into the mainstream curriculum as a learning resource (Cummins, 2005). Teachers should acknowledge and honor heritage languages spoken at home and relate them to other type of instruction.

Support and encouragement from teachers is important in the process of children’s bilingual development and HL development. Cummins (1992) stresses the responsibility public schools should take. Teachers should actively educate parents to use the language at home and outside the home, as well as increasing the informal interaction with other heritage speakers in the HL (Fishman, 1996). The negative or disinterested attitudes of teachers to the culture and language of their students may discourage heritage student from maintaining their HL, exacerbate language shift, and even make them feel unconnected in class. Hence, teachers need to show their “respect for all forms of language used in the communities in which they teach” (McKay, & Hornberger, 1996, p. 3) and help heritage students learn English without sacrificing their HL.

Further, constructing a strong bond and inclusive classroom does not necessarily mean to exhort children to have the “we are all same” mindset. This may cause an unexpected consequence for young children. Teachers need positive recognition or affirmation of their student’s cultural and ethnic roots, not ignoring them by stressing only their American-ness. Teachers’ intention may be good, but the means they choose may result in the unintended consequence that children perceive ethnicity as a mark of categorical differences or a label. Schools and teachers influence kids in so many ways – socially, emotionally, and intellectually – while modeling life skills beyond school. If students’ native languages are shamed or ignored in school, students may not want to upkeep the heritage language at home or outside of the classroom.

#### **For Heritage Language Practitioners**

As seen previously, young HL learners vary in linguistic backgrounds and English-dominant HL learners have gradually increased in schools. As many second generation parents do not have adequate HL proficiency to teach their children their HL, they send their children to HL programs with the desire to preserve their HL. Not surprisingly, children of the second-generation parents are likely to come to the HL class without knowing the language and they may have enough language support from their English-dominant parents. Many HL teachers, however, assume that children have adequate preparation in speaking at school entry and HL-only instructions make them learn the language quickly. As the HL is the medium of instruction, however, many English-speaking children feel anxiety and frustration and some of them have to leave the school because of language barriers.

Given that English-dominant children do not have proper HL resources, language input by teachers should be comprehensible to children. That is, teacher speech needs to be guided by

the child's comprehension ability. Teachers may use English or code-switching methods in order to scaffold HL learning of English-dominant children. This would be good for children to make a connection between English and their HL and enrich their language repertoire. Children learn better when they feel safe without the fear of failure and have less anxiety which leads to lower their intake (Krashen, 1985). Findings shed light on the importance of identity in learning the HL. HL teachers should create identity-safe classrooms where bilingual children develop a positive academic identity in the classroom.

Additionally, HL teachers must work in concert with parents to build home-school partnerships to meet the different language needs and expectations of the parents and students. Further, given that most HL teachers in community-based HL schools are parents volunteers, they may not have ever received teacher training programs and thus, they need to develop classroom management skills and pedagogical content knowledge as well as the context knowledge. HL schools should provide HL teachers with financial and educational support, thereby HL teachers can have professional development opportunities. Also, teacher colleges need to develop special teacher training programs fit HL teachers who have not received traditional teacher training programs.

### **For Language Policymakers**

HLs are not seen as a priority area by learners or educators, as speaking a language other than English is still at a great disadvantage at school entry. Peirce and Skutnabb-Kangas (1994) defines linguistic human right as follows.

It means the right to learn the mother tongue, orally and in writing, including at least basic education through the medium of the mother tongue, and to use it in many official contexts. It also means the right to learn at least one of the official languages in the

country of residence. It should therefore be normal that teachers (including ESL teachers) are bilingual.

In terms of linguistic human right, every child should have adequate and ample access to both the dominant language of the nation and their own HL in order to advocate for them and maintain the connection with their heritage, history, and family. Given that HL education is perceived as part of civil and human rights movement, all language minority children should have the equal opportunity to develop literacy and orality in both their first and second languages. All students should benefit from bilingual education regardless of their native language or socioeconomic background. This would be possible when bilingual education policies are based on a respect for multiculturalism and linguistic rights of immigrants, and parents and communities participate in the policy-making process which directly influences their child's education. Policy makers need to create a safe space where language minority families express their concerns and need for bilingual education.

Dual-language immersion programs, which may include English-speaking children learning a second language, are in demand. These programs can benefit both young foreign-language learners and HL learners. According to Fishman (2001), there are more than 6000 HL schools in the United States, teaching 145 different languages. Given the financial and practical difficulties, it may not be possible to include all 145 languages into public schools. Instead, 6000 HL schools can be used as national HL centers if the government collaboratively works with HL schools, HL practitioners, and HL educators to develop the curricula and teaching materials (e.g., textbooks, workbooks) of HLs.

For older HL learners, the government needs to make efforts to offer more options for languages when foreign language is a requirement in school. Lee and Shin (2008) suggest that

students can earn credits by taking courses in their ethnic community centers. If their HL is not an option at the school then, schools need to allow them to receive credits by studying elsewhere beyond the school such as their cultural communities and organizations. By doing so, students whose HL is less-taught in schools can study their HL in their ethnic communities and also receive credits from these community schools. This must motivate HL learners to master the HL and improve oracy and literacy skills in their HL. Further, schools need more qualified bilingual teachers in the long-term to meet growing demand for dual-language immersion programs. Hence, it is crucial to build a pipeline for bilingual teachers to recruit and retain them.

### **Closing**

“If they speak (language name), they must be –” (Crystal, 1997, p. 42). This simple question shows the close relationship between language and identity. Crystal (1997) argues that language shows us “where we are from”, “where we belong to”, and “what we are.” Language, in particular, for immigrants, tells their life history of past, present, and even future. In this dissertation, I have tried to not use the term *English language learners* intentionally. Instead, I have used the term ‘HL speakers/learners.’ My intention to use the term is that I want people to see what HL-speaking children have already achieved and value their efforts in maintaining their HL rather than focusing on what they have not achieved yet or what they have to acquire.

The parents in the study expressed fear for marginalization when teaching their children their HL as mother tongue. In particular, the first generation-parents who were determined to maintain the HL for their children shared their initial fear that their children might be delayed to learn English skills necessary for academic success at school. However, they realized that their fear was socially and culturally constructed, living in the English-dominant society as a minority when they saw their children acquire English gradually, steadily, and effortlessly. They were

surprised about how fluently their children spoke English and how much less confident their children felt in speaking their HL. They had felt that their children's mother tongue would be replaced with the dominant "school" language.

"To get on in these societies, it is essential to master the official language as early in life as possible" (Cristal, 1997, p. 4). English has 'economic, technological, and cultural power' (Cristal, 1997, p. 7). Mastery of English is crucial for all children in English speaking countries in order to advocate for themselves. However, speaking only English is not and should not be the only way for young HL speakers to learn English. Young children should not be forced to choose one or the other. Many studies (Cummins, 1984; Uccelli & Paez, 2007) have shown that the relationship between English language and HL is not in conflict with one another, but as a supplement to each other in child language development. Cummins (1984) argues that children will accelerate a second language development if their first language is well developed.

The parents in the study believed that the HL would act as a medium to enforce ethnic identity, keep family close, and build shared knowledge between people in ethnic groups. There were the very common desires among the parents: they wanted their children to understand how they feel their HL; have the same deep emotion and expression as they had in the HL. If parents only speak their native language and their children lose the language, they would be no longer able to share deep matters of the heart. Losing a sense of belonging, rootedness, and security simply happens when they lose a common language in the family.

In the study, young emergent bilingual children had built their early emerging literacy skills on the foundation of their oral language skills in the HL. Without adequate spoken HL skills, young children would not be able to achieve potential development. It also seems likely that they integrated the two language skills rather than adding one to another language as their

linguistic skills in two languages developed. They continued to assimilate and accommodate language inputs to their prior repertoire and in turn, they had expanded and enhanced their repertoire. Learning in young children may be a process of building a structure to make sense of their physical, social, and cultural environments.

The definition of the term HL includes property transmitted by or acquired from a predecessor, possessed as a result of one's natural situation or birth (Merriam Webster). Why do we refer to minority languages as HLs? I have not heard anyone refer to English as a HL. I understand the positive connotation of the term HLs, but language should be actively used by people in a speech community on a daily basis. In the domination of English, children cannot effortlessly acquire and maintain the HL. Parents should not regard it as sufficient to maintain the HL simply by sending their children to a HL school or forcing them to speak the language at home. They should realize that they alone are not enough for their children to learn their HL and maintain the language. Some of them wrongly believe that their children learn it later in life and become bilingual. This study shows that children's bilingualism does not emerge spontaneously. Parents should use the HL consistently, exclusively, and systematically. FLP should be specific and concrete. As children age, children need various narrative forms to express themselves and describe occasions they experience in their every lives. Therefore, parents should facilitate their linguistic transition in different domains of activity in life.

We have heard it for so long and so often that HL maintenance is parents' responsibility because the HL is used only at home. This socially constructed concept was found among the participating parents in the study. They perceived HL maintenance as their responsibility. In practice, however, a strong supportive social network of family, friends, neighbors, school, and community was a crucial key predictor to determine the success of a child's HL maintenance.

All heritage speakers need to have a sense of responsibility for passing their HL down to the next generation. Findings indicate that many English-dominant parents need extra language help from proficient heritage speakers.

One of the most significant findings is that home environment is not the single determinant factor in the loss and maintenance of a HL. We need to recognize the complexity and dynamics of family language policy and language practice. Without a serious commitment and collaboration at the familial, communal, federal, and national levels, language maintenance among linguistic minorities would rarely happen. In particular, policy makers need to listen to people's voices when policies directly affect their lives and rights. Without their inclusion, the implementation of policies would be weakened and the unexpected negative consequences would take place. Consequently, the HL proficiency achievable only in one of them must be limited. I hope that my study will provide an important point of reference for research on children's bilingual development, especially young children who were born with unlimited potential.

**APPENDIX A**  
**SUMMARY OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENTS**

	First Generation ( <i>Asian born</i> ) ( <i>n=10</i> )	Second Generation ( <i>U.S. born</i> ) ( <i>n=4</i> )
Gender		
Female	7	4
Male	3	0
Age		
Mean	37	37
Range	29 - 46	35 - 38
Ethnicity of parent		
Korean	7	3
Chinese	3	1
Ethnicity of spouse		
The same race	9	2
Others	1	2
Age (Years) at migration		
$6 \leq X < 12$	4	
$12 \leq X < 18$	1	N/A
$18 \leq X < 32$	5	
Mean	18	
Range	4 - 31	
Length of residence		
$9 \leq X < 10$	1	
$10 \leq X < 15$	3	
$15 \leq X < 20$	2	N/A
$20 \leq X < 25$	1	
$25 \leq X < 30$	1	
$30 \leq X < 35$	2	
Education		
$\leq$ High school education	0	0
$\geq$ Some college education	0	1
$\geq$ college education	3	1
$\geq$ Graduate education	6	2
Employment		
Employed	9	3
Unemployed	1	1

**APPENDIX B****INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR AN INTERVIEW WITH PARENTS**

1. Tell me about your family background.
2. Why do you want to teach your child the HL?
3. Which is more important, writing or speaking in HL learning?
4. How do you help your child's HL language? Who help her/his HL/English?
5. How do you help your child's English?
6. What are advantages and disadvantages of knowing the HL?
7. What do you think about HL loss? Why do you think it happen?
8. Who should take responsible for HL/English teaching? Why?
9. What does knowing the HL/English mean to you?
10. Please, describe your child's daily routines.
11. What does it mean to be American?
12. What if your child doesn't like to learn her/his native language(s)?
13. How do you help your child to practice her/his HL(s)?
14. What language do family members speak with your child?
15. When does your child switch languages? Does your child distinguish the two languages?
16. Which is more important, writing or speaking in your native language(s)? Why?
17. What activities do you regularly do with your child?
18. Who/what help your child's native language at most?
19. How much do you think you use English/HL when you speak with your child?
20. Do you prefer people from your ethnic group using the HL when they speak with your child? Why?
21. Do you have any rule for language use at home?
22. Who is responsible for native language maintenance? How can teachers help your child maintain the HL?
23. What do you think teachers need to know about bilingual children or children of immigrant families)?
24. In thinking about our interview, is there anything else that you would like to add?

**APPENDIX C**  
**INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR AN INTERVIEW WITH FAMILY MEMBERS &**  
**HERTIAGE LANGUAGE TEACHER**

1. When do you speak your HL with whom?
2. Which language do you feel more comfortable, English and HL?
3. Which is more important, writing or speaking in HL learning?
4. Do you speak a child in your HL? Why or Why not?
5. Do you think it is important for a child to know her/his HL? Why or why not?
6. Why do some children lose their HL and others do not?
7. What do you think about HL loss?
8. Do you think the first language hider learning a second language? Why or Why not?
9. Do you think becoming bilingual is easy for children?
10. Do you think society value your HL? Why or Why not?
11. In the U.S., what language should be the focus of a child? Why?
12. In the U.S., do you think that a child will become proficient in English regardless of other languages spoken? Why or why not?
13. In the U.S., is it difficult for an English dominant child to become bilingual?
14. What are advantages and disadvantages of knowing the HL?
15. What do you say to a child about learning the HLs and culture? Do you explain why s/he needs to learn and maintain them?

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