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Who is proficient?: An investigation of bilingual language proficiency and its influence on classroom practices in a first-grade Korean/English Two Way Immersion classroom

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Education

by

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Committee in charge:

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September 2018

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Who is proficient?: An investigation of bilingual language proficiency and its influence on classroom practices in a first-grade Korean/English Two Way Immersion classroom

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Bilingual Research Journal, DOI: 10.1080/15235882.2017.1380729

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Lee, W. & Lee, J.S. Becoming Bilingual Teachers: Understanding the relationship between pedagogical Language Specific Knowledge and Content Teaching Across Languages. Round table presentation, The American Educational Research Association 2018 conference, New York, April 2018

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Lee, W. & Lee, J.S. A Bilingual is not Two Monolinguals: Understanding Referential Choices in Narratives of Korean-English Bilingual Children. Paper presentation. The American Association for applied linguistics 2013 Annual conference, 6 Dallas, March 2013.

Lee, W. & Downs, C. The Complexity of Rhetorical Structure in ESL Reading Texts and Pedagogical Implication. CATESOL 2011Annual Conference, Long beach, April 2011.

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Research Assistant, The Child Language Lab (Director: Dr. Soonja Choi), San Diego State University.

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LANGUAGES

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English: Near-Native Proficiency
Japanese: Advanced Proficiency (JLPT N1)
French: Working Proficiency

ABSTRACT

Who is proficient?: An investigation of bilingual language proficiency and its influence on classroom practices in a first-grade Korean/English Two Way Immersion classroom

By

Wona Lee

Although it is common to assess the language proficiencies of nonnative speaker students using standardized tests in educational contexts where language proficiency tends to be considered a determiner of academic success, some studies have argued that language proficiency should instead be considered a concept of communicative competence (e.g., Bachman, 1990; Canale & Swain, 1980; Celce-Murcia et al., 1995). As these studies have noted, however, most Two-Way Immersion (TWI) research regarding students' language proficiencies has been based on standardized tests (e.g., Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Oller & Eilers, 2002; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Although various studies have found that students in TWI programs demonstrated progress toward the goals of

bilingualism and biliteracy development (e.g., Alanis, 2000; de Jong, 2004), the outcomes in terms of the non-English language development are not consistent (e.g., Ha, 2001; Kanagy, 2001; Kovelman et al., 2008). Therefore, this study examines alternative ways of assessing students' language proficiencies beyond using standardized tests in order to better understand their bilingual development.

Based upon sociocultural theories of learning, this study adopts the concept of *perceived proficiency*, i.e., that language proficiency is perceived by participants who constitute learning through interaction. In particular, this study focuses on two bilingual teachers' perceived proficiencies of students in a Korean/English TWI program. In addition, it works toward assessing students' bilingual language proficiency by analyzing Foreign Language Oral Skills Evaluation Matrix (FLOSEM) scores and students' use of referential choices in order to examine the relationship with teachers' perceived proficiencies. Last, using positioning theory, this study investigates how teachers' perceived proficiencies influence classroom practices.

The data used in this study were collected through video and audio recordings of classroom interactions (24 hours); four interviews (two with each teacher); and students' narratives in both English and Korean (eight narratives; two narratives per student). For the investigation of teachers' perceived proficiencies of students, 46 interview excerpts were selected based on the researchers' questions about students' language ability. Clancy's (1995) categorization of lexical forms was used for the analysis of referential choice.

The findings revealed that the two teachers' perceived language proficiencies of students were constructed based on the contextual specifications of a Korean English TWI classroom. Mainly, both teachers considered the acquisition of 'content vocabulary'

or ‘content knowledge’ to be the main competence that constitutes high proficiency in both languages. Along with the perceived proficiencies of students, the teachers’ self-perception about their own Korean proficiencies, particularly their lack of discipline-specific vocabulary, influenced turn-taking processes that afforded or constrained students’opportunity to participate during the Korean instructional time. However, a detailed analysis of students’ use of referential choices in both languages and the results of the FLOSEM test suggested student proficiencies that differed from the teachers’ perceived proficiencies. Referential choice involves distinctive language-specific characteristics for each language; yet the teachers did not observe the skillful use of referential choice in the narrative of a student who had not been recognized by the teachers as possessing content vocabulary and knowledge. Throughout the classroom observation video data recorded during the Korean instructional time, teachers’ perceived student language proficiencies played an important role in their designation of more proficient students who could model for less proficient students, despite the fact that the more proficient student may not have been consistently proficient according to different ways of measuring proficiency.

On the basis of these findings, I discuss implications for theory and practice. I argue for the need to implement various approaches to assessing bilingual students’ language proficiencies, particularly in educational contexts such as TWI programs, emphasizing the development of tools that enable teachers to expand the scope of their perceptions about students’ bilingual language proficiency which will in turn likely enhance students’ bilingual language development.

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Chapter I

Introduction

In an increasingly globalized society, individuals communicate across cultural and physical boundaries as citizens of the world. As a result, bilingualism has become a vital commodity for effective communication. For many participants in this global society, the common languages for interaction have been learned rather than natively acquired. For example, more than 50% of English speakers in the world are nonnative speakers who can understand English and have at least some basic competence in its use, whether written or spoken ("Global Business Speaks English," 2012). It is therefore common for participants in transnational communication to interact with language speakers of various language proficiency levels and cultural backgrounds.

This phenomenon is also observable in classrooms in the United States, both for English language learners and foreign language learners. Due to the growing number of nonnative speakers of English and the demand for foreign language education in the United States, both content and language classrooms are commonly composed of diverse learners with different levels of proficiency; this has confronted teachers with pedagogical challenges in helping individual students learn content or improve target language proficiencies based on a range of learner needs. In particular, there is a growing population of English learners in classrooms in the U.S., and thus it is of urgent need to better understand how students with different proficiency levels in a language can interact with one another, especially in contexts where content learning must also occur. Two-Way Immersion (TWI) programs, also known as dual language immersion programs, offer a rich setting in which this problem can be examined, especially considering that

most TWI students have different proficiency levels in their first language (L1) and second language (L2).

A. Statement of Problem and Rationale for the Study

Although it is common to assess the language proficiencies of nonnative speaker students using standardized tests in educational contexts where language proficiency is considered a determiner of academic success, various studies have argued that language proficiency should instead be considered a part of communicative competence, not just measured according to the results of standardized tests (e.g., Bachman, 1990; Canale & Swain, 1980; Celce-Murcia et al., 1995). They have mainly argued that it is not sufficient to make crucial educational decisions for nonnative speaker students by conducting language proficiency assessment using standardized tests, especially when learning and teaching take place through various forms of interaction.

Not surprisingly, most TWI research regarding students' language proficiencies has been based on standardized tests. Furthermore, the majority of studies consider academic success in the target language as sufficient proof of a high level of proficiency (e.g., Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Oller & Eilers, 2002; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Since student academic outcomes, based on standardized tests, are favorable among both TWI language minority students and TWI language majority students compared to their counterparts in English-only schools or in different types of bilingual programs, various studies have argued that students in TWI programs have similarly demonstrated progress toward the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy development (e.g., Alanis, 2000; de Jong, 2004).

However, the outcomes in students' non-English language development are not consistent: some studies have shown that both majority-language students and minority-language students showed proficiency in both languages (e.g, Lindholm-Leary, 2011; Thomas & Collier, 2002) while others have found that students did not develop a high proficiency in the non-English language (e.g., Ha, 2001; Kanagy, 2001; Kovelman et al., 2008). Furthermore, the latter studies suggested that the low social status of the non-English language and the relatively limited input outside the classroom seem to be contributing factors in the slow pace of the non-English language development. Because the results are not consistent and are based on the assumption that societal elements such as the status of the non-English language or the linguistic environment are contributing factors, it is necessary to go beyond using standardized tests in assessing students' language proficiencies in order to better understand their bilingual development.

While various studies have emphasized the notion of communicative competence, including grammatical, pragmatic, sociolinguistic, strategic, and discourse competence in evaluating language proficiency in the field of second language acquisition (e.g., Canale & Swain, 1980; Celce-Murcia et al., 1995; Hymes, 1972), recent research has suggested an alternative notion of language proficiency: perceived proficiency and its influence of perceived proficiency on classroom interaction (e.g., Kim & McDonough, 2008; Watanabe & Swain, 2008; Martin-Beltran, 2010). Although the general concept of proficiency might provide a useful lens to better understand the relationship between language proficiency and the learning process, these studies also relied on traditional, oversimplified views of language proficiency. In other words, most of the studies categorized students' language proficiencies into levels such as advanced or beginner in

the target language or in dichotomous ways such as English-dominant speakers versus non-English-dominant speakers.

However, language proficiencies in the two languages in TWI programs are much more complicated, as previous research has shown (Kovelman et al., 2008; Lee, 2007). In particular, language minority students, who have a non-English language as a home language, have demonstrated various levels of proficiency in English and in the non-English language, depending on the linguistic environments of the two languages. Therefore, the concept of perceived proficiency must be examined in detail in order to investigate how it actually influences classroom practices. This study begins to fill this gap through a more detailed exploration of perceived proficiency and its relationship with classroom practices.

B. Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to conduct a detailed exploration of the notion of perceived proficiency and its relationship with classroom practices. Drawing on sociocultural theories of learning, this study focuses on bilingual teachers' perceived proficiencies of students in a Korean/English bilingual program. In this specific educational setting, bilingual teachers are considered to be experts in both languages who can provide essential scaffolding for students' bilingual development. When learning is viewed as a socially inspired process, it then becomes necessary to investigate how teachers perceive students' language proficiencies because teachers play a critical role in organizing classroom interaction.

In sum, the initial purpose of this study is twofold: to identify the main categories that teachers use to determine their perceived proficiencies of students in both Korean

and English and to investigate the relationship of these perceived proficiencies and the instructional practices in actual classrooms. In addition, the initial purpose of the study has led to an emerging question about the validity of teachers' perceived proficiencies as well as the need to find an alternative assessment tools, especially for bilingual speakers. Therefore, this dissertation further seeks to explore an alternative way to evaluate students' bilingual language proficiency. In order to achieve this goal, this study assesses a language-specific characteristic, renferential choice, that highlights the typological distance between Korean and English. In this regard, the research questions that guide this study are as follows:

(1) How do teachers' perceived proficiencies of student language ability align with other measures of language proficiency?

(2) What is the relationship between teachers' perceived proficiencies and classroom practices in a Korean/English TWI program, if any?

C. Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. Chapter I specifies the rationale for this study by describing the necessity for a detailed investigation of perceived proficiency and its relationship with classroom practices in a Korean/English TWI program, and the need for alternative assessment tools for bilingual language proficiency. To that end, this chapter introduced the purpose of the study and presented the research questions. Chapter II is divided into three sections: the first addresses the theoretical framework in which this study is situated; the second presents the TWI research regarding language proficiency; and the third explains positioning theory, which enables an analysis of how teachers' perceived proficiencies of student language proficiency

influence classroom practices. Chapter III presents the methods used, starting with a description of the TWI program as well as detailed information about the participants: two teachers and four focal children. In addition, it outlines the coding categories of classroom observation video data and children's narratives for examining students' referential choice. Chapter IV presents the findings and discussion for the first research question, which is about teachers' perceived proficiency of student language ability and other measurements of language proficiency. Chapter V introduces the findings and discussion related to the second research question, which is about examining the relationship between teachers' perceived proficiencies and classroom practices. Chapter VI considers the conclusions and implications of this study as well as directions for future research.

Chapter II

Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents the theoretical framework that situates this study. First, it provides a brief overview of how language proficiency has been evaluated and how it has influenced learning and teaching practices, in the field of second language acquisition. The chapter then introduces the concept of *perceived proficiency* as a construct that influences teaching and learning practices. It also presents sociocultural theories of learning in order to explain how this study views the role of teachers. Then, the chapter presents a systematic review of relevant studies on students' bilingual development in Two Way Immersion (TWI) programs, which informed the goals of this study. Finally, it introduces positioning theory, which provides a lens for analyzing how perceived proficiency influences classroom interaction in a TWI classroom.

A. Language Proficiency in Educational Contexts

In educational contexts, if a student is not a native speaker of the language of instruction, their language proficiency is often considered to be a determiner of academic success (Haneda, 2008; Valdés, 2001; Yoon, 2008). In schools across the United States, students who speak a language other than English at home are assessed in terms of their English language proficiency when they first enter school for this reason. For example, California administers the English Language Proficiency Assessments for California (ELPAC) and the result of the ELPAC determines the kinds of content instruction as well as English language education that students will receive. However, there have been various arguments about whether the ELPAC or other standardized language assessments

is a valid tool to assess students' English proficiencies. Some studies have pointed out that there are no generally accepted categorizations for each level in this kind of standardized language test (Abedi, 2008; Bialystock, 2001; Stokes-Guinan & Goldenberg, 2011). In fact, other assessment tools have shown different results from those of the standardized language test (CTB/McGraw-Hill, 2005) since there are no absolute criteria that determine English proficiency. In addition, some studies have argued that inaccurate proficiency designation or classification decisions limit students' academic development because they may not have access to a wide range of elective courses or Advanced Placement classes (Callahan, 2005; Haertel, 2006; Stokes-Guinan & Goldenberg, 2011). Therefore, it appears to be damaging to make crucial educational decisions about individual students based on language proficiency assessment using standardized tests.

Therefore, instead of understanding language proficiency as determined by the results of a standardized test, this study views language proficiency as a notion of measurement through language in use. Starting with Hymes (1972), in the field of second language acquisition, many scholars have attempted to develop common references for measuring the language proficiency of nonnative students (e.g. Bachman, 1990; Canale and Swain, 1980; Celce-Murcia et al., 1995).

First, Canale and Swain (1980) developed the concept of communicative competence as a critical factor in creating their framework for language proficiency. They focused on sociolinguistics and its interaction with other competencies, such as grammatical, strategic competence, and discourse competence, in viewing communication as dynamic language use. Scholars have criticized the notion of communicative competence as too vast in domain and too complex in nature such that

even native speakers may not achieve it; this provides a valid objection against the validity of standardized language tests as effective measures of various language abilities.

Second, Bachman (1990) argued for a model of language competence that puts emphasis on the role of strategic competence, that is, metacognitive strategies that enable the interaction of knowledge and the affective functions of language use. While acknowledging the difficulty of assessing metacognitive levels of language use, the more extended Bachman & Palmer's (2010) model of language competence is clearly a multidisciplinary and holistic way of measuring one's language proficiency. They recommended that teachers use their model as a checklist to develop their own tests. Therefore, this model contributed to expanding the categories of language proficiency by introducing metacognitive ability into the assessment of language proficiency.

Third, Celce-Murcia, Dornyei, & Thurrell (1995) suggested a more elaborated model of communicative competence compared to Canale and Swain's (1980). Through their model of communicative competence, Celce-Muria et al. emphasized the role of discourse competence in evaluating language proficiency. Celce-Murcia et al. (1995) also draw attention to the dynamic aspects of various competencies and the interaction among them.

> It is not sufficient simply to list all the components; it is important to show the potential overlaps, interrelations and interactions, and to realize that discourse is where all the competencies most obviously reveal themselves. Discourse thus is the component in which (or through which) all the other competencies must be studied—and ultimately assessed—if one is concerned with communicative competence, which is not a hierarchical system of discrete competencies or abilities but a dynamic, interactive construct. (p. 145)

Thus, Celce-Murcia et al.'s model of communicative competence provides a comprehensive view that one's language proficiency should be assessed through the mode of interactions. Therefore, they argued that students' linguistic backgrounds, not just English proficiencies, may affect students' academic performance.

B. Perceived Proficiency

Due to the emphasis on communicative competence when measuring one's language proficiency, the concept of perceived proficiency has arisen in the field of second language acquisition research. That is, language proficiency is not just assessed through designed test tools, it is also perceived by the participants of interaction and it influences the dynamic of conversations. In particular, foreigner talk and child-directed speech are considered to be common accommodations when native speakers or more proficient speakers perceive interlocutors' low proficiencies (Giles, 1979; Hatch, 1983; Long, 1983).

The perceived proficiency of the interlocutor has been observed in various studies about bilingual interactions. Among the research about codeswitching, Auer (1984) found that the participant's perception of the interlocutor influences the interaction; he therefore categorized one motivation for codeswitching as 'participant-related' codeswitching. That is, bilingual speakers produce participant-related codeswitching in order to compensate for the interlocutor's language proficiency in a language (Chanseawrassamee & Shin, 2009; Mondada, 2007; Olmedo, 2003). This participant-related codeswitching is not limited to cases where the more proficient speakers switch their language use for the less proficient speakers. Even when the language of the interaction was not their dominant language, young bilingual children have been found to produce participant-

related codeswitching to the non-dominant language, based on the perceived proficiency of their interlocutor (Lee et al., 2016).

In addition, participant-related codeswitching has been frequently observed in educational settings. For example, studies have shown that teachers employ codeswitching in order to assist students' understanding by providing L1 translations for L2 vocabulary and terms (Lin, 1996; 2000). More proficient students also switch to their L1 when they work with less proficient students in language classrooms (Hancock, 1997; Mori, 2004; Lee, 2010). Also more proficient students in the language of instruction switch to their L1 when they work with less proficient students (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz, 2005; Shin & Milroy, 2000).

More specifically related to the matter of traditional measurements of language proficiency, such as level tests for placement, previous research has found that learner perceptions of interlocutor proficiency influence the peer interaction in language classes considerably more than measured proficiency (Watanabe & Swain, 2008). It is particularly common in language classes for students to have different levels of proficiency, although no participant other than the teacher can be considered an expert on the second or foreign language use. Due to the specific nature of language classrooms, various research has attempted to investigate how learner proficiency influences peer interactions. In Iwashita's (2001) study, the more proficient Japanese foreign language students in a mixed group of high and low proficiencies produced modified output for the less proficient students. Similarly, Ohta (2000) found that the more proficient student assisted the less proficient student by taking charge of linguistic demands to fulfill the a task. However, it is often considered to be a negative phenomenon in terms of foreign language pedagogy then a more proficient student often takes over for a less proficient

student (Kowal & Swain, 1994). The same learners showed changes in their participation patterns depending on the types of pairs: mixed versus matched proficiency pairs (Kim & McDonough, 2008; Leeser, 2004; William, 1999). That is, the more proficient students focused more on the overt forms of the target language when they were paired with an interlocutor who had a similar level of proficiency.

In addition to the studies described above that have focused on how the perceived proficiency of interlocutors influences teaching and learning practices, Lee et al.'s (2008) study provides valuable insights into the influence of perceived proficiency on students' bilingual development in a dual language program context. Their findings suggested that there was a tendency for both students and teachers to be perceived as either a Spanish speaker or an English speaker, instead of as bilingual speakers. The perceived linguistic ability in their dominant language in the bilingual educational context prevented students from engaging in various learning opportunities for their bilingual development. Martin-Beltran (2010) also reinforced this finding through her research on peer interactions in a Spanish/English dual language program. She found that learners are constantly assessing and forming perceptions of their interlocutor's proficiency during interaction. Furthermore, learners with higher perceived proficiency created certain norms for their specific situations and employed modifications, clarifications, codeswitching, or exclusion. In other words, the norms are usually created by the participants with higher levels of target language proficiency, and these norms allow or constrain learning opportunities for the less proficient learners.

C. Sociocultural Theories of Learning

In order to situate the concept of perceived proficiency toward the contexts of this study, the following section has been organized into parts drawing from sociocultural

theories of learning: an introduction of sociocultural approach to learning and the role of experts, and the observation of learning process mediated by linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors.

1. Two distinctive features in sociocultural theories of learning: Zone of proximal development and Scaffolding

This study draws on sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978) to investigate how teachers' perceived proficiency of students influences their teaching practices through the interaction with students in the TWI classroom. The main reason for this study to focus on teacher's perceived proficiency of students is that the sociocultural theory of learning views teachers as a pivotal figure in providing scaffolding within the zone of proximal development. Therefore, sociocultural theory provides a useful lens for interpreting teacher-student interactions as students enters contexts requiring social interactions. Based on sociocultural theory, learning is stimulated and nourished by interactions with others, therefore, learning is essentially a socially inspired process (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996; Wertsch, 1991; Cole & Scribner, 1978). Sociocultural theory also emphasizes the role of the learner as an active individual who continuously recognizes the world through mediated cultural means such as tools and signs in interaction with objects and others. Therefore, this study will focus on if there are any changes in learners' roles through the interaction with the teachers.

More specifically, two distinctive features of Vygotskian sociocultural theory effectively explain the importance of interaction between students and teachers in educational settings. First, the concept of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) emphasizes the interaction of teachers and students in order to maximize learning output.

After recognizing the gap between learners' actual and potential levels, teachers need to provide guidance to assist learners to reach their potential levels. Therefore, Lantolf and Appel (1994, p.10) define the ZPD not as a product derived from specific tasks, but as "the higher cognitive process emerging as a result of interpersonal activity." Second, Vygotskian sociocultural theory suggests scaffolding as a tool to reach the potential level in the ZPD. Wood et al. (1976), for example, suggests that successful learning takes place within supportive interactions in which teachers provide students with scaffolding by directing their attention to key features of the learning objectives and prompting them to accomplish tasks. Therefore, it is inevitable to investigate how bilingual teachers in this study perceive students' language proficiencies in order to analyze how they function as providers of appropriate scaffolding to maximize learning output.

2. Guided participation

Along with the teachers' roles as scaffolding providers, the concept of guided participation provides the lens how to view the more proficient students in each language or both languages in bilingual educational contexts. Expanding the Vygotskian emphasis on interaction in the learning process, Rogoff (1990, 1991) identifies effective interaction as guided participation. By analyzing children's various forms of participation with parents and peers in agricultural and house work, she shows that children have opportunities to observe and participate in skilled activities with the non-verbal guidance of adult members. Although Rogoff's study focuses on informal learning settings, her findings suggest that learners may access learning opportunities by guided participation not only through verbal but also non-verbal scaffolding. In fact, several studies define guided participation as the connection between experts or more knowledgeable learners

and novices or less knowledgeable learners (Atencio, 2004; Bailey, 2009; Gupta, 2009; Wells, 2000). In addition, Lantolf (2006) found that less proficient language learners are encouraged to communicate with more proficient learners so that the less proficient ones receive linguistic assistance, which helps them participate more effectively in conversations. Because opportunities to participate and interact with others are crucially shaped by the proficiency of a language of instruction, this study applies the concept of guided participation to investigate if teachers' perception influences the dynamics of peer interactions.

3. Mediation in the context of learning and teaching

This study also draws on previous L2 research based on sociocultural theory in analyzing classroom interaction. According to Vygotsky (1978, 1987), human mental activity, such as learning and teaching, arises as a result of a system that is structured by our biological mental capacities and our culturally constructed symbolic artifacts. Therefore, Vygotsky argued that it is possible to observe how the mind functions by analyzing how children utilize language, the meditational artifact, when they encounter complex tasks. Moll (2000) emphasizes the importance of Vygotsky's concept of mediation to learning as follows:

> To put it simply, human beings interact with their worlds primarily through mediational means; and these mediational means, the use of cultural artifacts, tools and symbols, including language, play crucial roles in the formation of human intellectual capacities. (p. 257)

Considering that language is an important mediational tool, beginning from Lantolf and Frawley (1986), L2 researchers have been interested in how L2 learners use their new

language to mediate themselves when encountering difficult tasks. Some studies have argued that the language of a task influences L2 learners' accomplishment because they are not able to use the L2 to mediate cognition even when they can use it for fluent and proficient social speech (e.g., Centeno-Cortes and Jimenez-Jimenez, 2004; Ushakova, 1995).

In addition, recent L2 research based on sociocultural theory considers the use of gestures as a form of mediation. McCafferty (2004) argues that the use of gestures can signal mediation processes even before the use of verbal language, as Vygotsky (1978) has highlighted a close connection between gesture and symbolic play in children. In addition, McNeil (2000) suggests that speech and gesture form a unit of thinking, namely a growth point, a concept connected to Vygotsky's inner speech. In fact, Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) define participation and engagement in the learning process as the result of cognition that is enacted and embodied through multimodal interaction. In addition, studies on interaction across modalities have provided a growing body of empirical evidence suggesting that gestures are an important mode of expression and are closely linked to language and speech (e.g., Golden-Meadow, 2003; Kendon, 2004; McNeill, 2000; Choi & Lantolf, 2008; Gale, 2006). Lantolf (2006) has also highlighted how students could benefit when they are instructed to use gestures in a systematic way in order to mediate their own leaning. Therefore, these studies have suggested that both speech and gesture provide an enhanced window to the mind that enables researchers to observe speakers' mental representation and processes in educational settings. In terms of bilingual development, gesture analysis also contributes to an examination of bidirectional crosslinguistic influences (e.g., Cook, 2003; Hohenstein et al., 2006),

providing some evidence that the L2 can influence L1 representations even when L2 proficiency is not high.

Therefore, this study uses both verbal and non-verbal modes including embodiments such as body orientation, eye gaze, and gesture in order to observe students' mental representation and learning processes.

D. TWI Research regarding Language Proficiency

By promoting additive bilingualism, TWI programs have been considered a desirable form of bilingual education that will benefit both language minority and language majority students. This type of program has also been recognized as having the potential to eliminate the notion of bilingualism as a euphemism for an English language deficit (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). In order to promote additive bilingualism, TWI programs advance three main goals: 1) the development of high levels of proficiency in the first and second languages, 2) grade-level academic achievement, and 3) positive cross-cultural attitudes (Christian, Howard, & Loeb, 2000; Lindholm-Leary, 2001). In implementing TWI programs, there are many variations with regard to the methods of the instructor's delivery. The programs are categorized in terms of program model, student population, approach to literacy instruction, location, and length of time in operation.

Based on research on effective instructional approaches for language minority students and sociocultural approaches to language and literacy development (Lindholm-Leary, 2001), the TWI program encompasses three critical features (Lindholm-Leary, 2011; Senesac, 2002). First, the program involves dual language instruction where the minority language is used for a considerable amount of the students' instructional day. Second, only one language is used during the designated instructional time. Third, the

integration of language minority students and language majority students enables students to function as models for each other and switch between being the expert and the novice as they learn content in both their first language (L1) and second language (L2). Due to the basic characteristics of TWI programs mentioned above, the majority of the students have the opportunity to experience being a native speaker and non-native speaker of the instructional languages on a daily basis. In addition, many programs implement a strong policy for language use; that is, the teachers only use the language of instruction and the students are firmly encouraged to use only the language of instruction as well (Lindholm-Leary, 2001).

Although the main goal of TWI programs is to promote both academic success and bilingual development, a great number of studies have focused only on academic success. Various studies have shown that student academic outcomes, based on standardized tests, are favorable among both language minority and majority students compared to their counterparts in English-only schools or in different forms of bilingual programs (e.g., Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Oller & Eilers, 2002; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Furthermore, both language minority and majority students demonstrate progress toward the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy development (e.g., Alanis, 2000; de Jong, 2004). However, their positive academic outcomes are usually only visible after 4th or 5th grade, when students have acquired enough L2 proficiency, because students in TWI programs are developing their L2 skills while learning academic content (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). Therefore, these studies have shown that students' academic success depends upon their language development.

However, the outcomes of minority language development are not consistent, as illustrated by those of academic achievement and English language development.

Although majority-language and minority-language students in Spanish/English TWI programs showed proficiency in both languages, a considerable number of students did not develop a high proficiency in the minority language (Potowski, 2005; Tedick & Young, 2014). More extremely, it has often been observed that both majority-language and minority-language students became English dominant speakers. In addition, the results of studies in TWI programs with less common language combinations, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, have added more complexity to the minority language development of the students in these programs. According to Lindholm-Leary's (2011) study, both majority-language and minority-language students in a Chinese/English TWI program were able to develop oral and reading proficiency in Chinese while meeting standards in English at grade levels. In contrast, students in Korean/English and Japanese/English TWI programs yielded the opposite result in terms of minority language development. That is, both majority-language and minority-language students considerably lagged behind in terms of their minority language development (Ha, 2001; Rounds and Kanagy, 1998) while developing English proficiency comparable to that of English speakers in an English-only school (Bae, 2007).

Research has suggested that the perceived low social status of the minority language and limited input outside the classroom seem to be contributing factors in the minority language development (e.g., Ha, 2001; Kovelman et al. 2008). However, the various outcomes in the studies mentioned above on minority language development call for more careful investigation regarding the reasons for students' less competent proficiency in the minority languages, because, for example, students in Spanish/English TWI programs exhibited mixed results. In addition, it seems counterintuitive that the students in the Chinese/English program showed a high proficiency in Chinese although

the language may be considered to have a lower social status than English and is used less commonly outside the classroom in the United States. It is worth comparing the Chinese/English TWI program with the Korean/English and Japanese/English TWI programs in seeking out an additional possible reason for students' lack of proficiency other than the low social status and lack of input in the minority languages. Considering the fact that Chinese is a Subject-Verb-Object and isolating language with less morphology but both Korean and Japanese are Subject-Object-Verb and agglutinative languages with complex morphology, it is possible that students' limited proficiency in Japanese and Korean might be due to the typological distance between English and the minority languages (Ha, 2001; Rounds & Kanagy, 1998).

In fact, minority-language teachers in TWI programs have reported that there is no specific curriculum for the minority languages; they therefore rely on an English curriculum without any specific training for content teaching in minority languages (Lee & Jeong, 2013; Lindholm-Leary, 2012; Tedick & Wesley, 2015). Therefore, it is imperative to develop curricula specific to minority languages, in particular for languages with a greater typological distance from English, because the lack of a language-specific curriculum might influence students' limited proficiency in minority languages.

E. Positioning Theory

As defined by Harré & van Langenhove (1999), positioning theory is "the study of local moral orders as ever-shifting patterns of mutual and contestable rights and obligations of speaking and acting" (p. 1). Positioning theory has also introduced as a metaphorical term to analyze interpersonal encounters from a discursive viewpoint (Hollway, 1984). Therefore, I expect that the concept of positioning will facilitate an analysis of the dynamics of perceived language proficiency, as this study explores how

students position themselves and how they are positioned by other students and teachers within a specific context, a TWI classroom.

For this study, it is necessary to highlight two perspectives of positioning theory. One is reflexive positioning (Davies and Harré, 1990), which refers to intentional self-positioning. That is, an individual participant's self-positioning determines the way they behave in a given context. Davies and Harré defined reflexive positioning as "indexing one's statements with the point of view one has on its relevant world." In other words, participants create a way of expressing their stances through self-positioning. For example, language learners might exhibit different patterns of participation according to how they position themselves in terms of language proficiency.

The other perspective is interactive positioning, which can be observed only through interactions in various contexts (Davies & Harré, 1990). Although reflexive positioning cannot explain why the same person would position him or herself differently in different contexts, interactive positioning offers details about the various positionings of the same person. In this view, participants of interaction, usually the ones who have authority in a given context, can position other participants in specific ways and limit or extend how 'positioned' participants behave (Adams & Harré, 2001). That is, if participants are "positioned as incompetent in a certain field of endeavour they will not be accorded the right to contribute to discussions in that field" (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, p. 1).

The dynamic relationship of interactive positioning is quite relevant to the context of the language classroom because a teacher positioning students as deficient may deny them the right to correct their cognitive performance, while a teacher positioning them as intelligent may allow them the possibility to improve their performance (Harré &

Moghaddam, 2003). Therefore, interactive positioning enables researchers to understand teachers' positioning of bilingual students in TWI immersion classrooms for both languages. Teachers can intentionally or unintentionally position the students in more positive or more negative ways through their teaching practices. Teachers might position bilingual students with various proficiencies, without realizing that they may limit students' opportunities to develop a positive sense of themselves as learners.

Furthermore, it is common for students to have different proficiencies in English and the partner language in TWI immersion programs. Positioning occurs in the moment of interaction but it is also contextually tied "across interactions or scales of activity" (Anderson, 2009, p. 292). Therefore, the same students can manifest different identities or be assigned new identities in the form of positions in different contexts, such as instruction in English and in the partner language.

Chapter III

Methodology

In this chapter, I introduce the setting and participants of this study and outline the methods by which the data were selected, coded, and analyzed.

A. Context of Student language proficiency

1. The TWI classroom

This study focuses on a first-grade classroom in a Korean/English TWI program. Under the 50/50 model, the students in the first-grade classroom are provided with 50% instructional time in Korean and 50% in English each day. For example, the students have Korean time in the morning before lunch, and then they switch to English instruction in the afternoon. This pattern of instructional language changes monthly, so that the students can have English time in the morning and Korean time in the afternoon in the following month. Following this schedule, content instruction in all subject matters is delivered in both languages. At the time of data collection, this TWI program was in its third year of operation with Grades K–2. The first-grade class was composed of 18 ethnically Korean and eight non-Korean students.

This study focuses on two types of instructional groupings: teacher-fronted whole class lessons and small group lessons. In small group lessons, the students are divided into three groups according to either language proficiency-based groupings (e.g., advanced/intermediate/beginning Korean proficiency groups) or mixed groupings without language proficiency being considered.

a. Teacher-fronted whole group lessons

Regardless of instructional languages, the teacher-fronted whole class lessons consist of two parts: a daily linguistic routine and content instruction. The daily linguistic routine in the beginning of the day covers topics such as the day, date, weather, numbers, and a review of previous lessons. In this routine, the teachers utilize class props such as a big calendar or a number count chart or word chart. In addition, the teachers use various songs/chants and hand motions for the different topics. One example of a linguistic routine is counting the school days. Although school day–counting is a widespread practice in many lower-grade classrooms, it plays a special role in this particular TWI program: learning about number systems in both languages. The teacher usually stands right next to a number chart holder with individual slots from 1 to 100. If the school day is the 64th day, the students are instructed to count from 1 to 64 in the designated language, signaled by the teacher's melodic phrase "how many days have we come to school?" The other teacher-fronted whole class lessons are designed for content instruction. Before the students are instructed to work in designated small groups, the teacher-fronted whole group lessons focus on the main concepts of the content instruction. When the teacher-fronted whole group lessons occur after the small group lessons, the teachers usually review the lesson and finish up the designated language instructional time before switching to the other language.

b. Small group lessons

For the small group lessons, the students are divided into three groups according to either language proficiency-based groupings (e.g., advanced/intermediate/beginning Korean proficiency groups) or mixed groupings without consideration of their language proficiency. Each group of students rotates through three tables, spending 20–30 minutes

at each table. The most representative example of a language proficiency-based small group lesson is the reading activity table where the students are encouraged to read aloud a given passage in their textbooks. Although different groups use the same materials, the teachers accommodate students' language proficiency in order to provide a level of instruction appropriate to the students' different levels of vocabulary, reading comprehension, and writing skills. For example, the Korean teacher starts a "popcorn" reading activity, either by announcing "We will start popcorn reading" for the group with high Korean language proficiency, or by providing an explanation about popcorn reading, including examples, for the group with low Korean language proficiency. Meanwhile, the small group lessons in which students are grouped regardless of their language proficiency are usually conducted for non-content related instruction, such as computer education including word processing practice.

2. Participants

a. Four focal students

Jinwoo: Jinwoo is a recent immigrant from South Korea. At the beginning of this study, he had been in the United States for a year. This recent immigrant status leads him to be one of the most proficient Korean speakers in the class based on the researchers' field notes. For example, he corrects his peers' Korean language on many occasions. His strong Korean proficiency seems to allow him to be a leader, especially during Korean instructional time.

Hyunsung: Hyunsung is also a recent immigrant from South Korea. In the beginning of the data collection, he had been in the United States for one and a half years.

Unlike Jinwoo, Hyunsung is a quiet student even during the Korean instructional time despite his high proficiency in Korean.

Jane: Jane was born in the United States and her parents are first-generation immigrants. Due to her mother's strong desire for Jane to be bilingual, her Korean language is well developed through daily interactions with her family members. Jane rarely raises her hand in order to take a turn or to answer the teacher's questions during either English or Korean instructional time.

Cindy: Cindy's family immigrated to the United States from Korea. Although Cindy was born in the United States, her Korean language has been well developed through daily interactions with her family members, especially her grandmother and older siblings. Because both her parents work, Cindy usually spends most of her time with her grandmother, learning Korean in an authentic and natural environment.

b. Teachers

Each class was taught by the two first-grade bilingual teachers, Mrs. Shin, a credentialed bilingual teacher in her fifth year of teaching, and Ms. Park, a credentialed teacher in her first year of teaching. Mrs. Shin was the Korean-designated teacher and led the Korean-based instructional activities, while Ms. Park served as the assistant teacher during Korean instructional time. Conversely, Ms. Park was the English-designated teacher and led all the English-based instructional activities, during which time Mrs. Shin was in the role of the assistant teacher. Thus, both teachers were present during all instructional time periods. Moreover, both teachers identified as Korean American and both grew up in homes where their parents highly valued and emphasized the Korean language and culture; therefore, they were able to maintain their Korean proficiency. They had also both enrolled in Korean language courses at a university in Korea to

improve their literacy skills in Korean before teaching. However, they saw themselves as second language speakers of Korean and acknowledged that they were still in the process of learning Korean. They had no difficulties communicating in Korean orally, and their literacy skills were advanced enough to read and write text appropriate for primary grade levels, yet they both lacked a deep understanding of the Korean grammatical rules and had never had any linguistics training in Korean.

B. Data Collection and Analysis

1. Interview Data

Two in-depth interviews were conducted with each teacher. The first interview was conducted at the beginning of the school year and the second at the end of the school year. The interviews were semi-structured, focusing on the teachers' overall attitude towards language and bilingual development, experiences in the TWI program, and assessments of students' academic and language development. In particular, this study focuses on the teachers' responses to the questions about students' academic and language development. The following are sample interview questions:

- Can you evaluate students' English and Korean language ability including listening, reading, speaking, and writing skills?
- What is the most difficult part of your teaching?
- What kind of instructional strategies do you use?

The interviews were coded inductively using qualitative open coding (Saldana, 2009; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Inductive coding enabled categories to emerge in terms of how the teachers evaluate students' language proficiencies. Interview excerpts were selected based on the researchers' questions about students' language ability. Additional excerpts

were also chosen from parts of the interviews when the teachers mentioned the language ability of any of the four focal children in order to describe their teaching experiences.

2. Classroom Observation Data

First, as the main data source, classroom observation data from both Korean and English instructional time were collected through video and audio recording over a period of eight months. Video recording occurred using two video cameras, which were placed depending on the instructional groupings. For example, the cameras were placed in the corner and the back of the room during the teacher-fronted whole class lessons, while they and were located placed close to the specific table of focus during the small group lessons. In addition to the video data, audio recordings were conducted via portable audio recorders carried by the four focal students.

Table 3.1. Class observation collection time

Data collection dates during the school year	2008	2009	Total
	Nov 24 Dec 10	March 19~20 March 23 June 12	
Amount	10 hours	14 hours	24 hours

In order to understand the context of the classroom, 12 sets of field notes written during observations will be utilized. These field notes include conversations with the teachers and students, notes on classroom organization, and a detailed description of student interaction. In addition, field notes about each focal child were analyzed in order to understand their linguistic backgrounds. The field notes for each focal child include information about the language assessment interviews, their language use at home, parents' interviews, and afternoon school activities. These data enable a triangulation of

data sources through the use of multiple sources with various depictions of the same settings (Patton, 2002).

This study employs a qualitative approach informed by microanalytic methods; it focuses on classroom interactions in order to capture details of the interactions from the classroom observation data (McDermott et al., 1978; Erickson, 1992; LeBaron, 2012). This approach is beneficial for this dissertation because microanalysis (1) works with audio/videotaped data of naturally occurring social encounters to investigate what participants do as they co-construct interaction, (2) provides rich descriptions of how interaction is socially and culturally constructed in educational settings, and (3) attends to the embodied features of human activity, including gestures and participants' use of tools or artifacts. Guided by the tools employed in a microanalysis study, the main data for the current study consist of classroom observation recordings, language assessments, video data, and field notes.

All classroom interactions that involved the focal students were selected from the 24-hour video data set. As mentioned in Chapter II, this study also includes non-linguistic behavior as an object of analysis. Goodwin (1981) and Kendon (1990) have argued that students use non-linguistic modes, such as gaze, body postures, and gestures in order to participate in meaning-making processes in classrooms. Moreover, the role of non-linguistic interactions in constructing knowledge has also been identified as a tool for a "deeper and enriched understanding of both teaching and learning" (Yore & Treagust, 2006, 291). Because language proficiency in TWI programs varies, it is necessary to additionally analyze the range of non-linguistic modes of participation that emerging bilingual students take up in classroom interactions to better understand how participatory learning takes place or is constrained.

In order to code non-verbal behaviors, the current study adopts McNeil's (1992) four categories, as follows:

- Iconic gesture: refers to the depiction of semantic context (kinetographic: presenting bodily action; pictographic: presenting the actual form of an object).
- Metaphoric gesture: represents an abstract idea (kinetographic or pictographic).
- Deictic gesture: a pointing gesture that refers to "either concrete entities in the physical environment, or abstract loci in space" (p. 230).
- Beat gesture: refers to hand gestures when the hands are used to make a certain sound.

3. Focal Children's Narrative Data and FLOSEM Results

The focal children's narratives were selected from interviews conducted for assessments of the children's language proficiency in English and Korean. Based on a picture-book-story retell protocol (McKay, 2006), children were asked to narrate "The Tortoise and the Hare" and "The Ant and the Dove" in both languages. Each story consists of six pictures and the researcher or children flip the pages while the children narrate the stories.

Although the teacher evaluated students' language proficiency in order to divide the students into three small groups, the researchers who collected this data also evaluated the focal students' language proficiency through face-to-face interviews. Language assessment sessions were conducted three times over a 15-month period and were video recorded. Two native speakers rated speakers in each assessment session based on the Foreign Language Oral Skills Evaluation Matrix (FLOSEM) (Padilla, Sung, & Aninao, 1997). These video data of language assessment sessions are particularly

informative since one of the research questions concerns the relationship between classroom interaction and the students' language proficiency.

The data were audio and/or video recorded and transcribed using Transana, a qualitative video analysis program; they were coded using Excel. In order to examine Korean-English bilingual children's referential choice, I chose the clause as the unit of analysis. Therefore, stand-alone noun phrases without predicates were not included in the analysis. First, each referential choice was coded for whether it was represented as a lexical form, null form, pronoun, or deictic form. Second, each referential choice was coded for informational status: "given" or "new." Third, each referential choice was coded for whether it was contrastive with previous referents or not. Errors with pronouns were also coded because two of the focal students, Jinwoo and Hyunsung, had an English proficiency ranked as low. Based on Clancy's (1995) categorization, "new" was used for referents being mentioned for the first time in the storytelling session and "given" for referents that have been mentioned in the preceding clause. "Contrast," a discourse-pragmatic property, was used for referents which had a potential contrast with another referent.

The following examples illustrate the discourse-pragmatic properties that were coded. In Sample 1, Jane uses a lexical form to introduce a new character.

Sample 1

Jane: And the bird was eating a fruit.
A man was gonna shoot the bird

In Sample 2, Cindy uses the pronoun *he* for given information since she had already mentioned *the ant* in her previous sentence.

Sample 2

Cindy: And the ant went over there to the person.
So he just bite the person's feet.

In Sample 3, Jinwoo uses a null form for given information when he refers to a rabbit that had just been mentioned in previous pictures.

Sample 3

Jinwoo: And rabbit sleep
(looks at the next picture) wake up and

In Sample 4, Hyunsung uses a lexical form for a character that has a potential contrast with another referent. In line 3, Hyunsung says *rabbit* even though he had introduced it in line 1 because it was contrasted with *the turtle* in line 2.

Sample 4

1. Hyunsung: and the rabbit is winning
2. and the turtle is losing
3. and then rabbit's going all the ways almost to the tree

While coding the data according to Clancy's discourse-prominent properties, I discovered several errors in which pronouns were used for new information, or potential contrast. This is seen in Sample 5 where Hyunsung starts telling a story with the pronoun 'they'. Therefore, I included the category "error" in the coding scheme.

Sample 5

Hyunsung: I think- they're gonna race- up to the tree.

The following examples illustrate the discourse-pragmatic properties that were coded in Korean. In Sample 6, Jane uses a lexical form to indicate a new referent when she starts the story.

Sample 6

Jane: 개미가 여기 있었는데, 풍덩 빠졌어요.
kaymi-ka yeki issessnuntey phwunteng ppacyesseyo.
Ant-SUB here is-CONN with a splash fall-PST-DEC
There was an ant and fell into the water with a splash

In Sample 7, Jinwoo uses a null form for given information since the researcher had already mentioned *thokki* (the rabbit) in her sentence.

Sample 7

Researcher: 토끼 빨라 안 빨라?
Thokki ppala an ppala?
Rabbit fast NOT fast
The rabbit is fast or not?
Jinwoo: 빨라요
ppala
fast
It's fast

In Sample 8, there is a contrast between *thokki* 'rabbit' and *kepwuki* 'turtle' so it is necessary for Cindy to use a lexical form for the referent of the subject of the verb in the second clause.

Sample 8

Cindy: 토끼가 이겨가지고 거북이가 화났어
kepwuki-ka ikyekaciko **thokkika** hwanasseyo
Turtle-SUB win-CONN rabbit-SUB mad-PST_DEC
The turtle won, so the rabbit is mad

C. Limitations of the Study

First, one of the limitations of this study relates to the sourcing of some of the data: the classroom observation video data, the interview data with the teachers, field notes, and children's narratives for this study were obtained from a larger project about dual language development among Korean and Mexican immigrant children. Because the

four focal students were selected for this dissertation after the video recordings of the classroom interactions had been made, there are occasions when some of the focal students were captured by the camera more than others, when they were involved in class interactions. For example, Hyunsung are does not appear in the video data as much as the other focal children, which should be considered along with might lead to questions about the findings of the second question, which explores the relationship between teachers' perceived proficiency and classroom interaction.

Second, another limitation pertains to the process of examining the students' use of referential choice for the third research question. The focal children's narratives were collected for language assessment, not for the specific purpose of examining their referential choice. To collect the narratives, the picture-book-story retell protocol (McKay, 2006) was used, where children were asked to narrate "The Tortoise and the Hare" and "The Ant and the Dove" in both English and Korean. However, Clancy's (1996) study, from which I adapted the coding categories, used a prompt with a clear protagonist, contrary to the two stories used in this study; it therefore might be necessary to use a similar prompt for future research.

Chapter IV

Teachers' Perceived Proficiencies of Four Focal Students in Korean and English and Relationship with other Measures of Language Proficiency

This chapter seeks to examine different measures of language proficiency that are relevant to a particular school context, a first-grade Korean/English TWI classroom. In the first part, I attempt to investigate how teachers perceive students' language proficiency after introducing students' Foreign Language Oral Skills Evaluation Matrix (FLOSEM) scores. Based on the sociocultural theories of learning, the role of a capable adult is considered as one of the key feature of learning because it enhances learning process through supportive and scaffolded interactions (Vygotsky, 1978). Therefore, it is noteworthy to investigate teacher's perceived proficiency of students' language ability because it plays an important role in determining the range of teacher input. In fact, previous research illustrated how teachers' perceived proficiency of students can afford or constraint students' language learning opportunities (Martin-Beltran, 2010), thus it is imperative to examine how the Korean English bilingual teachers in this study perceive their students' proficiencies both in Korean and English before exploring the relationship between perceived proficiency and actual classroom practice in the next chapter. Then the second part of this chapter explores the acquisition of referential choice in both languages as a different measure of language proficiency. Studies of referential choice in terms of child language acquisition have foregrounded the relationship between referential choice and discourse function as well as cognitive mechanisms (Karmiloff-Smith 1981; Clancy 1993; Allen 2000; Serratrice 2005; Van Rij et al.,2009). In addition,

it will be a useful tool to investigate bilingual development since there are prominent differences between English and Korean language-Korean is a pro-drop language[1] and the third-person pronouns do not correspond to the role of pronouns in English.

A. Teachers' Perceived Proficiencies of Students

First, this chapter presents two teachers' perceived proficiencies of four focal students in both Korean and English by analyzing in-depth interview data with two teachers. According to the Foreign Language Oral Skills Evaluation Matrix (FLOSEM) (Padilla & Sung, 1999)[2], Jinwoo and Hyunsung ranked as high proficiency in Korean and low proficiency in English while Jane and Cindy ranked as high in both Korean and English (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. English and Korean FLOSEM scores in the beginning and end of the school year[3]

	English		Korean	
	Sep	June	Sep	June
Jinwoo	11	16.5	28	27.5
Hyunsung	9	15.5	27	26.5
Jane	20	23	28.5	26.5
Cindy	17	20	21	24

[1] Noun phrases can be dropped when they are "given information" that the speaker thinks the listener is able to infer from the context.
[2] The categories of grammar, fluency, pronunciation, vocabulary, and comprehension were each rated on a Likert scale of 1 (no proficiency) to 6 (native-like proficiency).
[3] FLOSEM scores:
0/1-5 Pre-production 6-10 Early Production 11-15 Speech Emergence
16-20 Intermediate Fluency (Low Intermediate)
21-25 Advanced Fluency (High Intermediate)
26-30 Advanced (Native-like speaker)

1. Jinwoo

First of all, both teachers stated that Jinwoo's dominant language was Korean, probably due to his recent immigrant status.

Comment 1]

> 진우도 한국말이 더 편한 것 같아요. 걔도 책을 참 잘 읽어요. 이해력도 좋고. 쓰는 거는 motivation 하고 연결이 많이 있지만, 뭐 자기가 하고 싶으면 잘하고. 하기 싫으면 좀 안 할 때도 있고. 하지만 확실히 한국말을 더 편하게 여기고. 쓰는 것도 항상 한국말로 쓰고 영어로 번역하는 편이에요. (Mrs. Shin)
>
> *Jinwoo seems to be comfortable with speaking Korean. He also reads books well. Reading comprehension is also good. Writing has something to do with his motivation, but he is good when he wants to do or he does not do when he does not like to do. But, for sure, Korean is the comfortable language. He always writes in Korean and translates it into English.*

In Comment 1, Mrs. Shin stated that Jinwoo seemed to be comfortable with the Korean language by highlighting his reading and comprehension abilities. Although the teachers provided information about Jinwoo's Korean proficiency relatively less than the one about English proficiency, Mrs. Shin mentioned three categories, reading ability, comprehension, and writing. Both teachers mentioned about reading ability and comprehension with general comments such as "잘 읽어요" 'He reads well' and "이해력도 좋고" 'His comprehension ability is good.' and description about his writing process in order to explain why his dominant language is Korean. Mrs. Shin commented, "항상 한국말로 쓰고 영어로 번역하는 편이에요" 'He always tends to write in Korean and translate it into English' and suggested this as the evidence of the reason why Korean is Jinwoo's dominant language. However, both teachers did not specify his proficiency and improvement in the Korean language. It seems that both teachers were concerned about his English development since Jinwoo recently immigrated to the United Stated.

Both teachers provided detailed information Jinwoo's English proficiency and emphasized his improvement as well as their analysis about reasons for the improvement. Although they did not mention any improvement in Korean, both teachers highlighted improvement that Jinwoo had showed between the first interview and second interview. In the first interview, both teachers clearly stated that his English proficiency was considerably low and they identified the lack of vocabulary as a main factor for his low English proficiency.

Comment 2]

"Writing project은 한국말로 쓰고 그리고 영어로 해요. 아무래도 vocabulary가 많이 딸리기 때문에 그래서 그런것 같아요." (Mrs. Shin)

He does his writing project in Korean first, then does it in English. Probably it is because of the lack of vocabulary.

Comment 3]

"Comprehension도 vocabulary 때문에 떨어지는 것 같아요". (Mrs. Shin)
Due to the lack of vocabulary, his comprehension is not good.

Comment 4]

"Vocabulary 때문에 ELO lower 그룹에 있어요." (Ms. Park)
Because of the lack of vocabulary, he was placed to a lower ELO.

They concluded that the lack of vocabulary was the culprit for the low performance in writing (Comment 2), the lack of comprehension ability (Comment 3), and the placement into the low English language learning group (Comment 4).

In addition, both teacher determined Jinwoo's English proficiency as low because of his language choice for speaking during the English instructional time.

Comment 5]

“ 영어로 말을 잘 안 해요.” (Ms. Park)
He rarely speaks in English.

Comment 6]

“ 영어로 모르면 하고 싶은 말이 있으면 다 한국어로 해요.” (Mrs. Shin)
If he does not know how to say in English, he says it all in Korean.

Comment 7]

“ 구체적인 말은 다 한국어로 해요.” (Mrs. Shin)
He talks about some complicated matters all in Korean.

By emphasizing Jinwoo’s frequent Korean use during the English instructional time (Comments 5-7), they concluded that Jinwoo’s English speaking proficiency was not enough for him to participate in the target language.

While both teachers focused on Jinwoo’s low English proficiency at the first interview, they highlighted his improvement in English at the second interview. The teachers clearly stated that Jinwoo showed a great degree of improvement in speaking. Both teachers emphasized Jinwoo’s improvement because he was capable of engaging in everyday conversation skillfully (Comments 8 and 9), and spoke English all the time (Comment 10).

Comment 8]

“ 말하는 데는 거의 능숙하게 해요” (Ms. Park)
He is almost capable of speaking.

Comment 9]

“Speaking skill, daily language 는 충분히 할 수 있어요” (Mrs. Shin)
He has enough speaking skills. He has enough daily language.

Comment 10]

"He didn't speak a word of English last year. He is now I hear him all the time wherever he speaks to me, he speaks in English." (Ms. Park)

Both teachers added that Jinwoo grew in terms of speaking ability because of his high level of confidence and outgoing personality.

Comment 11]

" 성격이 활발하고, 그리고 몰라도 자신 만만하게, 틀린 답이어도 다 얘기해요. 그래서 빨리는 것 같아요." (Mrs. Shin)
He is outgoing. And he is confident even when he doesn't know. He says all even wrong answers. I think this is why he has improved quickly.

Comment 12]

" 진우의 가장 좋은 점은 자신감이에요. 그런 자신감은 언어를 배우는데 가장 큰 원동력이 되는 것 같아요. (Ms. Park)
His greatest strength is his confidence. His confidence seems the reason why he has learned the language.

Comment 13]

" 운동을 좋아하는 데 외국 아이들이랑 잘 놀았어요. 운동을 같이 하다 보니깐 그렇게 하면서 많이 배운 것 같아요. 바깥에서 부닥치면서 이렇게 하는 영어 있잖아요." (Mrs. Shin)
He likes sports, so played with English speaking students well. While playing sports together, he seemed to learn a lot. There are some 'real life' English.

Comment 14]

" 집에 따른 role model 이 없는데도 늘 수 있다는 거는 성격하고 혹시 많이 관련된 게 아닐까요?" (Mrs. Shin)
I think it has to do with his personality because he has improved a lot even though there is no role model at his home.

In Comments 11 and 12, both teachers emphasized the role of Jinwoo's personality and confidence level as to maximize the opportunity of speaking in the target language and linked them to Jinwoo's improvement. Based on the comments above, both teachers

considered the frequent use of English in natural interactions (Comment 13), afforded by his personality and confidence, had contributed to Jinwoo's impressive improvement despite the fact that Jinwoo did not have an English speaking language role model at his home (Comment 14). In addition, it seems that the teachers consider the increasing numbers of output as the evidence of improvement since they reasoned Jinwoo's low proficiency with the lack of output at the first interview.

While focusing on Jinwoo's improvement, especially in speaking, they also introduced the area of need improvement.

> Comment 15]
>
> "I want him to read more on content areas like science fiction and it can be non-fiction. Those non-fictions books. I think that would really help him acquire more academic vocabulary." (Ms. Park)
>
> Comment 16]
>
> "He requires more vocabulary." (Ms. Park)
>
> Comment 17]
>
> "Content vocabulary 가 모자라요." (Mrs. Shin)
> *He lacks content vocabulary.*

Although both teachers confirmed that Jinwoo did not have any problem with interpersonal communication in English, they pointed out that it was necessary for him to acquire more vocabulary, especially academic vocabulary, similar to their concerns in the first interview data, in order to obtain proper proficiency to learn content in English (Comments 15-17).

2. Hyunsung

Hyunsung is also a recent immigrant from South Korea, so both teachers identified Korean as his dominant language and did not mention his Korean proficiency

in terms of improvement, similar to the interviews about Jinwoo. As they evaluated Jinwoo's Korean speaking ability, they also mentioned that Hyunsung also had high proficiency in Korean. However, they explained Hyunsung's high speaking ability in a different way from Jinwoo's. While Jinwoo's strong Korean proficiency was manifested through his frequent Korean use even during the English instructional time, they did not use the frequency of utterances as an evidence of fluency for Hyunsung because he was relatively a quiet student. Instead, the teacher suggested a different reason when they described Hyunsung's strong Korean speaking proficiency.

Comment 18]

"Emotion 이 껴 있는 말은 한국어로 해요." (Mrs. Shin)
He uses Korean when he talks about his emotion.

Comment 19]

" 하고 싶은 말이 막 나올 때는 한국어가 먼저 나온다거나" (Mrs. Shin)
Korean comes out first when he wants to say spontaneously.

Based on these two reasons Mrs. Shin provided (Comments 18 and 19), she considered the language choice for emotional expression and spontaneous use as evidences of dominant or strong language.

In contrast to Jinwoo, both teachers described Hyunsung's high proficiency in Korean relatively in detail by highlighting Hyunsung's content vocabulary and writing ability in Korean because he reads a wide range of books at home.

Comment 20]

" 현성이는 content vocabulary 가 과학적이고 사회적이고, 굉장히 많아요. Enriched vocabulary 예요. 굉장히 집에서 책을 많이 읽어주는 것 같아요. 그런 걸 이용해서 쓰니깐 final produce 이 너무 좋아요. 잘 써요." (Mrs. Shin)
Hyunsung's content vocabulary is scientific and relates to social science. He has large content vocabulary. They are enriched vocabulary. I think parents read a lot of books to him at home. Since he writes using those vocabulary, his final product is really good. He writes well.

Comment 21]

" 현성이 같은 경우는 Korean vocabulary 가 굉장히 높아요." (Mrs. Shin)
Hyunsung has a large Korean vocabulary.

Comment 22]

"He is definitely stronger in Korean. Rich vocabulary in Korean. Fantastic way to apply different phrases in languages. If I use, sometimes I just throw vocabulary in Korean, which I don't expect them to use all the time. I just throw it just to introduce. Next time he would pick up on that and reuse that. Sometimes, I noticed it in his writing." (Ms.Park)

Across three comments from Comments 20 to 22, the teachers highlighted Hyunsung's 'content' and 'rich' vocabulary in Korean and they emphasized that his large vocabulary assisted him to excel in writing. Compared to the teachers' evaluation about Jinwoo's Korean proficiency, they specified Hyunsung's strength in Korean, and how it had influenced his writing performance. Not only in Korean proficiency, both teachers underscored the role of his 'rich' Korean vocabulary when evaluating English proficiency and improvement in the English language.

Comment 23]

" 영어에서도, 그게 그 transfer 되는 것 같아요. 현성이는 과학쪽으로 잘해요. 그래서 어 academic language 를 더 잘하는 건 현성이에요." (Mrs. Shin)
I think his Korean content knowledge has transferred to English. He is good at science. So, he is better at academic language (than Jinwoo).

Comment 24]

" 과학적으로 아는 게 많아요. 그 content information, 그 background information 이 많아서 그런 내용에 대해서 설명하거나 뭐 이런 거를 발표를 하라고 하면 참 잘해요." (Mrs. Shin)
He is knowledgeable with science. So, he is good at explaining and presenting because he has a lot of content information and background information.

Comment 25]

" 현성이가 더 많이 늘었어요 (진우보다). 그 이유는 한국말로 아는 단어가 많은 것 같애요. 그래서 그걸 transfer 를 잘하는 거예요. (Ms. Park)
Hyunsung improved more (than Jinwoo) because he knows more words in Korean, so he transfers that to English.

While the teachers did not make a connection between Korean and English for Jinwoo's evaluation, they clearly stated that Hyunsung's content vocabulary and knowledge in Korean, particularly in science, contributed to his academic performance in English and development in the English language. Especially in Comment 24, Mrs. Shin complimented Hyunsung's presentation skill during English instructional time even when the teachers coined his speaking proficiency in English as 'developing' or 'low'. In addition, Ms. Park pointed out that Hyunsung improved more than Jinwoo who had a similar immigration background because of his strong Korean proficiency and ability to transfer it to English (Comment 25).

As the teachers evaluated Hyunsung's English proficiency in terms of his academic performance, they showed the same focus when explaining his improvement (Comments 26 and 27). In addition, they also added the main reasons for Hyunsung's improvement.

Comment 26]

"His English language art especially is shown as much improvement." (Ms. Park)

Comment 27]

"His vocabulary improved so much and jumped and even his writing and the way he reached comprehension." (Ms. Park)

Comment 28]

"Even in his spoken language and written language, his vocabulary increased much I think it has a lot to do with his reading. He likes to read a lot. Generally, he is a very addicted reader." (Ms. Park)

Comment 29]

" 현성이는 집에서 엄마가 굉장히 많이 책 같은 것도 다양한 장으로, 다양한 content 로 읽히는 것 같아요." (Mrs. Shin)
Hyunsung's mother has him read books from various genres with various contents.

While both teachers mentioned Jinwoo's verbal improvement in English due to his confidence level and personality, they focused on Hyunsung's academic performance in English and identified extensive reading as the factor for his improvement (Comments 28 to 29).

3. Jinwoo and Hyunsung

Due to their recent arrival to the U.S. that influenced Jinwoo and Hyunsung's linguistic backgrounds, both teachers did not elaborate about their Korean proficiency, however, they exhibited different approaches in evaluating their English proficiency.

First of all, both teachers did not mention both children's improvement in Korean even though first grade is often considered to be an important period for developing literacy in the first language. Based on the comments both teachers provided, it seems that they viewed the Korean proficiencies of Jinwoo and Hyunsung as 'completed' since they recently immigrated from South Korea. Second, both teachers highly evaluated

Hyunsung's proficiency and improvement in English more than Jinwoo's (Comments 23 and 25). Although, Jinwoo's FLOSEM score (16.5) was higher than Hyunsung (15.5) at the end of school year (Table 4.1). As both teachers mentioned about Hyunsung's academic vocabulary and content knowledge along with extensive reading habit in Korean several times, it seems that they focused on students' academic vocabulary and content knowledge when evaluating language proficiency, rather than language development in terms of communicative competence, in the TWI program classroom.

4. Jane

In contrast to Jinwoo and Hyunsung, Jane was born to immigrant parents from South Korea and raised in the United States as a Korean heritage language learner[4]. For this reason, both teachers provided relatively detailed evaluation about Jane's Korean proficiency compared to Jinwoo and Hyunsung.

Comment 30]

"Jane 는 한국말이 굉장히 strong 하고요. 걔도 책 참 잘 읽어요. 엄마가 설명을 많이 하기도 해요. 엄마가 진짜 집에서 책을 이것저것 다양하게 읽어주시고 하지만 설명도 많이 하세요. 아이하고 말을 많이 했다는 게 느껴져요. 아이가 말을 하면서 엄마같은 말을 많이 해요. 그 vocabulary 쓰는 것도 그렇고 말하는 방식도 그렇고 엄마하고 많이 비슷해요. 그래서 어른들하고, 엄마랑, 어른, 그니까 content vocabulary, rich language 를 많이 쓰는 것 같아요. 말을 잘해요. 쓰는 것도 너무 잘 써요. 책을 읽고 이해력도 너무 좋고, 등장인물 다 꼬집어 얘기하라면 바로바로 나와요. 생각할 그 processing 타임이 안 필요해요." (Mrs. Shin)

Jane's Korean is extremely strong. She reads books well. Her mother explains a lot. She reads books from various genres for Jane and explains for her. I can recognize that her mother talks with Jane a lot. Jane talks like her mother. Her speech is similar to her mother in terms of her vocabulary and the way of speaking. Because of the interaction with adults, she seems to use many content vocabulary and rich language. She speaks well. She also writes well. Reading

[4] According to Valdés (2001), a heritage language learner is "a student who raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language" (p.1).

comprehension is also great. She can even talk about characters from the reading immediately. She doesn't need time for processing.

Comment 31]

" 한국어 백그라운드가 굉장히 강해요. 어머님이랑 같이 있는 시간이 많다 보니 어머니가 쓰는 언어를 빨리 픽업을 해요. 엄마가 자주 Jane 랑 대화를 하면서 모델링을 해 주세요. 글 쓸 때도 도와 주시고." (Ms. Park)
Her Korean background is extremely strong. Since she spends a lot of time with her mother, she picks up her mother's language. Her mother does 'modelling' for her through frequent conversations. She also helps Jane's writing.

In Comments 30 and 31, both teachers emphasized Jane's 'strong' Korean proficiency. While they did not express much opinion about Jinwoo and Hyunsung's high proficiencies in Korean although they had the similar FLOSEM scores (Table 4.1) as Jane did, they highly praised Jane's Korean proficiency using the adverb 굉장히 'extremely', probably because she was born and raised in the United States. In Comment 30, the teacher evaluated Jane's Korean in multiple aspects, reading, speaking, and writing. In particular, her speaking skill was highlighted through the use of 'content' and 'rich' vocabulary, and 'adult-like' speech style. In addition, Jane's reading comprehension ability was highly evaluated due to the short processing time of information. Both teachers also explained that Jane was able to develop her 'strong' Korean because of her mother's input and support (Comment 31).

Comment 32]

" 한국어는 안 좋은 점이 없는 것 같아요. 한국어에서는 아이들한테는 계속 modeling 을 좀 해주고 자기가 한국말을 하면서 그걸 좀 가르쳐주면서 peer (interaction) 그런거를 많이 하는 것 같아서 좋아요. 예 저희가 한국말 쪽에서 너무 감사해요." (Mrs. Shin)
There is nothing to correct. In Korean, she models for other children. She speaks Korean and teaches other kids through peer (interaction). It is really nice that she does this a lot. We really appreciate this for the Korean side.

Evaluating Jane's Korean proficiency highly, Mrs. Shin elaborated on how her Korean proficiency is beneficial to other students. As they mentioned that Jane's high proficiency was developed by her mother's modeling (Comments 30 and 31), they also considered Jane as a more capable peer who could 'model' proper language use in Korean (Comment 32).

As both teachers indicated the mother's Korean input as the main reason for Jane's high proficiency in Korean, Mrs. Shin also emphasized the linguistic environment related to her low proficiency in English.

Comment 33]

" 킨더 가든 들어왔을 때는 거의 영어를 안 했어요. Alphabet inventory 라고 하는 시험을 볼 때 반도 몰랐었어요. Recognize 는 할 수 있었지만 거의 발음은 못 했어요. 그렇게 low level 이었어요. Jane 어 아무래도 엄마 아빠가 영어를 안 하시고, 한국말을 위주로 하니까 한국말을 굉장히 잘 했었거든요." (Mrs. Shin)
When she started Kindergarten, she rarely spoke English. When we tested her with Alphabet Inventory, she didn't even know half. She was able to recognize them, but could not pronounce. She was at that low level. Since their parents don't speak English and usually speak Korean, her Korean was greatly good.

Comment 34]

" 여기서 태어나서 자랐지만 그 environment 가 중요한 것 같아요. 엄마가 영어를 어느 정도하시지만 거의 뭐랄까 아이들 수준으로 하시는 거고. 저학년, 아주 저학년. 엄마가 공부를 따로 많이 하시는 것 같아요 집에서. 그래서 많이 도움이 되는데, 걔가 어울리는 친구나 아이들은요. 거의 한국말을 하는 아이들이에요. 그래서 그 environment 가 중요한 것 같아요." (Mrs. Shin)
Although she was born and raised here, I think the environment is important. Even though her mother speaks a little bit of English, it is so-called child-level like lower grade children. But her mother studies at home, so that helps Jane a lot. But Jane's friends are mostly Korean speaking children. So, I think the environment is important.

In Comment 33, Mrs. Shin pointed out Jane's low reading skill and suggested that having Korean as a home language might be the reason for it. She further elaborated the importance of linguistic environment by mentioning Jane's mother's English proficiency as well as her peer group who were dominant Korean speakers, as the reason for her low English proficiency (Comment 34).

Although Jane's English proficiency was low when she started Kindergarten, the both teachers illustrated that it was visible to see considerable improvement during the first grade.

Comment 35]

" 영어 진짜 많이 늘었어요. 완전히 킨더가든에는 language grammar 가 뒤죽박죽이었어요. English grammar 는 근데, 이제는 안 그래요." (Mrs. Shin)
She improved a lot in English. When she was in Kindergarten, her language grammar was messy. But, not now.

Comment 36]

" 영어가 아직 한국어에 비해 약하지만, 영어 읽는 독해력도 그렇고 쓰는 것도 그렇고 문법적으로 그렇고 많이 향상했어요." (Ms. Park)
Although her English is weak compared to her Korean, she showed a lot of improvement in reading comprehension, writing, and grammar.

Comment 37]

" 처음에는 제가 (제인가 쓴 글)을 이해를 못 할 정도였어요. 거의 왜냐하면 자신이 없고, vocabulary 가 딸려서. 근데 지금은 거의 다 써요. Grade level requirement 을 하는 정도로. 이해력 그것도 너무 잘하고 있어요." (Ms. Park)
At first, I was not able to understand her writing because she didn't have confidence and lacked vocabulary. But she can write almost everything now. She meets the grade level requirement. She is also good at comprehension.

Comment 38]

" 옛날에는 막 뒤죽박죽 했었거든요. 한국말 영어를 섞어서, 근데 지금은 영어 시간에는 영어. 한국어 시간에는 한국어. 거의 다 그렇게 해요." (Mrs. Shin)

Before, she mixed up two languages. But she speaks English during the English instructional time, Korean during the Korean instructional time.

First, she showed improvement in overall English grammar (Comments 35 and 36) and reading comprehension (Comments 37 and 38). In particular, her writing was not comprehensible due to the lack of confidence and vocabulary, but it improved to grade level (Comment 36). In addition, it is noteworthy that Mrs. Shin confirmed Jane's improvement because she became capable of using Korean and English separately according to the language of instruction. In other words, Mrs. Shin acknowledged Jane's improvement because she was able to use only English during the English instructional time. As the teachers suggested that Hyunsung was able to develop the English language proficiency rapidly because he was able to transfer his Korean ability to the English language, they suggested the same justification to explain Jane's improvement in her English proficiency.

Comment 39]

"(이해력에 있어서) 그래서 그런 것들이 transfer 된다는 게 맞는 거 같아요. Vocabulary 가 좀 어렵더라도 자기가 좀 지금 추측을 많이 해요. 자기가 영어가 germinate 이 뭔지 모른다 할 때 엄마가 그걸 한국어로 과정을 설명을 해주면, 그런 connection 으로 바로 이해를 해요. (Mrs. Shin)
(For comprehension ability), I think there are some language transfer. Even when she has a hard word, she guesses a lot. When she doesn't know the word 'germinate', she makes a connection with what her mother has explained in Korean, and understands it.

In comment 39, Mrs. Shin highlighted the theory of 'transfer' from Jane's Korean language ability to English by providing an actual example from the one of science lessons. When Jane encountered a difficult word such as 'germinate', she was able to figure it out through the interaction with her mother in Korean. Therefore, Mrs. Shin

concluded that Jane 'transferred' her knowledge in Korean to content learning in English by making a 'connection' between two languages.

5. Cindy

Similar to Jane, Cindy was born to immigrant parents from South Korea and raised in the United States. However, the teachers' evaluations about Cindy's Korean proficiency were quite different from the ones about Jane. Although both teachers agreed upon that the Korean language is the 'comfortable' language for Cindy, they indicated that she had limited proficiency in Korean because of her linguistic environment.

Comment 40]

"Cindy 는 한국말이 그래도 조금 편한 것 같아요. 집에서 쓰는 언어가 할머니하고 있다 보니깐 한국말로 하는 데 할머니하고 하는 그 레벨이에요. 그런 레벨이지 content level 이 없어요. Content vocabulary 가 거의 없어요." (Mrs. Shin)

She seems to be comfortable with Korean. The home language is Korean. Since she is with her grandmother, so her Korean is like a level of conversation with grannies. So, there is no content level. She rarely has content vocabulary.

Comment 41]

" 한국어에서 좀 더 했음 하는 것이 vocabulary, 쓰는 것. 생활 언어는 잘하지만, academic 한 거는 잘 몰라요. (Mrs. Shin)
What she needs to do is increasing vocabulary and writing. She is good at everyday language, but doesn't know academic matters.

Comment 42]

" 쓰는 것도 영어 Korean 둘다 그냥 아직 below average 예요." (Mrs. Shin)
Writing in both English and Korean are below average.

Comment 43]

> "I would say that her Korean pronunciation gets kind of her way she pronounces things, which is not a problem. But when it comes to phonics, it affects her. So, she would add letters or read letters that should be there." (Mr. Park)

In Comments 40 and 41, Mrs. Shin mentioned that Cindy displayed a fairly good command in everyday language, but she lacked in 'content' or 'academic' Korean. In particular, she pointed out that Cindy's Korean proficiency was mainly influenced by frequent interactions with her grandmother (Comment 40). Ms. Park also indicated that Cindy had a problem with reading the Korean alphabet although she was capable of saying Korean words correctly (Comment 43). Overall, both teacher showed their concerns about Cindy's Korean proficiency for academic purposes.

Mrs. Shin also added Cindy's personality when explaining about her delayed Korean development.

Comment 44]

> " 굉장히 peer pressure 를 느껴요. 굉장히 그걸 의식하고 있어요. 남을 의식을 많이 해요. 그래서 language 가 빨리 되다가 안 되는 이유 중에 하나가 그건 거 같아요. 자기가 노력을 안 하사는 것 (doesn't try) 그 이유는 자기가 틀리면 창피하는 그 느낌을 굉장히 중시하고 있어요."
> (Mrs. Shin)
> *She feels peer pressure. She cares about it a lot. She is concerned about how others see herself. I think this is why her improvement stops. She doesn't try because she wants to avoid any kinds of embarrassment*.

In Comment 44, Mrs. Shin made a connection between Cindy's slow improvement and her awareness of peer pressure. In other words, Cindy hesitated to produce the language when she was afraid of making mistakes. This comment manifests that Mrs. Shin considers frequent output in the target language as an essential aspect of successful

language learning. However, they also highlighted a positive aspect in her Korean writing and a room for English improvement because of her basic communication skill in Korean.

Comment 45]

" 제가 한국어 writing center 에서 보면 Cindy 는 부모님이랑 대화하는 시간도 많고 할머니랑 대화하는 시간도 많기 때문에 자기가 하고 싶은 말을 한국어로 곧 잘 써요. 정확하거나 그렇지는 않지만, 쓰고 싶은 말을 다 쓸 줄 아는 아이에요. 그런 걸 보면서 이게 영어 writing 을 하는 데에 도움이 되는 spring board 가 되는 것 같아요. 아직 영어가 writing 은 영어가 한국어에 비해 약하긴 해요. 그렇지만 한국어가 어느 정도 받침이 되기 때문에 그렇게 걱정은 안 하지만" (Ms. Park)
Based on my observation at the Korean writing center, Cindy knows how to write what she wants to say in Korean because she has a lot of conversations with her parents and grandmother. Despite of the lack of accuracy, she knows how to write what she wants to express. So, I think her Korean ability seems to be a spring board for writing in English although writing in English is weaker than in Korean. But I don't worry that much because her Korean is her foundation (for English).

Comment 46]

" 한국어에는 잘 하기 때문에, 언젠가는 (영어로) transfer 되리라 생각하고 있어요." (Ms. Park)
Since she is good at Korean, I think it will transfer to English someday.

According to Ms. Park's observation, Cindy was able to express her idea in Korean because she had a considerable amount of conversations with her parents as well as grandmother. Although the teacher noted the issue of accuracy, she categorized Cindy's ability to express as the proof of Korean proficiency (Comment 45). In addition, she analyzed that Cindy's Korean writing ability played a role in supporting writing in English. As both teachers mentioned the process of 'transferring' from the Korean as the basis for English improvement for Hyunsung and Jane, they applied this to Cindy's development although her Korean proficiency was relatively lower than these two students (Comments 45 and 46).

While the teachers shared the same opinion about language transfer regardless of students' levels of proficiency, they showed a different attitude toward peer interaction depending on student's Korean proficiency.

Comment 47]

"Cindy 가 한국말을 하고 옆에 있는 아이가 한국말을 못하면 그 아이가 이해를 하든 안 하든 기회를 줘야 되잖아요. 얘기를 할 수 있는 기회를 줘야 되는데, Cindy 가 앞서 가서 뭐든지 ' 어 그거 내가 얘기해 줄게' 그런 식으로. (Mrs. Shin)
Even though a student next to Cindy can't speak Korean well, the student should be given a chance regardless of whether he understands Korean well or not. He should be given a chance to speak Korean, but Cindy behaves in a way that 'I will speak it for you.'

While Mrs. Shin expressed her gratitude for Jane's peer interaction because she performed 'modeling' for students with low Korean proficiency (Comment 32), she considered Cindy's peer interaction as providing less opportunity for other students to participate (Comment 47).

Overall, both teachers also showed concerns about Cindy's relatively slow English development compared to Jane's improvement in English.

Comment 48]

" 킨더가든 처음 들어왔을 때 거의 alphabet 도 몰랐어요. 그 (부모님이) 전혀 강조하지 않으셨어요. 전혀, 지금도 그러시고. struggle 하고 있는 편이에요. Improvement 은 있었지만, 그게 아주 비교를 하자면 Jane 처럼 아주 확 티가 나질 않아요." (Mrs. Shin)
When she started Kindergarten, she rarely knew Alphabet. Her parents didn't emphasize this. They still do. So, Cindy seems to struggle.

Mrs. Shin mentioned that Cindy did not have prior experience in learning English by emphasizing the fact that she did not know any English alphabet at the beginning of Kindergarten. She also evaluated Cindy's improvement to be less noticeable compared to

Jane (Comment 48). Similar to the evaluation about Cindy's Korean proficiency, she also made a connection between her low proficiency as well as slow improvement in English and her parents' lack of emphasis on her academic achievement. In alignment with their focus on 'academic' language in Korean proficiency, they also listed the areas of her limited English proficiency.

Comment 49]

" 듣기 말하기. Cindy 가 듣기는 잘 들어요. 웬만한 영어는 다 알아 들어요. 말하기도 잘해요. 그게 제일 struggle 하는 게 writing 이에요. 심한 게 phonetically spell 해요 아직도. 이런 sight words 들을 아직 모르고 있어요." (Ms. Park)
Listening, speaking, Cindy is good at listening. She comprehends most of English. She is also good at speaking. Writing is the area she is struggling the most. Serious thing is that she still spells phonetically. She doesn't know sight words yet.

Comment 50]

" 쓰기는 써요. 왜냐면 아이가 이 말하는 listening, speaking 은 뛰어나기 때문에 그런대로 써요. 말하는 대로 써요. 그러니깐 쓰는 내용은 길어요. 긴데 정리가 안되어 있고 spelling 이나 grammar 가 안 들어가 있어 가지고. 또 그런 model 은 (at home)또 없고, 언니 오빠가 얘기를 할 때는 대부분 한국말로 한대요 집에서는." (Mrs. Shin)
She just writes. Because she is good at listening and speaking, she just writes as she speaks. So, her writing is long, but it is not organized and there is no spelling and grammar. She doesn't have a model at home because her older sister and brother usually speak in Korean at home.

In both Comments 49 and 50, the teachers specified the lack of writing in English by mentioning spelling errors and the lack of sight word knowledge. In addition, they added that Cindy's below average writing skill was due to her home language, Korean. That is, she did not have a 'model' in English because even her siblings spoke Korean at home. Throughout the teachers' evaluation, it is observed that they take linguistic background into the consideration in terms of language development.

6. Jane and Cindy

For these two students, it is worthwhile to pay attention to how the teachers differentiate between Jane and Cindy as the more capable peer or not, who can assist less proficient peers. Actually, both teachers expressed their perspectives about more proficient peers, while describing their teaching practices.

Excerpt 1]

아이들이 서로 얘기하면서, target language 로 얘기 하면서 배우잖아요, 그런 atmosphere 만 우리가 마련해주면 아이들끼리도 많이 배워요. 그래서 그거 어디서, 누가 뭐 어떤 content 나가지 않고, 어디서 누가 가르켜 줬어요 하면서 친구 누구 이름을 불러요. 그러면 걔가 저번에 그렇게 얘기했어요. 그러니까 그런 prior knowledge, make a connection 그게 참 중요한 것 같아요. 더 자연스럽고. 선생님이 얘기하는 거는 집중이 덜 할지도 모르지만, 아이들끼리는 또 그 level 이 틀린 것 같아요. 그래서 아이들이 얘기하는 거 우리가 열 번 얘기해도 어쩔 때는 아이들이 얘기하는 거를 더 자기 거를 만들어 가지고 응용을 해요

Students are talking to each other. They learn while talking to each other, right? If we (teacher) create this environment, they can learn from each other. So, the students sometimes said that they already heard the class content from the one of classmates even before we went over the content. Therefore, I think it is really important to have prior knowledge and make a connection through peer interaction. Although students might be less attentive to their peers than teachers, peer input is more natural and students have a different levels of understanding among peers. So, I sometimes witnessed them reaching the appropriate level of understanding with the peer input, and it was not because of what I repeatedly explained multiple times.

In this Excerpt 1, the teachers clearly described the benefits of having more proficient students in the class with less proficient students together so that they can help the less proficient students access the content of instruction. They described the peer interaction as being more "natural" than teacher-student instruction and being more relatable to students, which leads to better understanding. Clearly, Jane was considered as a representative example of a more proficient peer (Comment 32).

However, the teachers had an opposite opinion about Cindy, mentioning that her frequent participation decreased less proficient students' opportunities (Comment 47). This comment is also parallel with their concerns about less proficient students from the interview data.

Excerpt 2]

> 한국애가 있어요. 그러면 걔가 그래도 그 다른 아이들보다 vocabulary 가 조금 더 많잖아요. 집에서 쓰는 그런 것 때문에. 걔가 기회를 안주는 거예요. 다른 애들한테. 걔가 항상 해야 된다는 자기 의무라고 생각해요. 지적을 하는데도 자기가 계속 얘기를 하고. 그런 건 좀 어려운 점이고. 아이들끼리도, 아이들은 그런 이유 때문에 배우는 과정이 좀 느린 것 같아요. 자기가 노력을 안 하는 것.
> *When we have a Korean heritage student, the student has a larger Korean vocabulary than other students because Korean is his home language. So, the student does not give an opportunity for other students to participate. Also, the Korean heritage student thinks it is his duty to participate. Even though I commented about this, he kept talking. This is a difficult aspect for me. Among the students, this might slow down (the less proficient students') improvement. There is less of a chance (for the less proficient students) to make an effort to speak by themselves.*

In Excerpt 2, the teacher explicitly stated that the more proficient student who speaks Korean at home does not give opportunities for the less proficient students, who often do not have opportunities to practice the target language outside of the classroom, to use the target language in class. Furthermore, the teacher concluded that this is one of reasons why the less proficient students' language development is delayed.

Therefore, it is possible to hypothesize that the teacher's contrasting attitude toward Jane and Cindy regarding peer interaction may have stemmed from her evaluation on their Korean proficiency. In addition, it is notable that they did not mention Jinwoo and Hyunsung as more capable peers for the Korean language despite of their recent immigrant status. Since the teachers identified Jane's Korean ability as highly proficient with 'adult-like' speech style with rich academic vocabulary, it seems that the teacher put

an emphasis on content vocabulary and knowledge as the qualifications of being a more capable peer for the specific academic setting.

B. An Examination of Students' Use of Referential Choice in Korean and English

The first part of this chapter examined perceived proficiencies of four focal children in both Korean and English. Based on the interview data with two teachers and in-depth analysis of classroom practices, it revealed that teachers' perceived proficiencies of children were oriented to measure their proficiencies specifically for the particular school context, a first-grade Korean/English TWI classroom in the United States. In other words, the focus of the evaluation was laid on the possession of academic language in both languages, such as discipline-specific vocabulary. Therefore, the second part seeks to examine a different aspect of language proficiency in order to investigate what should be considered to assist students' bilingual development at a TWI program, beyond academic vocabulary.

In terms of measuring the competence to use referential choices, I will examine the similarity to the referential choices of native speakers from previous studies. In order to evaluate four children's proficiencies in terms of referential choices in English and Korean, this chapter will investigate the following questions,

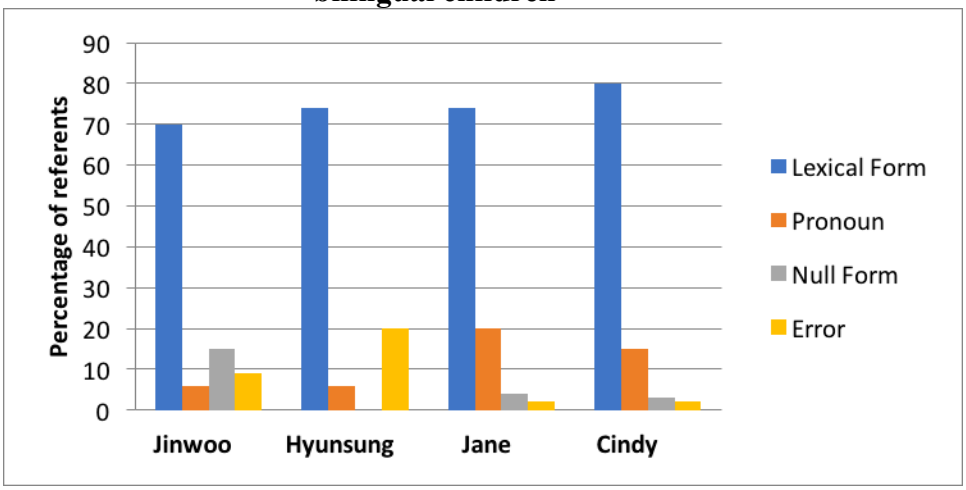
1. What kinds of referential choices do the four Korean-English bilingual children make in English and Korean?
2. Are there any differences between the American-born Korean children and the recent immigrant children?
3. Are there any differences between the proficiency in referential choices and teachers' perceived proficiencies?

To answer these questions, children were asked to narrate "The Tortoise and the Hare" and "The Ant and the Dove" in both languages based on a picture-book-story retell protocol (McKay, 2006). Both stories consist of six pictures and the researcher or children flip the pages while the children narrate the stories. The coding categories were listed in Chapter III. The findings for referential choices in English will be first introduced then in Korean in the following section.

1. Referential Choices in English Narratives

As can be seen in Figure 4.1, all four children produced lexical forms most frequently in their English narratives among available devices for referential choices.

Figure 4.1. Distribution of referential choices by four Korean-English bilingual children



This finding contrasts with previous research showing that children under age 7 predominantly use more pronouns (63% of referential choices) because they did not take the listener's perspective into consideration (Karmiloff-Smith, 1981; Wubs et al., 2009). All four children used lexical forms 70%-80% of the time while they used pronouns for 5%-20% of referents. Interestingly, these children's referential choice pattern is rather similar to that of English monolingual adults who performed a similar task of narrating a

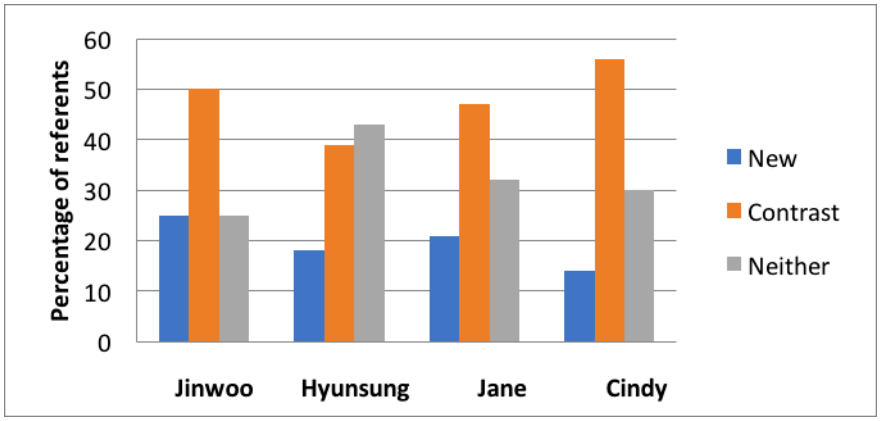
story based on six pictures (Wubs et al., 2009). In other words, these Korean-English bilingual children take a different developmental trajectory in the English language from English monolingual counterparts.

In addition, there are differences between Jinwoo and Hyunsung, who are recent immigrants, and Jane and Cindy, who are American-born Korean children. Jane and Cindy used more pronouns than Jinwoo and Hyunsung, who made all the errors with the use of pronouns, as I mentioned with respect to Sample 5 in Chapter 3. Jinwoo also used null forms more frequently than the other three children. Therefore, it is observable that Jane and Cindy displayed an English-specific characteristic, the use of pronouns, while Jinwoo used a Korean specific characteristic, the use of null forms.

a. Lexical Forms

Since, unlike previous studies, these four Korean-English bilingual children produced considerably more lexical forms than pronouns, it is necessary to analyze the discourse-pragmatic properties that influenced the children's use of lexical forms. If their uses of lexical forms include the discourse-pragmatic properties, it is possible to evaluate their English proficiency at the discourse level. According to Clancy (1995), the use of lexical form is likely to be motivated by discourse-pragmatic properties, new information or contrastiveness, as explained in Chapter 3.

Figure 4.2. Distribution of Lexical Forms with Discourse-prominent Pragmatic Properties in Four Bilingual Children



As can be seen in Figure 4.2, it is noteworthy that they used lexical forms for specific reasons in the narratives although they used a considerable number of lexical forms unlike English monolingual speakers. For Jinwoo, Jane, and Cindy, 75%, 69%, and 70% of their lexical forms were discourse-prominent; Hyunsung revealed a lower percentage (59%). In other words, Jinwoo, Jane, and Cindy used their lexical forms with specific reasons for their discourse. Therefore, the excessive use of lexical forms, compared to English monolingual speakers, cannot be viewed as the sign of low proficiency in English. Not just the pattern of the use of lexical forms across the four children, it is also significant to compare among the children.

Interestingly, the teachers evaluated Cindy's English proficiency as the lowest among these four children and, in particular, her English had not been improved as much as Jane had (Comment 48). However, the command of referential choice was not less developed than Jane (Figure 4.2). As can be seen in Example 1, Cindy used lexical forms when they started telling a story or introduced a new character.

Example 1

1. Cindy: The ant fall in the water.
2. Researcher: (flips the page) taum keyo

next thing-END
Next page.
3. Cindy: And the bird was flying

In line 1, Cindy started "The Ant and the Dove" by introducing the main character, an ant, with a definite article plus a noun. After the researcher flipped the page (line2), Cindy introduced a new character with the lexical form 'the bird' in line 3. Even though adult speakers introduce a new character with an indefinite article, it is common for children under 8 to use a definite article in the picture-book storytelling task (Wigglesworth, 1990). Therefore, it is reasonable to evaluate Cindy's use of lexical forms is on the right track even compared to the one of English monolingual children.

Although Jinwoo was a recent immigrant and showed low proficiency in his English, he exhibited the discourse-prominence in his use of lexical forms by marking 'contrast' as can be seen in Example 2. While Jinwoo organized his story with two characters, he used lexical forms because 'turtle' in line has a potential contrast with 'rabbit' in line 1, 'turtle' in line 2, and 'rabbit' in line 3.

Example 2

1. Jinwoo: Rabbit is running fast.
2. And turtle is walking, running slow.
3. um, so, rabbit is in the lead.

According to Wigglesworth (1990), both adult and child subjects used more lexical forms when they narrated a story with more characters but no clear protagonist. Since the stimuli for this task, "The Tortoise and the Hare" and "The Ant and the Dove", have characters that are not clearly divided into a protagonist and antagonist, it is possible that

the stimuli influenced the frequent use of lexical forms. Therefore, Jinwoo's frequent use of lexical forms can be considered as a strategy for telling this kind of story.

However, Hyunsung produced a considerable number of lexical forms without any discourse prominence (59%) compared to the other three students, as seen in example 3 below. In line 2, Hyunsung produced the lexical form "the turtle" because there was a contrast between "the turtle" (line 2) and "the rabbit" (line 1). But, he continued to use the lexical form "the turtle' in line 3, even though it was not a new character and there was no potential contrast.

Example 3

1. Hyunsung : And the rabbit sleeped
2. And and the turtle was running and running fast and fast.
3. And the turtle won, won.

Although both teachers mentioned that Hyunsung had showed more improvement in English than Jinwoo had (Comment 24), Hyunsung actually showed less skillful ability in arranging his narratives in terms of referential choice.

b. Pronouns

As mentioned above, there are considerably fewer pronouns than lexical forms in the data across four children. However, there are three cases in which the children used pronouns. First, despite of the overall low proportion of pronoun usage, they used pronouns properly when mentioning a character after introducing it as can be seen in Example 4. In addition, as mentioned above, Jane and Cindy, who are American-born Korean children and ranked as high proficiency in English, showed a low rate of errors (Figure 4.1).

Example 4

1. Jane: and the turtle was walking and walking
2. and he finally cross the line.

Second, the errors that these children made are all related to pronouns. In considering the fact that Hyunsung made more errors than other children and all his errors were pronoun-related, it is possible to hypothesize that Hyunsung's use of lexical forms without discourse prominence might be related to his acquisition of English pronouns. In fact, Hyunsung used pronouns such as 'he' or 'they' when he started a story or introduced a new character as can be seen in Example 5.

Example 5

1. Researcher:	Can you tell this story in English?
2. Hyunsung:	He was trying to do
3.	The rabbit said XXX
4.	The rabbit try to run

It seems that Hyunsung was not aware of English pronouns to refer given information. In Example 5, he started telling a story with the pronoun 'he' for a rabbit in line 2 and used a lexical form "the rabbit" in line 3. However, Hyunsung revealed that he had recognized the linguistic characteristics of English. That is, a subject is obligatory in a sentence and the article 'the' is used for a given information. Unlike Jinwoo, Hyunsung did not produce any null forms; instead, he used repetitive lexical forms with the correct article 'the' as can be seen in line 4. Although his lexical forms did not have any discourse-prominence, his use of lexical forms reflect his development in English.

Finally, Table 4.2 examines how the English pronouns, English language specific characteristic, influences the children who have high proficiency in Korean. As seen in Table 4.2 below, the children used 'he' 20 times and 'she' 4 times. Although the hunter is obviously a male character in the picture, the children also used 'he' 14 times for the animal characters. The difference between the usage of the male pronoun 'he' and female pronoun 'she' is consistent with previous studies suggesting that children use a male

default when identifying the sex of stuffed and pictured animals (Arthur & White, 1996; Gelb, 1987).

Table 4.2. Frequency of pronouns for each character

	he	she	he or she	they
rabbit	1	3		
turtle	3		2	
ant	7			
bird	2	1		
hunter	6			
Joint character				2
total	20	4	2	2

In addition, there is some evidences that the children are aware of the characteristics of English pronouns because they showed concern about gender. In Example 6, Jane comments that she was not sure about the gender of the turtle.

Example 6

1. Jane: uh, the turtle wants to win the race
2. and he or she, I don't know
3. He can't go, uh, fast.

In line1, Jane introduced the turtle, but said "he or she" in line 2 and then used "he" in line 3. Before using the male default "he" in line 3, Jane exhibited her awareness of gender as the basic for choosing a pronoun. Therefore, I suggest the possibility that the use of pronouns is highly related to children's English proficiency at a morphological level, not just the discourse level. When considering the differences between English and

Korean in terms of the existence of pronouns[5], it is possible to hypothesize that the infrequent use of the English pronouns is correlated to their English proficiencies.

c. Null forms

In spite of the small number of null forms, it is worth considering them since null forms are distinctive characteristic of the Korean language. While English speakers do not use null forms across sentence boundaries (Clancy 1980), Jinwoo used a null form across a sentence boundary in line 5, as seen in Example 7 below.

Example 7

1. Jinwoo:	The ant is in the water.
2.	and the bird hold
3. Jinwoo's mother:	leaf
4. Jinwoo	ah, leaf
5.	uh, give it to ant

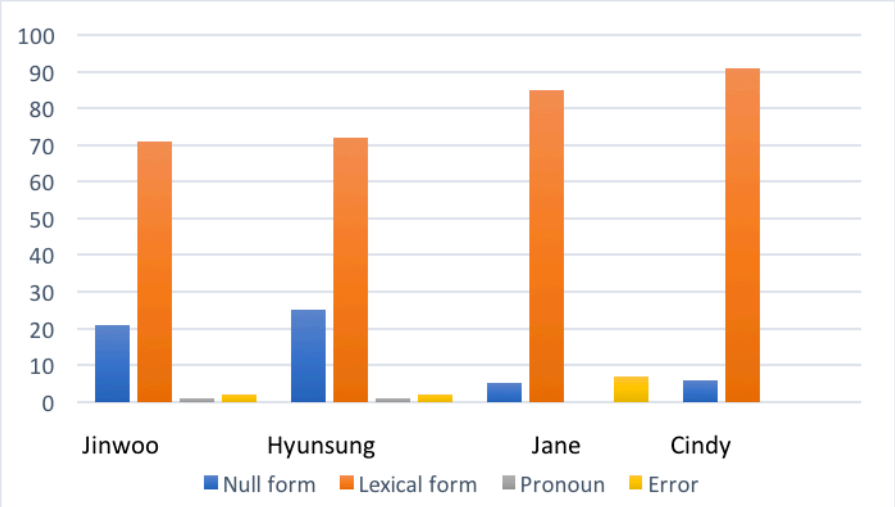
Even though there is not much difference in frequency across four focal children and English monolingual speakers with respect to the use of null forms, it is important to examine where they use a null form. In line 2, Jinwoo introduced "the bird" and he used a null form in line 5. As the Korean-bilingual children in Clancy's study used null forms for given information in their Korean narratives, Jinwoo used null forms in order to refer to given information in his English narratives. Interestingly, Hyunsung did not use any null forms (Figure 4.1) because he seemed to be only aware of the subject-oriented structure. Therefore, the use of null forms also informs us that bilingual children's language development cannot be assessed separately without considering the influences between two languages.

[5] Noun phrases in the Korean language can be dropped when they are "given information" that the speaker thinks the listener is able to infer from the context while pronouns are replaced for noun phrases in English (Sohn, 1994)

2. Referential Choices in Korean Narratives

As can be seen in Figure 4.3, all four children produced lexical forms more frequently in their conversational narratives than any other form, similar to their narratives in English.

Figure 4.3. Distribution of referential choices in Korean narratives



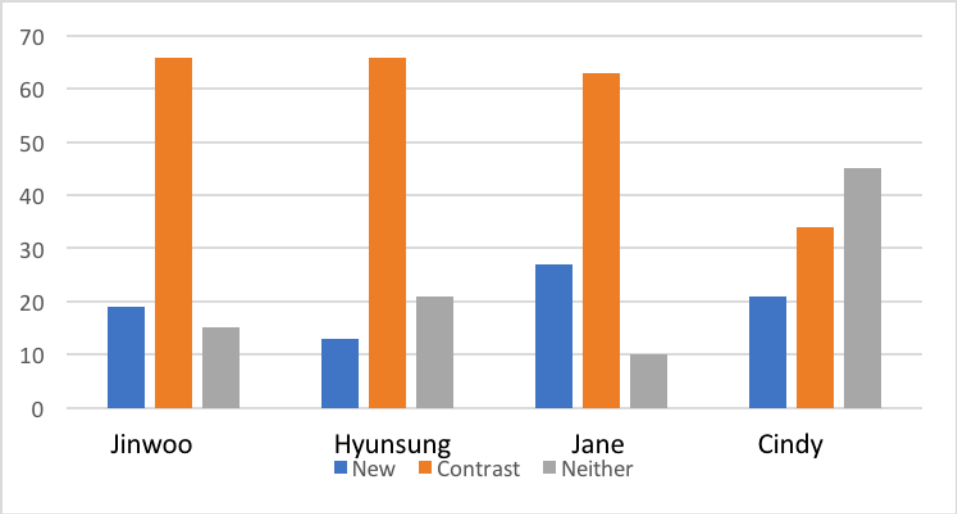
This finding also contrasts with previous research showing that the percentage of clauses containing overt subjects, including lexical forms and pronouns in Korean adults' spoken and edited spoken (TV drama), is 31% and 32% respectively (Kim, 1997). This result also shows a different pattern from Clancy's (1996) study in which the two Korean children in her study encoded 35% of subjects with lexical forms, compared to 65% of with null forms. In other words, the four focal children produced a contrasting pattern of referential choices from both adult Korean native speakers and Korean children. In addition, there is a significant difference in using null forms between Jinwoo and Hyunsung who were recent immigrant from South Korean, and Jane and Cindy who were born in the US. Although Jane and Cindy's Korean proficiency was marked as high or

strong on both FLOSEM test and teachers' comments, the use of null forms, which is a distinctive characteristic in the referential choice in Korean, was significantly low compared to Jinwoo and Hyunsung. Although the overall pattern is similar across the children, there is a difference in terms of the language specific characteristic, probably because of the differences in linguistic backgrounds due to their immigration history.

a. Lexical Forms

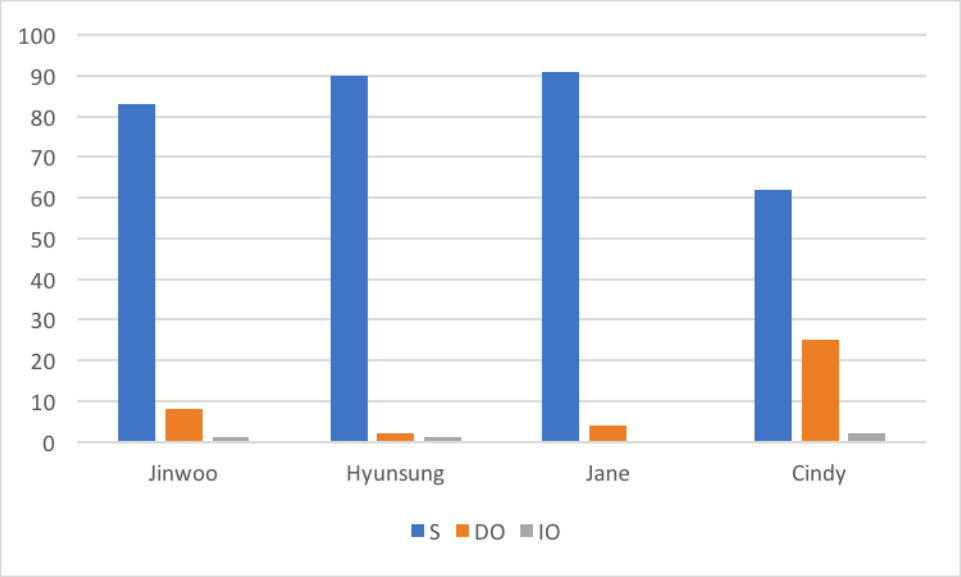
Since these four focal children produced considerably more lexical forms than null forms also in their Korean narratives, I analyzed the discourse-pragmatic properties that influenced the children's use of lexical forms. According to Clancy (1995), lexical forms are most likely motivated by such discourse-pragmatic properties as mentioned in Chapter 3. In her study, 85% of the lexical forms produced by a child learning Korean as her first language had discourse prominence. As can be seen in Figure 4.4, Jinwoo, Hyunsung, and Jane show results that are parallel with those of Clancy's. However, only 55% of Cindy's lexical forms show discourse prominence.

Figure 4.4. Proportion of Lexical Forms with Discourse-prominent pragmatic properties in Korean narratives



While Cindy's lexical forms have the low rate of discourse-prominence, her lexical forms display an interesting difference in terms of grammatical form. As can be seen in Figure 4.5 below, Cindy shows a different pattern of occurrence from the other children whose majority of lexical forms are subjects. That is, Cindy used more transitive verbs than the other children, and a higher percentage of her lexical references were direct objects.

Figure 4.5. Distribution of Grammatical Forms in referential choices in Korean narratives



However, all direct object and indirect objects in Cindy's lexical forms coexist with subjects as can be seen in Example 8.

Example 8

1. Cindy: 새가 나뭇잎을 들고
   sayka namwusiph-ul tulko
   Bird-SUB leaf-OBJ hold-CONJ
   A bird is holding a leaf, and

2. 새가 이렇게 개미 보고 있어요
   sayka ilehkhey kaymi poko isseyo

Bird-SUB like this ant see-PRES-PROG
The bird is watching an ant

In line 1, Cindy started "The Ant and the Dove" by introducing the main character, a dove who is holding a leaf, with the lexical form *say-ka* 'bird-SUB'. In line 2, Cindy used the lexical form *say-ka* (bird-SUB) again, although the referent was now given information and non-contrastive; she also introduced a new character, *kaymi* 'ant' in a lexical form. Line 2 in Example 6 contradicts the pattern found in Preferred Argument Structure (Du Bois, 1985), in which only one argument per clause is typically expressed lexically. According to Clancy (1993), the argument that is encoded lexically has high discourse prominence and typically appears as the object of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb. Based on the expectations of Preferred Argument Structure, Korean speakers would choose only *kaymi* 'ant' *(*new information) instead of having lexical forms for both the subject *say-ka 'bird-SUB'* (given information) and the object *kaymi 'ant'* (new information). Therefore, Cindy's use of lexical forms for both subject and object demonstrates not just the issue of referential choices, but also the different development pattern from Korean monolingual children. According to previous studies, young monolingual Korean children, usually under 6 years old, use more null forms frequently even referents with discourse-prominences because they did not consider listeners' perspectives (Clancy, 1995). In other words, it is a main task for monolingual children to use lexical forms for the referents with discourse prominences. In contrast, Cindy needs to learn how to drop a subject when it is a given information. Otherwise, she will constantly produce sentences that do not match with Preferred Argument Structure.

Although Cindy's Korean proficiency is marked as 'Advanced Fluency' on FLOSEM result, one particular part, grammar, exhibited relatively the low level

compared to other areas, such as comprehension, fluency, vocabulary, and pronunciation. The level of grammar category was marked as 'Level 3' when 'Level 6' is the highest, and its description is "Learner is beginning to show a limited ability to utilize a few complex constructions, though not always successfully. Other noticeable grammatical errors persist which may make meaning ambiguous." In considering that it is necessary to know Preferred Argument Structure in order to create complex constructions, there might be a relationship between Cindy's less competent use of referential choices and the low level of grammar category. As her teachers commented (Comments 40,45, and 46 in Chapter 4) and FLOSEM results showed, Cindy seems to be proficient enough to comprehend and express in Korean. However, she exhibited considerably weaker development in the grammar category among the FLOSEM categories and her teacher also commented the lack of accuracy in her speech (Comments 43 and 45). According to the teachers, Cindy's Korean development had been mainly influenced by the interactions with her grandmother. In other words, Cindy's Korean proficiency was limited to informal settings. Therefore, Cindy's ineffective choices in her referential forms call for explicit instructions about grammar that is necessary for students to function in educational contexts.

b. Null forms

As mentioned above, there are considerably fewer null forms than lexical forms. However, there are three distinctive discourse contexts in which the children used null forms for their referential choices.

Example 9

Researcher: 토끼가 어떻게 갔다고요?
thokki-ka ethehkey kasstakoyo?
rabbit-SUB how go-PST-hearsay
How did the rabbit go?

Jinwoo: 빨리 갔어요
ppalli kasseyo
fast go-PST
It went fast

As shown in Example 9, the researcher asked a question with a lexical subject *thokki-ka* 'rabbit-SUB' and Jinwoo answered with a null subject. This pattern also occurred in the other children's null forms that have lexical forms in the previous turn by researcher. This can be also seen in Example 10 below:

Example 10

Researcher: 음, 지금 이 아저씨가 뭐 하세요?
Um cikum i acessi-ka mwe hayyo?
Um now this guy-SUB what do-DEC
Um, now what does this guy do?

Hyunsung: 총을 새한테 하고 있어요.
chong-ul say-hanthey hako isseyo
Gun-OBJ bird-OBJ do-PROG
He is shooting gun to the bird

The researcher in Example 10 also asked a question with a lexical subject *acesski-ka* 'guy-SUB' and Hyunsung answered with a null subject. Since both Jinwoo and Hyunsung have native-like proficiency in Korean due to their recent immigrant status, there were able to make appropriate referential choices even during the conversation. Considering the fact that it is a more difficult cognitive task to choose the right referential choice during conversations than self-narration (Sohn, 1994), these two examples of Jinwoo and Hyunsung clearly display their high levels of Korean proficiency.

In addition, null forms are chosen when the children connect two clauses with a causative conjunction.

Example 11

1. Jane: 개미가 그 아저씨 다리 깨물어 가지고
kaymi-ka ku acessi tali kkaymwule kaci-ko
ant-SUB that guy leg bite AUX-CONJ
Because the ant has biten that guy

2. 총으로 새 못 잡았어요
chong-ulo say mos capasseyo
gun-INS bird not catch-PST-DEC
he could not catch the bird with a gun.

In line 1, Jane finished her clause with a causative conjunction ending and chose a null form for the subject in line 2, since the referent is given information and not contrastive with the other referent. This example also addresses Jane's high proficiency in Korean by demonstrating her ability to produce a complex sentence with the appropriate referential choice.

c. Unique forms

In addition, it was observed that these children produced interesting lexical forms that are different from what Korean monolingual children might produce. Although Jinwoo's Korean proficiency is native-like due to his recent immigrant status, he produced unique lexical forms involved in codeswitching at the level of morphology.

Example 12

1. Jinwoo: 개미가 일어났거든요
kaymi-ka ilenassketunyo
ant-SUB stand up –CONJ
An ant stands up, then

2. 기어왔어요
kiewasseyo
crawl-PST
crawled

3. leaf 이 떨어졌어요
leaf-i ttelecyesseyo
leaf-SUB fall-PST
a leaf fell down.

In Example 12, Jinwoo is telling the story "The Ant and the Dove". In line 3 of this example, he used the English word 'leaf' and attached the Korean subject particle 이'*i'*. Since the Korean subject particles 이/가 *'-i/ka'* are used to indicate a new information, his use of 이' *i'* exhibits Jinwoo's acquisition of the Korean particles and Korean referential choices. However, the choice between 이/가 *'-i/ka'* for the English word 'leaf' demonstrates the acquisition of both English and Korean phonology. When a noun ends with a consonant, 이' *i'* attaches to the noun; with a vowel, 가*'ka'* attaches to the noun. Therefore, this example shows that Jinwoo is aware of the structure of the English syllable as well as the phonological rule of the Korean subject particles.

Another unique pattern is the use of colloquial word choice and gestures. Example 13 illustrates the relationship between Cindy's colloquial language use and her referential choice.

Example 13

1. Cindy: 얘가 빨리 갔거든
yay-ka ppali kassketun (pointing at the picture)
This kid-TOP quickly go-PST-CONJ
This kid went first, so

2. : 이제 first race 했어
icey first race haysse (pointing at the picture)
Now do-PST
Now, won the first place

Cindy used the colloquial expression 얘 *yay* for the hard in the picture, which means literally 'this kid'; it is used as a deictic word for a person in conjunction with a deictic gesture, pointing. In line 2, she used a null form with her continuous pointing. Also, her sentence endings are informal, which is the most casual form in Korean. As both teachers mentioned, Cindy's language proficiencies in both English and Korean is less academic due to the lack of formal input because her primary interaction is her grandmother (Comments 41 to 43 and Comment 45). In alignment with the teachers' comments, Cindy's use of *yay*, instead of specific word for the referent, might exhibit her linguistic environment through the referential choice. As mentioned above, Cindy' Korean proficiency was limited to informal settings. Therefore, she was able to use effective referential forms when she could use informal words or gestures. However, she showed ineffective referential forms when she only used formal language. Since most of Korean American children have the limited access to the Korean language, this example shows how their linguistic environments influence their bilingual development.

C. *Chapter Conclusion*

Based on the interview data, the two teachers' perceived language proficiencies of students were constructed according to the specific context, a Korean/English TWI classroom. Specifically, the teachers may have understandably been focused on language use for teaching and learning in the two languages when evaluating students' language proficiencies.

Table 4.3. Key sentences of teachers' perceived proficiencies of four focal children

Name	Language	Key sentences from the interview data with the teachers
	Korean	1. He is comfortable with speaking Korean

Jinwoo	English	1. Because of the lack of vocabulary, his comprehension is not good 2. He is capable of daily English. 3. His confidence helps him to improve English 4. He shows the lack of content vocabulary
Hyunsung	Korean	1. He speaks Korean when he talks about his emotion 2. His has a wide vocabulary
	English	1. He has a lot of content information 2. His vocabulary increased much 3. He transferred his Korean knowledge to English well 4. His mother has him read various content books at home.
Jane	Korean	1. Her Korean is really strong 2. She seems to use content vocabulary and rich language 3. Her mother performs 'modelling' through frequent interactions 4. She learned her mother's speaking quickly 5. She performs 'modelling' for her classmates through peer interaction
	English	1. In the beginning, the lack of vocabulary was the problem 2. Now, she speaks English during the English instructional time, Korean during the Korean instructional time 3. When the word is difficult, she transfers her knowledge in Korean and figure it out
Cindy	Korean	1. Her Korean level is like a conversation with granny

		2. She does not have content vocabulary 3. She is good at everyday language, but not the academic language 4. She does not give opportunities for other students to talk
	English	1. Her improvement is way slower than Jane 2. In her writing, her spelling and grammar are very poor

As seen in Table 4.3, both teachers mentioned 'content vocabulary' or 'content knowledge' across the evaluations of four children's Korean and English proficiencies. Based on my inferences drawn from the context, the teachers used the word 'content' to refer to discipline-specific vocabulary and knowledge in an educational setting. In other words, both teachers assessed students' language proficiencies regarding whether or not they had academic vocabulary and knowledge. In addition, they placed emphasis on reading comprehension and writing, which are necessary skills for students to develop in order to function in the classroom. Consequently, the teachers did not give students much credit for having a high command of 'daily' or 'everyday' language. Their focus on academic language was well illustrated through their acknowledgement of Jane as a capable peer who could assist less proficient students.

Although Jinwoo and Hyunsung had 'native-like' proficiency in Korean due to their recent immigrant status and although Cindy had enough conversational skills in Korean to assist other students, both teachers determined Jane to be the capable peer and appreciated her role in modeling the Korean language. Based on the teachers' evaluations, only Jane was qualified because of her broad content vocabulary, adult-like speech, and her learning experience through her mother's modeling. In other words, instead of

holistic language ability, the teachers valued specific linguistic abilities that could facilitate content learning. Thus, it seems that teachers' perceived proficiencies of students are centered on the relationship between the language and content learning for the specific educational setting.

While it seemed teachers' perceptions about language proficiency are equal to the level of academic performance in two languages, the examination of the referential choices exhibited different results from perceived proficiency. First, the four Korean-English bilingual children displayed significantly different referential choices compared to both Korean and English native speakers in previous studies that investigated the referential choices of native speakers (Wubs et al., 2009; Kim, 1997; Clancy, 1993).

Table 4.4. Comparison of referential choices between previous studies and this study

	Monolingual children in previous studies	Four bilingual children in this study
English	63 % of pronouns	75% of lexical forms
Korean	65% of null forms	80% of lexical forms

Since the English pronouns and Korean null forms are the language specific characteristics (See Chapter 2), it is noteworthy to pay attention to the percentages of lexical forms in both languages that the four children showed. According to Karmiloff-Smith's (1981) study, children learn to how to maintain cohesion in their narrative using available devices in their languages around the age of six. In addition, Wubs et al. (2009) revealed that adults use more lexical forms than pronouns in English when they do story telling tasks because they take into account the listener's perspective. In other words, children use pronouns more because they do not take into account the listener's perspective. If we apply these studies to the Korean referential choice, children who are

learning Korean as their first languages will use more null forms in their narratives before the age of six although there might be a difference between English and Korean acquisition in terms of referential choice. In contrast to the children in the previous studies, these four bilingual children produced much more lexical forms with the discourse prominence similar to the percentage of adult speakers' referential choices (Wubs el al., 2009). This result can be interpreted as these four children learned how to use lexical forms with the discourse prominence, but not how to use the language-specific characteristics of the English pronouns and the Korean null forms. In other words, bilingual children might take a different trajectory from monolingual counterparts and need specific assistance with learning language-specific characteristics in both languages.

A closer look into these language-specific characteristics supports the argument above. Although the four children exhibited a similar pattern of using lexical forms across the two languages, there are some differences in their use of pronouns and null forms in each language. In using pronouns in English narratives, Jane and Cindy, who are American-born Korean children, demonstrated the correct use of pronouns while Jinwoo and Hyunsung, who are recent immigrants, produced null forms and incorrect pronoun use. Jinwoo used a null form where it should have been a pronoun, and Hyunsung used a pronoun for new information. It seems that the infrequent use of pronouns correlates with English proficiency since it involves various types of linguistic knowledge, both at the discourse and morphological level. In the Korean narratives, Jinwoo and Hyunsung produced more null forms for old information while Jane and Cindy rarely used null forms. Previous studies (Allen, 2000; Serratrice, 2005; Van Rij et al.,2009) have pointed out that children learn proper referential choice through contextual discourse; Jane and Cindy might not have had enough exposure to learn the use of null forms compared to

Jinwoo and Hyunsung. As a result, contrary to the teachers' acknowledgement of Jane as a capable peer who can model the Korean language for the less proficient students, Jinwoo and Hyunsung are actually the ones who can model how to structure discourse using the Korean-specific referential choice device.

In addition, the individual cases of Hyunsung and Cindy provide more insights about the language proficiencies of bilingual children. First, Hyunsung made errors with the use of English pronouns by using them for new information, and his lexical forms contained a considerably lower percentage (59%) of discourse prominence compared to those of the other three children (See Figure 4.2). Although in their English narratives, Hyunsung made more errors than Jinwoo, he did not use any null forms, while Jinwoo did. In other words, it seems that Hyunsung is aware of the differences in referential choice between Korean and English because he used multiple null forms in his Korean narratives. Therefore, I would argue that bilingual children's language proficiency cannot be assessed separately, because if only the errors and lexical forms without the discourse prominence were taken into consideration, the Jinwoo would seem more advanced compared to Hyunsung.

Second, it is noticeable that Cindy actually performed better than Jane in her English narratives. Although there was a slight difference, Cindy's lexical forms had more discourse prominence than Jane's (See Figure 4.2). In Chapter IV, the teachers evaluated Cindy as less proficient in English than Jane (Comment 48); however, Cindy's acquisition of the referential choice in English was not delayed. Considering the fact that Cindy frequently uses colloquial expressions in her Korean narratives, the teachers' evaluations seem to be based on her lack of formality due to her linguistic environments.

In sum, it is necessary to consider how two languages influence each other and what should be taught at a TWI program in order to assist children's bilingual development when children are exposed to bilingual environment through language contact. Although both teachers expected the positive effect of language transfer (Comments 23, 25, 39, 46), the result in this chapter suggests that it is imperative to examine how language specific characteristics in one language might influence the development in the other language, particularly in the bilingual development of two languages that have a considerable typological distance. In addition, the findings suggest that bilingual children's language proficiencies should be assessed by considering language-specific characteristics in both languages.

Chapter V

The Relationship between Teachers' Perceived Proficiencies and their Pedagogical Decisions

Chapter IV examined teachers' perceived proficiencies of four focal children in both Korean and English and revealed that their perceptions are focused on so-called 'content' vocabulary and knowledge that are considered to be necessary for students in order to be successful in content learning in both languages. In addition, the referential choices of the students were analyzed in order to measure students' language proficiency along with their FLOSEM scores. Based on the results found in Chapter IV, this chapter further examines if there is any relationship between teachers' perceived proficiency and actual teaching practices in the classroom. Perceived proficiency by the teachers is especially important in the classroom not just because teachers play a pivotal role in providing scaffolding, but also because they are the critical figures who decide the participation structure in the learning context. While examining classroom interaction, this chapter analyzes not only linguistic behaviors, but also non-linguistic behaviors, such as gestures or eye gaze, by considering both as mediational tools for learning (See Chapter 2).

A. "This student does not give an opportunity for other students to participate"

In Example 1, a group of six students is starting the reading activity. Before the actual reading- aloud activity, Mrs. Shin introduces two specific terms related to the reading activity: 'title' and 'author' in Korean. When Mrs. Shin asks questions about these unfamiliar words, no student is able to answer. By analyzing the students' gestures

along with their verbal input, this example also shows how teacher's perceived proficiency of a student influences on turn-taking process.

Example 1

1. Cindy: 나가 벌써 줬어요
naka pelsse cwuesseyo
I already gave it to him.

2. Mrs. Shin: 오케이, 다같이
dakathi.
All together.

3. 우리
Wuri
We

4. 책 제목이 뭐죠?
chayk chemoki mwejyo?
What is the title of the book?
(Mrs. Shin points at the title on the cover.)

5. Students: 신나게 달려요
sinnakey tallyeyo
Let's run cheerfully!

6. Mrs. Shin: 지은이는 책을 쓰는 사람인가,
이야기를 쓰는 사람인가,
아니면 그림을 그리는 사람인가
cieunika chaykul ssunun saraminka,
iyakilul ssunun saraminka,
animyen kurimul kurinun saraminka
Is an author a person who writes a book?
or a person who writes a story?
or a person draws?

7. 지은이
ciunni
author
(Cindy raises her hand and puts her hand on the back of her head)

8. 지은이는 뭐 하는 사람이에요?
cieuninun mwe hanun saramieyo?
What does an author do?

9. 책을 쓰는 사람이에요 아니면
그림을 그리는 사람 이에요?
chaykul ssunun saramieyyo animyen
kulimul kurinun saramieyyo?
a person who writes a boook or draws?

10. (S1 raises her hand and Mrs. Shin points at S1.)

11. S1: 그림을 그리는 사람이에요
kurimul kurinun saramieyyo.
It is a person who draws.

12. S2: 그림을 그리는 사람
kurimul kurinun saram
a person who draws

13. Mrs. Shin: 지은이가
Ciunika
An author is

14. 지은이가 그림을 그리는 사람인가?
ciunika kurimul kurinun saraminka?
Is an author a person who draws?

15. 모르나보다,
Moruna pota
It seems like you don't know

16. 선생님이 다시 얘기할게요.
sensaynnimi tasi yaykihalkeyyo.
I will explain it again

17. 지은이는
Ciuninun
The author is
(Grace raises her hand.)

18. Mrs. Shin: Grace

19. Grace: 지은이는...어…
ciuninun… e…
The author is…um…

20. Mrs. Shin: 지은이는 이야기를 만들어내는 사람이죠.
ciuninun iyakilul mantulenaynun saramicyo.

The author is a person who makes a story.
(Sharon imitates the motion of writing)

21. [글을 쓰는 사람이죠.
kulul ssunun saramicyo.
It is a person who writes.

22. Cindy: [yay, I knew it

23. Mrs. Shin: 또 그러면 그리는 이를 뭐라 그래요?
tto kulemyen kurinun ilul mwera kurayyo?
Then, what do you call a someone who draws?

Before Mrs. Shin initiates the reading activity, she points to the title on the book cover and asks what the title of the book is in line 4. Then, all of the students read aloud the title in line 5. However, no immediate participation is observed when Mrs. Shin introduces the word '지은이' *jieuni* 'author' in a question form by providing three possible definitions. In line 6, Mrs. Shin asks "지은이는 책을 쓰는 사람인가, 이야기를 쓰는 사람인가, 아니면 그림을 그리는 사람인가?" 'Is an author a person who writes a book? Or a person who writes a story? Or a person who draws a picture?'. While she gives two similar definitions, a person who writes a book and a person writes a story, and asks the students to choose one answer, Cindy raises her hand, then puts her hand to the back of her head in order to keep her bidding status in line 7.

However, Mrs. Shin asks again instead of nominating Cindy, "지은이는 뭐하는 사람이에요?" 'What does an author do?' in line 8. Then, Mrs. Shin gives two possible definitions for the word 'author' again: "책을 쓰는 사람이에요? 아니면 그림을 그리는 사람이에요?" 'Is a person who writes a book or a person who draws?' in line 9. Given the two options, not three, S1 raises her hand and Mrs. Shin approves S1's

participation by pointing at her (line 10). However, S1 gives an incorrect answer by saying "그림을 그리는 사람이에요." 'It is a person who draws" in line 11 and S2 who sits next to S1 repeats S1's answer in line 12.

Instead of overtly saying that S1 and S2 have provided the wrong answer, Mrs. Shin implies it by asking the group a Yes-no question in lines 13 and 14, "지은이가 그림을 그리는 사람인가?" 'Is an author a person who draws?'. Following this question, Mrs. Shin confirms that S1 and S2 have said the wrong answer by saying "모르나보다" 'It seems like you don't know' in line 15 and "선생님이 다시 얘기할게요" 'I will explain it again' in line 16. When Mrs. Shin starts explaining, Grace raised her hand in line 17 and Mrs. Shin approves her participation in line 18. Although Grace starts her sentence with "지은이는.." 'An author is…", she stops there and does not continue in line 19. Instead, Mrs. Shin gives the correct answer by saying "지은이는 이야기를 만들어내는 사람이죠" 'An author is a person who makes a story' in line 20. At the same time, it is notable that Cindy imitates the motion of writing. When Mrs. Shin adds one more sentence "글을 쓰는 사람이죠." 'It is the one who writes' in line 21, Cindy says "I knew it."

This example illustrates the way in which the teacher activated her perceived proficiency of Cindy as not a qualified 'capable' peer. Although it seems that Cindy knows the answer because she immediately raises her hand in line 7 and gestures a writing motion simultaneously when Mrs. Shin says the correct answer (line 20), Mrs. Shin does not grant a turn to Cindy while nominating three other students who do not know the correct answers. Since this reading activity is a small group activity and Cindy

is sitting across Mrs. Shin as well as she is putting her hand on her head in order to maintain her bidding status, it is quite obvious that Mrs. Shin is able to see Cindy's self-nomination. Therefore, it seems that Mrs. Shin's decision is probably due to her perception about Cindy's proficiency in Korean. As the teacher mentioned in Chapter IV, they consider Cindy's Korean as not being proficient enough to 'model' Korean sentences because of the lack of academic language and content knowledge as well as her informal Korean due to the frequent interactions with her grandmother. Rather, they reported that Cindy's frequent participation results in decreasing opportunities for less proficient students to participate (Comment 47 in Chapter IV). Therefore, Mrs. Shin's turn-giving practice seems to be influenced by her perceived proficiency of Cindy's Korean. Although a teacher's perceived proficiency is not necessarily as accurate representation, such perceptions are enacted through classroom interaction. A similar example can be found in Example 2 that takes place in the group where Jinwoo, Hyunsung, and Jane participate in a reading aloud activity.

Example 2]

Speaker	verbal	nonverbal
24. Mrs. Shin	자, ca, *okay*	Jane opens her book.
25.	"신나게 달려요". "sinnakey tallyeyo". *"Let's run cheerfully."*	Jane turns the pages. Jinwoo looks at Mrs. Shin's book. Jane looks at her book and points at the page with a pencil.
26.	오늘 누가 제일 잘 읽는지 볼 거예요. onul nwuka ceyil cal ilknunci pol ke yeyyo.	Mrs. Shin presses her book spine with her hand. Jane looks at Mrs. Shin

	I will see who is the best reader for today.	Jinwoo looks at Mrs. Shin's book
27.	오장 십페이지 읽을거에요 ocang sip pheyici ilulkeyeyyo *We will read chapter 5 page 10.*	Jinwoo looks at Mrs. Shin Jane looks at Mrs. Shin
28.	우리 한 페이지씩 읽을 [거예요.] wuli han pheyicissik ilkul keyeyyo. *Each of us will read one page.*	
29. Jane	[오우] [o:wu] *oh!*	Jane looks at the classmates on her left side Jinwoo looks at the classmates on his right side
30. Mrs. Shin	[손가락으로 집어가면]서 읽던가, [sonkalakulo cip.ekamyen]se ilktenka *You can read by tracing with your finger or,*	Mrs. Shin points at her book Jinwoo looks at the classmates on his right side
31. Jinwoo	[내가 먼저 읽을게요] [nayka mence ilkulkeyyo] *I would like to read first.*	Jinwoo raises his hand while holding a pencil. Jane looks at Mrs. Shin.
32. Mrs. Shin	연필로 집어가면서 읽어요. yenphillo ciphekamyense ilkeyo. *Read by tracing with your pencil.*	Mrs. Shin points at Jinwoo's pencil in his hand
33.	"신나게 달려요" "sinnakey tallyeyo" *"Let's run cheerfully"*	Jinwoo looks at Mrs. Shin Jane looks at Mrs. Shin
34. Students	"신나게 달려요" "sinnakey tallyeyo" *"Let's run cheerfully"*	Jane looks at her book Jinwoo looks at Mrs. Shin's book
35. Mrs. Shin	[삐] [ppi] *beep*	Jane looks at Mrs. Shin.
36. Jinwoo	[난 짧은 거만 읽고] [싶은데] [nan ccalpun keman ilkko] [siphuntey] *I just want to read a short one*	Jinwoo moves his head and points at the left side of the page with his pencil. Jane looks at the page Jinwoo points at
37. Mrs. Shin	[쉬:] [shi:] *shush*	
38.	어, 현아 먼저 읽어 주세요. e, Hyuna mence ilke cwuseyyo *um, Hyuna will read first, please.*	Jane points at the beginning of the paragraph with her pencil. Jinwoo looks at Hyuna

Mrs. Shin first introduces the reading content to the students, indicating the chapter and page number (lines 25 and 27), the goal of the reading activity (line 26), and the number of pages for each student to read (line 28). Both Jinwoo and Jane are attentive to Mrs. Shin's instruction about the reading session. This is evidenced in their gaze at both Mrs. Shin and their books. Their visible embodied orientation to the material indicates that Jinwoo and Jane are ready to participate in the reading session. Since Mrs. Shin has announced that everyone will read one page, Jinwoo tries to take the first turn by nominating himself as a reader in line 31. Jinwoo's sentence "내가 먼저 읽을게요" 'I will read first' includes the future tense morpheme 게 'key', which expresses evidential certainty. Although this morpheme functions not as a request, but as a notice, Jinwoo does not proceed to read the first page as he has stated because Mrs. Shin has not granted a turn to Jinwoo. Instead, Mrs. Shin continues to introduce a new embodied participation, using a tool for tracing, as a listener by pointing at the pencil in Jinwoo's hand (line 32). Consequently, Ms. Kim does not assign Jinwoo a turn, by giving a non-aligning response, " 연필로 집어가면서 읽어요" 'Read by tracing with your pencil', to Jinwoo's request for the first turn.

However, Jinwoo attempts to nominate himself as the first reader again in line 36. This time, however, he does not explicitly assert his request to take the turn. Instead, Jinwoo expresses his preference for reading a short paragraph, " 난 짧은 것만 읽고 싶은데" ' I just want to read a short one'. In this example, there is a high possibility not to consider this sentence as a request for the first turn unless his pointing is taken into consideration. A closer look at his pointing elaborates Jinwoo's sentence (line 36) because the first page he has pointed has only one line and is relatively shorter than other

pages. That is, Jinwoo organizes his gesture with reference to a specific artifact in the setting in order to align with his verbal form (Goodwin, 2000).

Despite Jinwoo's two attempts, his bid for participation is rejected by Mrs. Shin's interjection 쉬 'shwui' in line 37 even before his utterance is complete. Since the interjection 쉬 'shwui' carries the function of commanding silence, it implies not only rejection to Jinwoo's bid for participation, but also constraint to his verbal participation. As mentioned in Excerpt 2 of Chapter IV, both teachers the teacher explicitly stated that the more proficient student who speaks Korean at home do not give opportunities for the less proficient students, who often do not have opportunities to practice the target language outside of the classroom, to use the target language. Furthermore, the teacher concluded that this is one of reasons why the less proficient students' language development is delayed. Therefore, the reason why Mrs. Shin appears to be reluctant to give a turn to Jinwoo might be based on her perceived proficiency. In other words, she has not considered Jinwoo as a helpful peer who can model the target language. The following Example 3 illustrates why Mrs. Shin does not perceive Jinwoo's proficiency as a valid capable peer who can assist less proficient peers' target language development.

Example 3]

39. Mrs. Shin	현우, [시작] Hyunwoo, [sicak] *Hyunwoo, start*	
40. Jinwoo	"[엄마는] 아침부터 김밥을 싸시고" "[emmanun] achimpwuthe kimpapul ssasiko" *" Mom is making kimbop since early morning and,"*	Jinwoo looks at his book Jane looks at her book
41.	"나는_삶은_달걀을_가방에_담아요" "nanun_salmun_talkyalul_kapangey_tamayo"	Jane looks at Jinwoo's book

	I put hard boiled eggs in a bag.	
42.	"엄마아빠_나는_XX 버스를_타고_할머니댁에_갑니다" "emma appa nanun XXpesulul thako halmeni taykey kapnita" *Mom, Dad, and I go to Grandmother's house by XX bus.*	Jane puts her right hand under the page.
43.	팝콘 phapkhon *Popcorn*	Jinwoo looks at Mrs. Shin. Jinwoo taps his pencil on his chin and looks round. Jane turns to the next page
44. Mrs. Shin	그렇게 읽으면 잘 읽는다고 생각해요? kulehkey ilkumyen cal ilknuntako sayngkakhayyo? *Do you think you read well if you read like that?*	Jinwoo looks at Mrs. Shin
45. Jinwoo	아니요. Aniyo *No*	Mrs. Shin shakes her head
46. Mrs. Shin	아니 Ani *No*	Jinwoo looks at the students at his left
47.	우리가 wulika *We*	
48.	너무 빨리 읽으면 무슨말 하는지 하나도 못 알아들어요 *nemwu ppalli ilkumyen mwusunmal hanunci hanato mos alatuleyo* *If you read too fast, (we) cannot understand anything.*	
49.	선생님 얘기하는 것 알았어요? sensayngnim yaykihanun kes alasseyo? *Do you know what I meant?*	Jinwoo looks at Mrs. Shin.
50. Jinwoo	네. Ney *Yes.*	Jinwoo looks at his book.

After giving turns to other students who are less proficient than Jinwoo, Mrs. Shin grants a turn to Jinwoo in line 36. Compared to the less proficient student who read before Jinwoo, he read his paragraph relatively fast. Then Mrs. Shin asked Jinwoo, "그렇게 읽으면 잘 읽는다고 생각해요?" (Do you think you are reading well if you read like that?) (line 44) and added "우리가 너무 빨리 읽으면 무슨말 하는 지 하나도 못 알아들어요." (If you read too fast, we cannot understand) (lines 47 and 48). By using the pronoun 우리 ('we'), she shared her concerns about the less proficient students. In other words, Mrs. Shin overtly disqualified Jinwoo as an appropriate 'capable' peer who could serve as a language model because he does not show consideration about the less proficient students. Although a previous study revealed that high proficient students declared by teachers are likely to gain access to participation (Martin- Beltran, 2010), Examples 1,2, and 3 displayed a different pattern. Although both teachers evaluated Jinwoo and Cindy's Korean to be strong, they did not acknowledge their proficiencies good enough to assign the role of 'capable' peer who can model the Korean language for less proficient students.

B. "I appreciate that she does modeling for other students"

In contrast, both teachers display a different attitude toward Jane who has been praised for her knowledge of academic vocabulary and content knowledge in Korean. Examples 4 and 5 below illustrate how the teacher displays her perceived proficiency of Jane's Korean by nominating her whether she volunteers for participation or not

Example 4]

51. Mrs. Shin	어, 여기 있는 것은 무엇일까요? e, yeki issnun kesun mwuessilkkayo? *um, what is this here?*	Mrs. Shin points at the picture on the board.
52.	이걸 뭐라고 부르죠? ikel mwerako mwurucyo? *how do you call this?*	
53.	선생님은 본 적 있는 것 같아요. sensayngnimun pon cek issnun kes kathayo *I have seen this*	
54.	우리 집에도 있고 병원에 가도 있어요. wuri cipeyo issko, pyengweney kato isseyo *we have it at home and you can see this at hospital*	
55.	이걸 뭐라고 부르죠? ikel mwerako hatera? *how do you call this?*	
56.	옆에 친구한테 얘기해 주세요. yephey chinkwuhanthey yaygihae cwuseyyo *tell it to your friend next to you*	
57.	준비된 친구, 손 머리하고 있으세요 cwunpitoin chingwu, son merihako issuseyyo *if you are ready, please put your hands on your head*	Most of students put their hands on their heads
58.	기쁨아, 이것을 뭐라고 하더라? Kippum-a (Jane's Korean name), ikkeul mwerako hatera? *Jane, do you remember how to say this?*	Students makes sound that seems to be a sign of disappointment

59. Jane	온도계 ontogye *thermometer*
60. Mrs. Shin	맞았나요? Macassnayo *is she correct?*
61. Students	네 ney *yes.*
62. Mrs. Shin	온도계 ontogye *thermometer*
63. Students	온도계 ontogye *thermometer*
64. Mrs. Shin	따라하세요, 온도계 ttarahaseyyo, ontogye *repeat after me,* *thermometer*
65. Students	온도계 ontogye *thermometer*

In Example 4, Mrs. Shin goes over a science homework that she has assigned the day before. Since this session takes place with the whole class, the students are sitting down on the floor in front of the blackboard. In order to check vocabulary related to telling about the weather, she asks a question to the whole class how to say 'thermometer' in Korean while pointing at the picture on the board in lines 51 and 52. After giving some contextual cues about thermometer (lines 53 and 54), Mrs. Shin asks the same question (line 55) and encourages peer interaction by saying " 옆에 친구한테 얘기해 주세요" (Tell it to your friend next to you) (line 56). Then, she suggests students to put their hands on their head if they are ready to answer (line 57). Since most students put their

hands on their head, it appeared that they all know the answer. However, Mrs. Shin calls out 기쁨 '*Kippum*' (Jane's Korean name) and designates her as a representative of the class by asking " 이것을 뭐라고 하더라?" in line 58. Compared to the previous question sentences to the whole class (lines 51, 52, and 55), Mrs. Shin uses a different sentence ending when she invites Jane to provide the answer to the whole class. Although the question in line 58 asks how to say thermometer in Korean same as the previous question, Mrs. Shin indicates that Jane knows the correct answer by using 더라 *'deora'* ending that has a different implication. That is, *'deora'* expresses the speaker's perception about the listener's epistemic status (Bak, 2008). In other words, this sentence ending contains the meaning, not just 'do you know how to say this', but also 'do you remember how to say?'. Therefore, it is visible that Mrs. Shin validates Jane's answer as the correct one even before Jane answers. After confirming Jane's correct answer with the class in line 60, Mrs. Shin has the students repeat the word from line 62 to line 65. This example reveals how the teacher positions Jane as a capable peer who can model the target language. Another example comes from when Ms. Park conducts a pre-writing preparation. In order to proceed a writing project about Christmas and presents, she talks about basic information about Christmas in Example 5 below.

Example 5]

66. Ms. Park	우리 크리스마스 선물 뭐 받고 싶은지 얘기 했었죠? wuri kurisumasu senmwul mwe patko siphunci yaykihayssesscyo *We've talked about what we want for Christmas, right?*	
67.	크리스마스 몇 월 몇 일인지 아는 사람 말해줄	Jane and Chaeyoung raise

	수 있어요? kurisumasu myech wel myech il inci anun saram malhaycwul swu isseyo *Can anyone tell me what date is Christmas?*	their hands
68.	크리스마스는 몇 월 몇 일이에요? kurisumasunun myech wel myech ilieyo *What date is Christmas?*	
69.	우리 기쁨이가 한 번 말해 보세요. wuri kippumika han pen malhay poseyyo *Can our Jane tell it ?*	
70. Jane	12 월 25 일 sipiwel isip oil *December 25th*	
71. Ms. Park	긴 문장으로 한 번 다시 말해 주세요. kin mwuncangulo han pen tasi malhay cwuseyyo *Can you tell me again in a long sentence?*	Ms. Park elongates her fingers
72. Jane	크리스마스는 12 월 25 일이에요. Kurisumasunun sipiwel isip oilueyyo *Christmas is December 25th.*	
73. Ms. Park	잘 알고 있네 기쁨이. 좋아요. cal alko issney, kippumi choayo *You know well Jane, it's good.*	
74.	우리 채영이 한 번 말해 보세요. wuri chaeyengi han pen malhay poseyyo *Chaeyoung, can you say it?*	

75. Chaeyoung	크리스마스는 어, 12 월 25 일 kurisumasunun, e sipiwel isip oil *Christmas is, um, December 25th*
76. Ms. Park	다시 한번 말해 줄 수 있어요? tasi han pen malhay cwulswu isseyo? *Can you tell me one more time?*

While talking about Christmas presents, Ms. Park asks if any students can tell the actual date of Christmas in line 67. Upon this request, Jane and Chaeyoung raise their hands in order to take a turn. Similar to Example 4, Ms. Park also grants a turn to Jane (line 69), not Chaeyoung with the low level of Korean proficiency. Although Jane says the right day with a proper number classifier for month and day (line 70), Ms. Park makes one more request to Jane that she says it in a full sentence in line 71. This utterance demonstrates Ms. Park's perceived perception, same as Mrs. Shin's, about Jane's role as a capable peer who can model the target language, not just a student with the high level of Korean proficiency. After Jane says the date in a complete sentence in line 72, Ms. Park nominates Chaeyoung who has raised her hand at the same time Jane has (line 73). As Mrs. Shin has given other students a chance to practice the target language after Jane's answer in Example 4, Ms. Park also grants a turn to other student after Jane produces the right form of sentence. Since the Korean number system and number classifiers, as introduced in Chapter II, are considerably complex, it seems that she was motivated to nominate Jane first because she has been expected to provide helpful assistance.

Throughout the interview, both teachers not only highly evaluated Jane's Korean proficiency, but also positioned her as a more capable peer who can model the Korean language through peer interaction (Comment 32 in Chapter IV). As they mentioned, Examples 4 and 5 demonstrate how their perceived proficiency of Jane influenced classroom interaction, particularly in turn-taking process. Therefore, it is worthwhile to investigate why the teachers preferred Jane as a capable peer over Cindy and Jinwoo although all three showed high proficiency in Korean according to FLOSEM scores and teachers' perceived proficiencies. By using the interview data with the teachers regarding their teaching experiences at the TWI school, the next section will attempt to investigate what motivates the teachers to position Jane as a legitimate capable peer.

C. "She seems to use many content vocabulary and rich language"

Interestingly, both teachers shared nearly identical opinions about each student throughout the interview and their teaching practices. They disqualified Cindy and Jinwoo as capable peers, but shared well-established expectation for Jane as a more capable peer (Comment 47 in Chapter IV; Examples 1 to 3). In the interview, they highly praised Jane's Korean proficiency in terms of rich content vocabulary, adult-like sentence structures, and the ability of modeling the target language (Comments 30 and 31 in Chapter IV). These three categories are observed in the teachers interview about their challenges and strategies in teaching content in Korean.

First of all, both teachers expressed their insecurities in teaching content in Korean in Excerpts 3 below.

Excerpt 3]

한국말을 꾸준히 배웠지만, 한국도 매년 거의 나가고, 부모님이 집에서 한글 학교 보내고, 집에서는 꼭 한국말 해야 했고, 친구들도 한국 아이들이 있었기 때문에 그게 계속 할 수 있었지만. 이런 content vocabulary는 몰라요. 예를 들면, 간단한 도형도 마름모 이런 건 많이 안 쓰잖아요.

I had learned Korean continuously by visiting Korea every year, attending a Korean school, using Korean at home, and having many Korean friends. But, I haven't acquired much content vocabulary. For example, we don't often use names of shapes (as everyday language) such as *marummo* (diamond).

In Excerpt 3, Mrs. Shin self-evaluated her Korean as communicatively proficient due to the continuous opportunities of learning Korean, but expressed difficulties with teaching content in Korean because of the lack of content vocabulary. The exact concern the teacher had expressed was observed in the teacher's math instruction (Example 6). When the teacher focused on identifying a square and its attributes, she gave two options, 네모(*nemo*: square) and 세모 (*semo*: triangle, as possible answers to her question in line 2. Then, one of the students identified it as a " 네모(*nemo*)'square' in line 3. Based on the student's answer, the teacher proceeded to the next step of identifying the attributes of the square by asking " 왜 네모라고 생각해요?" (Why do you think it's a square?) (line 5). Although the teacher encouraged the students to answer, she provided clues and explanations for her own question in lines 8 and 13. In line 8, she said " 어, 여기 네 개가 있어요" (Um, there are four of these.), pointing to each corner of the square. In addition, she provided more characteristics in line 13, " 네, 점이 네 개고, 점과 점을 이을 때 줄이 하나, 둘, 셋, 네 개가 있겠죠." (Yes, there are four dots, and when you connect the dots, there are one, two, three, four sides). The use of the Korean word for "four" in all her clues, gave away the answer to her question.

Example 6]

Line	Speaker	Utterance and translation (*gestures/actions are in Italics*)
1	Teacher	이게 무슨 도형을 이루죠? What shape does this make? *Cuts out an example shape and holds it up*
2		네모예요, 세모예요? Square or triangle?
3	Ss	네모 Square
4	Teacher	네모예요? Is it a square?
5		왜 네모라고 생각해요? Why do you think it's a square? *Holds up the cutout and outlines the shape of the square while pausing on the end of each side with her finger.*
6	S1/S2	*Raise their hands.*
7	S1	왜냐면… Because…
8	Teacher	어, 여기 네 개가 있어요. Um, there are four of these. *Points at each corner of the square.*
9		또 다른 이유? Is there another reason?
10		왜 네모라고 생각해요? Why do you think it's a square?
11	S2	*Raises her hand.*
12		왜냐면 점이 네 개. Because there are four dots.
13	Teacher	네, 점이 네 개고, 점과 점을 이을 때 줄이 하나, 둘, 셋, 네 개가 있겠죠. Yes, there are four dots, and when you connect the dots, there are one, two, three, four sides. *Points at the edges*
14		그래서 네모 That's why it's a square.

In Example 6, three utterances by the teacher, in lines 2, 8, and 13, are worth examining. In line 2, she uses the words 네모 (*nemo*: square) and 세모 (*semo*: triangle) in which the Korean native numbers are embedded. Given the dual number system in Korean, there are also two names for geometric shapes such as 'square' – 네모 (*nemo)* and 사각형

(*sagakhyeong)*. 네모(*nemo)* is a combination of the native Korean number 네 (*ne*: four) and the word 모 (*mo*: corner) while 사각형 (*sagakhyeong)* is a combination of the Sino-Korean number 사 (*sa*: four) and the words 각 (*gak*: angle) and 형 (*hyeong*: shape). In mathematics, words with Sino-Korean numbers such as 사각형(*sagakhyeong:* square in Sino-Korean words) are the more commonly used labels for shapes in mathematics discourse.

In addition, the following excerpt shows how the teacher value the knowledge of content vocabulary and what strategies they use in order to foster vocabulary learning.

Excerpt 4]

> 글을 쓸 때 특별히 인제 한국어가 모국어가 아닌 아이들은 문장 형태라든지, 문법이 굉장히 다르잖아요 그 구조가. 그래서 저런 걸 가지고 미국은 동사가 뒤에 오고. 그 순서가 다 틀리지만 저런 거를 가지고, 차트를 가지고 '어디에서 어떤 무엇이 어떻게 무엇을 했어요'이런 기본적인 패턴을 가지고 하도록 해요. 또 저걸 하기 위해서 어휘가 필요하잖아요. 저기 들어가는 걸 끼어넣기 위해서는. 그래서 제가 생각하기에 target language 의 어휘를 아는 것이 굉장히 중요한 것 같아요. 문법도 물론 중요하지만.
>
> *When you write something, there are huge differences between Korean and English in terms of sentence structure and grammar. So, verbs comes last in English, and the word orders are different. So with this, like this chart,' Where, what, how, what you did,' I have students use this basic pattern. But, you need vocabulary in order to plug into this pattern. So, I think it is really important to know vocabulary in the target language although it is also important to know the grammar.*

In Excerpt 4, Ms. Park also pointed out the importance of having enough vocabulary. Although they both had no difficulty with expressing themselves in Korean both orally and in writing, they seem to consider that native-like proficiency is not enough to teach content without the knowledge of content vocabulary. In addition, they emphasized the importance of having a large size of vocabulary in the target language. Therefore, these

two Excerpts explain why Jane was selected as a legitimate capable peer while Jinwoo and Cindy were disqualified. Although Jinwoo and Cindy were evaluated as a native speaker and strong Korean speaker respectively, they were not good enough to assist other peers without content vocabulary or knowledge. In contrast, Jane was equipped with rich content vocabulary along with high proficiency in Korean. In other words, Jane showed the qualification that both teacher consider necessary in order to teach content in Korean. However, it is not the only qualification for a capable peer to have content vocabulary because both teachers also mentioned the same thing about Hyunsung (Comments 20 and 21 in Chapter IV). Excerpts 5 and 6 below will explain why Jane is the ideal candidate for a capable peer.

Excerpt 5]
일단은 제가 인제 아이들이 숙제를 해온다거나 그러면, writing homework 을 해온다거나 그러면 조그만 거라도 노트를 써줘요. 뭐 이런 것들은, 오늘은 이렇게 열심히 해서 좋았다든지, 이렇게 이렇게 아이디어가 참 좋았다 든지, 영어로든 한국말이든 써주면 아이들이 되게 좋아해요. 그걸 보면서 작은 노트 요거 조그마한 거 하나가 아이들한테, 그걸 읽고 싶어해요 굉장히 아이들이. 그럼 아이들한테 읽는 기회가 한 번 더 되잖아요. 제 language 가 model 이 되고. 제 writing 이 또 model 이 되고.

First, I always leave feedback notes on their writing homework. For example, "It was good for you to work hard.", "It is a great idea!" Either in English or Korean, students like this kind of comment. They like reading these comments. Then, this becomes one more opportunity for them to read. Then my language becomes a model, and my writing becomes a model.

Excerpt 6]

여기 킨더가든 아이들하고 이야기 하다 보면 아직 존칭어, 경어를 잘 못써요. '뭐 먹었어요?' 그러면 '밥 먹었어''어디 갔어' 이렇게 말을 하는 아이들이 있는데 그건 또 이제 그 아이들의 자라온 환경에 따라서 틀려지는 거지만, 자꾸 exposure 해주고 modeling 을 해주는 게 중요한 것 같아요.

> *Whenever I talk to kindergartners here, they don't know the honorifics and the polite forms. When I ask them in the polite sentence endings, they just answer with the impolite sentence ending. Although their upbringing environments influence this, I would like to expose them to the right form and think it is important to do modelling.*

Throughout the interview, both teachers mentioned 'modeling' as their teaching strategies. Excerpt 5 demonstrates that Ms. Park uses her feedback on students' writing as modeling practice. As both teachers mentioned in the evaluation of Jane's Korean proficiency, she knows how to model the Korean language due to the frequent exposure to her mother's modeling practice (Comments 30 and 31in Chapter 4). In addition, Jane's adult-like Korean sentences might fulfil the qualification as a capable peer when considering Mrs. Shin's concerns. In Excerpt 6, she specified what to model for her students based on the interaction with students. Since students are often unfamiliar with the formal speech including the Korean honorifics, Mrs. Shin emphasized the importance of modeling the formal speech. Therefore, Jane was the perfect candidate as a capable peer who can model the Korean language even in formal speech in the eyes of the teachers.

D. Chapter Conclusion

Interestingly, all examples that illustrate the significant influence of teachers' perceived proficiency were from the Korean instructional time. A similar pattern was not observed during the English instructional time. Although there were more proficient students in English than these focal students, the teachers in the collected data did not have proficient students perform similar 'modeling' practices during the English instructional time. Therefore, I identified the examples in this chapter as specific teaching practices only for the Korean instructional time. In addition, I attempted to make a

connection between the specific findings in this chapter and teachers' comments about the challenges and strategies in teaching content in Korean.

First, it is understandable that the teachers showed preference toward Jane as a more capable peer over Cindy because Jane exhibited native-like Korean proficiency according to her FLOSEM scores while Cindy scored in the low range of advanced fluency (Table 4.1, Chapter 4; Appendix 1). However, Jinwoo also demonstrated native-like proficiency because of his recent immigrant status from South Korea. Although Jinwoo presumably has more 'native-like' proficiency than Jane in spite of their similar FLOSEM scores, Example 3 illustrated that the teachers seemed to perceive his 'native-like' proficiency as 'too' native. When Jinwoo finished reading aloud a couple of sentences in a small group setting, Mrs. Shin criticized his reading speed, which was relatively faster than other students in the group. Her main argument for the criticism was incomprehensibility for other students. As the teachers consider themselves not just instructors for content teaching, but also Korean speakers who can model proper expressions (Excerpts 5 and 6), they seemed to apply the role of 'native-like' speakers to Jinwoo in the classroom who can model proper language use, not a 'real' native speaker who are used to interaction with other native speakers. Since there was a high possibility that other students might not benefit from Jinwoo's 'native-like' proficiency with the capability to read Korean fast, the teachers were reluctant to grant a spot for Jinwoo to model the Korean language.

In contrast to their attitudes toward Hyun, both teachers actively selected Jane for modeling the Korean language (Examples 4 and 5). Interestingly, both examples were from the interaction about a word on the science worksheet and the interaction involving talk about a date respectively. Since both teachers expressed insecurities regarding

teaching content in Korean because of their lack of discipline-specific vocabulary (Excerpt 3), and it was observed that one teacher lacked knowledge the Korean number system, these two examples showed that both teachers preferred Jane as the capable peer who could model the Korean language because of her content knowledge and vocabulary (Comments 30 and 31 in Chapter 4).

In sum, teachers' perceived proficiencies of students – and of themselves – were enacted to make pedagogical decisions during the Korean instructional time in this Korean/English TWI program, where both teachers and students with various levels of proficiencies interact with each other to teach and learn content in Korean.

Chapter VI

Conclusion and Implications

This study investigated the way teachers perceive students' proficiencies and the relationship between teachers' perceived proficiencies and classroom practices in a Korean/English TWI program. In addition, it sought to develop methods to assess students' bilingual language proficiency by using oral proficiency rating rubrics like the FLOSEM score and analyzing their use of referential choices in order to examine the validity of teachers' perceived proficiencies and the possibility of an alternative assessment tool under the following research questions:

(1) How do teachers' perceived proficiencies of student's proficiency align with other measures of language proficiency?

(2) What is the relationship between teachers' perceived proficiencies and classroom practices in a Korean/English TWI program, if any?

After summarizing and synthesizing the findings from Chapters IV and V, this chapter presents the final discussion and conclusions of this study and considers some theoretical and pedagogical implications and directions for future research.

A. Summary of Findings

1. Research question 1: How do teachers' perceived proficiencies of student's proficiency align with other measures of language proficiency?

Chapter IV sought to identify the categories that influenced teachers' perceived proficiencies of students in both Korean and English. Based on the interview data, the two teachers' perceived language proficiencies of students were constructed based on the

specifications in a Korean/English TWI classroom. Specifically, the teachers may have understandably been focused on language use for teaching and learning in the two languages when evaluating students' language proficiencies. In general, both teachers primarily considered the possession of 'content vocabulary' or 'content knowledge' to be the main factor that constitutes essential high proficiency in both languages. Therefore, according to the teachers' perceived proficiencies, Jane was the most proficient student in both Korean and English. Based on my inferences drawn from the data, the teachers used the word 'content' to refer to discipline-specific vocabulary and knowledge in an educational setting. In other words, both teachers assessed students' language proficiencies regarding whether or not students had academic vocabulary or academic knowledge. In addition, they placed emphasis on reading comprehension and writing, which are necessary skills for students to develop in order to function in the classroom. Consequently, the teachers did not give students much credit for having a high command of 'daily' or 'everyday' language. Their focus on academic language was well illustrated through their acknowledgement of Jane as a capable peer who could assist less proficient students during the Korean instructional time.

Although Jinwoo and Hyunsung had 'native-like' proficiencies in Korean due to their recent immigrant status, and although Cindy had considerable conversational skills in Korean, both teachers approved Jane as a capable peer and appreciated her role in modeling the Korean language. Based on the teachers' evaluations, only Jane was qualified because of her wide content vocabulary, adult-like speech, and her learning experience through her mother's modeling. In other words, instead of holistic language ability, the teachers valued specific linguistic abilities that could facilitate content learning. Thus, it seems that teachers' perceived proficiencies of students are centered on

the relationship between the language and content learning within the specific educational setting.

The second part of Chapter IV assessed children's use of referential choice in both Korean and English in order to investigate the validity of teacher's perceived proficiencies and explore the possibility of developing an alternative assessment tool for bilingual language proficiency.

First, the four Korean-English bilingual children displayed significantly different competence in the use of referential choices compared to both Korean and English native speakers in previous studies that investigated the referential choices of native speakers (Wubs et al., 2009; Kim, 1997; Clancy, 1993). While English monolingual children and Korean monolingual children frequently used pronouns and null forms respectively, because they did not take the listener's perspective into account (Karmiloff-Smith, 1981; Wubs et al., 2009), these four focal children used lexical forms for the majority of referents. However, a high percentage of the lexical forms contained discourse prominence. Since the English pronouns and Korean null forms are language-specific characteristics, it can be interpreted from this result that these four children learned how to use lexical forms with discourse prominence, but not how to use the language-specific characteristics of the English pronouns and the Korean null forms. In other words, bilingual children might take a different trajectory from monolingual counterparts and may need specific assistance with learning language-specific characteristics in both languages.

A closer look into these language-specific characteristics supports the argument above. Although the four children exhibited a similar pattern of using lexical forms across the two languages, there are some differences in their use of pronouns and null

forms in each language. In using pronouns in English narratives, Jane and Cindy, who are American-born Korean children, demonstrated the correct use of pronouns while Jinwoo and Hyunsung, who are recent immigrants, produced a null form and incorrect pronoun use. Jinwoo used a null form where he should have used a pronoun, and Hyunsung used a pronoun for new information. It seems that the infrequent use of pronouns correlates with English proficiency since it involves various types of linguistic knowledge, both discourse-level and morphological. In the Korean narratives, Jinwoo and Hyunsung produced more null forms for old information while Jane and Cindy rarely used null forms. Previous studies (Allen, 2000; Serratrice, 2005; Van Rij et al., 2009) have pointed out that children learn proper referential choice through contextual discourse; Jane and Cindy might not have had enough exposure to learn the use of null forms compared to Jinwoo and Hyunsung. As a result, contrary to the teachers' acknowledgement of Jane as a capable peer who can model the Korean language for the less proficient students, Jinwoo and Hyunsung are actually the ones who can model how to structure discourse using the Korean-specific referential choice device.

In addition, the individual cases of Hyunsung and Cindy provide more insights about the language proficiencies of bilingual children. First, Hyunsung made errors with the use of English pronouns by using them for new information, and his lexical forms contained a considerably lower percentage (59%) of discourse prominence compared to those of the other three children. Although in their English narratives, Hyunsung made more errors than Jinwoo, he did not use any null forms, while Jinwoo did. In other words, it seems that Hyunsung is aware of the differences between Korean and English in terms of referential choice because he used multiple null forms in his Korean narratives. Therefore, I would argue that bilingual children's language proficiency cannot be

assessed separately, because if only the errors and lexical forms were taken into consideration without the discourse prominence, then Jinwoo would seem more advanced compared to Hyunsung.

Second, it is noticeable that Cindy actually performed better than Jane in her English narratives. Although there was a slight difference, Cindy's lexical forms had more discourse prominence than Jane's. In the beginning of Chapter IV, the teachers evaluated Cindy as less proficient in English than Jane (Comment 48); however, Cindy's acquisition of referential choice in English is on par with Jane's. Considering the fact that Cindy frequently uses colloquial expressions in her Korean narratives, the teachers' evaluations seem to be based on her lack of formality in her narratives due to her linguistic environments.

Therefore, these findings suggest that it is imperative to examine how language-specific characteristics in one language might influence the development in another language, particularly in the bilingual development of two languages that have a considerable typological distance. In addition, the findings suggest that bilingual children's language proficiencies should be assessed by considering language-specific characteristics in both languages.

2. Research question 2: there any relationship between teachers' perceived proficiencies and classroom practices in a Korean/English TWI program?

Based on the findings from Chapter IV, Chapter V examined the classroom observation data in order to explore the relationship between teachers' perceived proficiencies and classroom practices. Interestingly, all examples that illustrate the

significant influence of teachers' perceived proficiency classroom practices were from the Korean instructional time. For example, both teachers preferred to give Jane the first turn while they were reluctant to give the first turn to Cindy or Jinwoo. Since they evaluated Jane's Korean proficiency as 'extremely strong' with content vocabulary and knowledge, and evaluated her speech as "adult-like", they assigned Jane the role of the capable peer who could model the Korean language for the less proficient students. However, a similar pattern was not observed during the English instructional time. Although there were more proficient students in English than these focal students, the teachers in the collected data did not have proficient students perform similar 'modelling' practices during the English instructional time. Therefore, I identify this finding as a pedagogical decision unique to the Korean instructional time.

In addition, the findings from this chapter revealed how teachers' perceived proficiencies of themselves influenced their pedagogical decisions. First, it is understandable that the teachers showed preference toward Jane as a more capable peer over Cindy because Jane exhibited native-like Korean proficiency according to her FLOSEM scores, while Cindy scored in the low range of advanced fluency. However, Jinwoo also demonstrated native-like proficiency because of his recent immigrant status from South Korea. Although Jinwoo presumably has more 'native-like' proficiency than Jane in spite of their similar FLOSEM scores, the teachers seemed to perceive his 'native-like' proficiency as 'too' native. As the teachers consider themselves not just instructors for content teaching, but also Korean speakers who can model proper language use, they seem to have applied the role of 'native-like' speaker to Jinwoo in the classroom where not everyone is a native speaker. In other words, the teacher seemed to allow a 'native-like' speaker who can accommodate the reading speed according to

listeners' proficiencies, not a 'real' native speaker who may have been used to interact with native speakers.

In contrast to their attitudes toward Jinwoo, both teachers actively selected Jane for modelling the Korean language. Examples 4 and 5 in Chapter IV were sessions from the interaction about a word on the science worksheet and the interaction involving talk about a date respectively. Since both teachers expressed insecurities regarding teaching content in Korean because of their perceived lack of discipline-specific vocabulary, and it was observed that one teacher lacked knowledge about language-specific characteristics of the Korean number system, these two examples showed that both teachers preferred Jane as the capable peer who could model the Korean language because of her content knowledge and vocabulary. Consequently, the teachers' perceived proficiencies of students – and of themselves – were enacted to make pedagogical decisions during the Korean instructional time in this Korean/English TWI program, where both teachers and students with various levels of proficiencies interact with each other to teach and learn content in Korean.

B. Final Discussion of the Findings

This study explored the concept of 'perceived proficiency' and its influence on classroom practices in a Korean/English TWI program within the theoretical framework of positioning theory. Aligned with previous studies about the influence of perceived proficiency on classroom interaction (e.g., Iwashita, 2001; Kowal & Swain, 1994), the teachers' perceived proficiencies of students and of themselves were focused on the possession of 'content' vocabulary and knowledge; and these perceived proficiencies were enacted to make pedagogical decisions during the Korean instructional time.

Therefore, this finding must be considered in light of the specific context of this particular educational setting.

Based on the research on effective instructional approaches for language minority students and sociocultural approaches to language and literacy development (Lindholm-Leary, 2001), TWI programs encompass three critical features (Lindholm-Leary, 2011; Senesac, 2002). First, the programs involve dual language instruction where the non-English language is used for a considerable amount of the student's instructional day. Second, only one language is used during the designated instructional time. Third, the integration of language minority students and language majority students enables students to function as models for each other and to switch from being 'the expert' to 'the novice' as they learn content in their L1 and L2. The findings of Chapter IV and V demonstrated how teachers' perceived proficiencies were influenced by these critical features of TWI programs.

Regarding teachers' perceived proficiencies of themselves, neither teacher mentioned anything about their English proficiency or about teaching content in English, but they expressed their insecurities about teaching content in Korean. Although both teachers are Korean heritage speakers who do not have any problems communicating in Korean, their learning opportunities were nevertheless limited, particularly with regard to teacher training in the Korean language. Therefore, they seemed to view their Korean proficiencies as 'not proficient enough' to fulfill the role of teacher and language model as TWI programs prescribe.

The findings also showed how teachers' self-perceptions in the TWI program influenced their perceived proficiencies of students. Instead of acknowledging communicative competence, they highly evaluated Jane's Korean proficiency because

she had the potential to be a successful student under the three critical features of TWI programs as described above. According to the examples of classroom interaction analyzed in Chapter V, the teachers' motivation for granting a student the first turn during the Korean instructional time was based on their perceived proficiencies of students. As the teachers acknowledged Jane as a capable peer who could model the Korean language because of her rich content vocabulary and knowledge, along with her adult-like speech, they gave the first turn to Jane in order to have her 'model' the right form for the less proficient students. However, the findings from Chapter IV suggested that teachers should evaluate their perceived proficiencies of students and expand the concept of modeling beyond providing vocabulary or correct sentences.

Through an analysis of students' referential choice in both languages, the findings revealed that Jinwoo and Hyunsung, both recent immigrants from South Korea, were able to use language-specific referential choice, specifically, the null forms in Korean, while Jane, the designated capable peer during the Korean instructional time, did not. Based on this finding, it seems that Jinwoo and Hyunsung might have been better candidates for modelling Korean language-specific characteristics for the less proficient students. In other words, the teachers' rigid perceived proficiencies of students, focusing on content vocabulary, seem to be creating missed opportunities for non-English language development.

C. Implications for Theory and Practice

1. Theory

First, the analysis above confirms that the concepts of the ZPD and guided participation are valid lenses for the analysis of classroom interactions in a

Korean/English TWI program where students and teachers with various levels of proficiency interact with each other in order to learn and teach in two languages. Teachers' perceived proficiencies can be useful tools to recognize the gap between learners' actual and potential levels in order to provide effective scaffolding and lead guided participation. Both teachers in this study were aware of the areas for improvement and created their own strategies in order to provide effective scaffolding and guidance for student participation. However, this study raised a question about who provides scaffolding and guidance when teachers themselves are not trained experts. During Korean instructional time, the teachers recognized the resources that Jane brought into the classroom and utilized Jane as a resource for scaffolding for the less proficient students. When both language and content learning takes place in classrooms of participants with various level of proficiencies, teachers who have not been trained in the target languages might organize scaffolding processes by using more proficient students as resources for the less proficient students.

Furthermore, the analysis also called into question the dichotomous categorization of expert and novice or teacher and student. In this regard, this study contributes to the development of a more complicated view of the scaffolding process and guided participation, one which encompasses interactions in educational contexts where both teachers and students fall at various points along the proficiency continuum.

Second, in regard to the notion of perceived proficiency, this study revealed that perceived proficiency can be institutionalized, although many past studies have defined perceived proficiency as being shaped by the participants of interactions (e.g., Martin-Beltran, 2010; Watanabe & Swain, 2008). Although the teachers in this study perceived students' proficiencies through a different range of interactions, their evaluations showed

a substantial emphasis on using language for academic purposes without recognizing communicative competence. In other words, teacher's perceived proficiencies could likely have aligned with the results of a standardized test because they evaluate students' language proficiency based on academic success. Therefore, there is a need to examine how perceived proficiency is different from measured proficiency in order to validate the argument that perceived proficiency has a greater influence on classroom interaction than measured proficiency.

2. Practice

This study has also proposed what should be taught in TWI programs in order to enhance development. Although previous studies concluded that the main contributing factors for students' low proficiency in the non-English language were its low social status and limited input outside the classroom, this study calls for a re-examination of what is being taught in the classroom. As addressed in Chapter IV, Jane and Cindy, who were born and raised in the United States, did not use null forms in their Korean narratives, while Jinwoo and Hyunsung, who were recent immigrants from South Korea, correctly used null forms for given information. However, Jane was nevertheless ranked as having a high proficiency in Korean by both FLOSEM scores and the teachers' perceived proficiency. Therefore, there is a need for language-specific characteristics to be taught through explicit instruction, not just through mere exposure to the target language in the TWI program.

The implications above also call for various approaches to assessing bilingual students' language proficiencies, particularly in educational contexts such as TWI programs. The observation that teachers' perceived proficiencies of students, which were

focused on academic language, did in fact have an influence on their pedagogical decisions, demonstrates that it is necessary to create a tool that enables teachers to expand the scope of their perceptions about students' bilingual language proficiency to facilitate students' bilingual language development. As a first step to broadening the range of perspectives about bilingual language proficiency, there is a need for more specialized teacher education programs that provide specific training and support for teachers to develop an in-depth understanding of the language-specific characteristics of their language of instruction.

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APPENDIX A

Stanford FLOSEM (Foreign Language Oral Skills Evaluation Matrix)

Student's name & ID Number _____ DATE_____ FLOSEM PAGE 1-2

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6
COMPREHENSION	Learner can recognize a limited number of high frequency words in isolation and short, common conversational formulaic expressions (e.g., "How are you?", "My name is...").	Learner can understand short questions and simple non-formulaic statements when they are embedded in a short dialogue or passage. However, the entire dialogue or passage must be repeated at less-tan normal speed for the learner to understand	Learner can comprehend the main point(s) of a short dialogue or passage which contains some statements with embedded structures heard at less-than-normal speed, though it is likely that details will be lost. Even at this speed, some repetition may be necessary.	Learner understands most of what is said (all main points and most details) in both short and longer dialogues and passages which contain abstract information heard at almost normal speed. Some repetition may be necessary, usually of abstract information	Learner understands nearly everything at normal speed although occasional repetition may be necessary.	Learner understands everything at normal speed like a native speaker.
FLUENCY	Learner can participate only in interactions which involve producing formulaic question-answer patterns and/or offering very short responses to simple questions.	When participating in a simple conversation on familiar, everyday topics, the leaner frequently must pause to formulate short, simple non-formulaic statements and questions.	While participating in a conversation or discussion, learner can express themselves using simple language, but consistently falters and hesitates as they try to express more complex ideas and/or searches for less common words and expressions. These efforts noticeable impede flow of communication.	Learner can effortlessly express herself, but may occasionally falter and hesitate as they try to express more complex ideas and/or searches for less-common words and expressions. Although distracting, these speech rhythms do not noticeable impede the flow of communication.	Learner is generally fluent, with occasional minor lapses while they search for the correct manner of expression.	Learner's fluency is native-like.
VOCABULARY	Learner's vocabulary is limited to: a) high frequency words for common everyday items and actions, and 2) some conversational formulaic or idiomatic expressions.	Learner has enough vocabulary (including high frequency idiomatic expressions) to make simple statements and ask questions about concrete things in a simplified conversation	Learner has an adequate working vocabulary. Further, learner is at a beginning stage of showing knowledge of synonyms and a limited number of alternative ways of expressing simple ideas.	Learner clearly demonstrates knowledge of synonyms and alternative ways of expressing simple ideas. Learner also has enough vocabulary to understand and participate in conversations which include abstract ideas.	Learner possesses a broad enough vocabulary to participate in more extended discussions on a large number of concrete and abstract topics. Learner is aware of some (but not all) word connotations and nuances in meanings.	Learner possesses an extensive vocabulary.
PRONUNCIATION	Even at the level of isolated words and formulaic expressions, learner exhibits difficulty in accurately reproducing the target language sounds and sound patterns	Although learner is beginning to master some sounds and sound patterns, they still have difficulty with many other sounds, making meaning unclear.	Learner is beginning to demonstrate control over a larger number of sounds and sound patterns. Some repetition may be necessary to make meaning clear.	Learner's speech is always intelligible, though a definite accent and/or occasional inappropriate intonation pattern is apparent.	Pronunciation and intonation approaches a near-native-like ability.	Learner's pronunciation and intonation is clearly native-like.
GRAMMAR	Since learner's productive skills are limited to high frequency words and short formulaic conversational expressions, it is difficult or impossible to assess their knowledge of grammar.	Learner can produce utterances which show an understanding of basic sentence and question patterns, but other grammatical errors are present which obscure meaning.	Learner is beginning to show a limited ability to utilize a few complex constructions, though not always successfully. Other noticeable grammatical errors persist which may make meaning ambiguous.	Learner shows an almost consistent command over a limited range of more complex patterns and grammar rules. Although occasional errors are still present, they are few in number and do not obscure meaning.	Learner's speech exhibits a good command over a large (but not complete) range of more complex patterns and grammar rules. Errors are infrequent.	Learner's speech shows a native-like command of complex patterns and grammatical rules.

FLOSEM Scoring Guide

Student's Name_____ Grade ____ ASD ID#_____

Language observed _____ Date_____ Interviewer _____

The student oral language matrix has 5 categories on the left: A. Comprehension, B. Fluency, C. Vocabulary, D. Pronunciation and E. Grammar; and five numbers across the top - 1 being the lowest mark to 5 being the highest.

Directions: According to your observation, indicate with a (X) across one square in each category which best describes the child's abilities.

Score: Each cell is worth 5 points. Add up column scores and divide by 5. The average is the score.

FLOSEM Scores:
(Circle most appropriate score)

0/1 – 5	Pre-production
6-10	Early Production
11-15	Speech Emergence
16 – 20	Intermediate Fluency (Low Intermediate)
21-25	Advanced Fluency (High Intermediate)
26 – 30	Advanced (Native -like speaker)

What to look for in the Student's language sample

- **Sequencing:** does the student put things in correct order? Do they forget steps?
- **Specific words/vocabulary:** does the student use specific words when talking about objects or people or actions? Do they use excessive pauses when they speak? Do they seem not to be able to remember the words they want to use?
- **Answering questions:** Is the student able to answer questions completely? Do they add irrelevant information?