

The Use of Korean in an After-School English Kindergarten Club in America

Seongwon Yun

Hanyang University

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This study examines how the use of Korean by three Korean children in an after-school English kindergarten club in America may affect both language acquisition and socialization processes. Qualitative data analysis is based on videotaped natural interactions, field notes, and a supplementary interview. The analysis emphasizes the roles of the use of first language and circumstances under which the children usually engaged in code-switching to Korean. First, the finding of the study presents an example of collaborative learning during a popular hand game which is facilitated by the use of Korean. Second, it provides evidence of the use of Korean to help Korean novice learners of English participate in the club activities following the teachers' instructions. Third, it shows the use of Korean during free time conversation among the children in the club, which helps Korean novice learners get involved in conversation with other international children. Fourth, it points out a teacher's behavior that seemingly contradicts the English only policy of the club and presents one of the teachers, Ms. Gail's challenges in teaching the club and her perception of the language policy. This study concludes that the use of Korean in the club presents evidence of positive functions of secretive code-switching to their first language against the club policy on speaking English only.

[first language use/code-switching/teaching English through English
모국어사용/코드전환/영어전용수업]

I. INTRODUCTION

This study examines the code choices of Korean preschool learners during activities in a family resource center in America where these children take English classes as afterschool curricular activities with other international children. The children in the family resource

center are supposed to speak English only according to the center's policies. It appears to be very challenging for young international children to participate in a different language situation without any experience of English with native or fluent speakers of English peers right after their arrival in America. While learning English, it is typical for young international children to speak in their first languages in public and gradually speak in English as they develop their English skills and sometimes switch to their first languages. Therefore, it can be problematic if international children arriving in the U.S. are immediately placed in classes with an English-only policy; often, these children have little or no competence in English and naturally speak in their first languages or switch between their first and second languages in the process of becoming bilingual learners.

Some research findings (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 1981; Klesmer, 1994) claim that young novice English learners may acquire basic interpersonal communication skills very quickly between six months and two years of their arrival in English-speaking countries because children seem to have more flexibility in adapting themselves to new environments than adults do. According to language socialization research, acquiring a new language requires more than exposure to a new language environment. The literature on language socialization (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Goodwin, 1990; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) demonstrates that linguistic and sociocultural knowledge are acquired simultaneously and are intertwined each other; thus language socialization is largely a matter of the child's or novice's acquisition of the particular configuration of socially and culturally specific behavioral tendencies in a particular environment. Therefore, in the consideration of the role of first-language use in an English classroom, it is important to note that learning a language involves not only learning linguistic knowledge but also learning simultaneously sociocultural and interpersonal skills.

Then, how is a code socialized in bilingual or multilingual communities? Particularly, how do bilingual or multilingual children learn which codes to use when and how? What motivates particular communicative practices in bilingual or multilingual contexts to call for the use of a particular code? Little empirical research has been done in situations where Korean preschool learners use their first language or code-switch between English and their first language in an after-school English kindergarten club in the U.S. It will be illuminating to examine the roles of first-language use and code switching between first and second languages in English-speaking environments in which social interactions occur between newly introduced international children and more competent learners of English. Thus this study investigates: a) what is the role of code-switching to first language; b) what activities they are doing when this occurs; and c) whether their use of their native language facilitates or inhibits their participation in the club activities.

Based on my initial observations of the club, I hypothesized that the use of Korean by Korean preschool learners of English would facilitate their language socialization and their

acquisition of English. The research questions asked in this study are:

1. What is the role of the use of Korean in an after-school English kindergarten club in America?
2. Under what circumstances do children usually engage in code-switching to Korean?
3. How may code-switching to Korean affect both language acquisition and socialization as children become active members in their playgroups? Does it facilitate or inhibit their language socialization and second language acquisition?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section presents the literature review on the functions of first-language use during classroom activities in an ESL classroom as well as an EFL classroom. Both pros and cons have been identified in relation to the use of the first language in learning English in an ESL classroom. The arguments that discourage first-language use in an ESL classroom involve stronger and weaker claims. While a stronger form claims that the classroom use of the first language should be banned, a weaker form argues that first-language use should be minimized and second-language use should be maximized in the classroom. Both forms that support discouragement of first-language use have spurred an English-only policy in most ESL classrooms. Phillipson (1992) summarized three basic tenets in the history of English as a medium of instruction: “English is best taught monolingually;” “the more English is taught, the better;” and “if other languages are used too much, standards of English will drop” (p. 185). Advocates of an English-only policy in the ESL classroom argue that such a policy maximizes students’ exposure to English. According to Cook (2001), reasons for avoiding the first language in an ESL classroom originate from the beliefs that: a) second language learners should follow the ways monolingual children acquire their language, which means they should speak one language; b) successful second language learning relies on separating the second language from the first language because the two languages develop independently; and c) teachers should maximize their input in the second language. However, these arguments have been challenged by empirical research (Anton & DiCamilla, 1998; Auerback, 1993; Cook, 2001; Cromdal, 2001, 2004).

Cook (2001) argues that first-language use by students makes it possible to open up collaborative learning between students and to optimize their linguistic resources, ultimately maximizing learning environments. Under a Vygotskian framework, which emphasizes learning as a social enterprise and scaffolding between novices and more experienced learners, Anton & DiCamilla (1998) also claim that first-language use is a powerful linguistic tool which facilitates learning. For example, the use of first language between learners in an ESL classroom enhances children’s collaboration to solve tasks,

participation, and task completion. For this reason, Cromdal (2001, 2004) views bilingualism as an emergent and interactionally managed feature of discourse through which children accomplish actions. This means that bilingualism should be viewed as a set of contingent practices within joint activities, and thus it is a socially distributed nature managed and accomplished within interactional exchanges. Cromdal considers code-switching between first and second languages as a type of collaborative practice that is essential to bilingual children in accomplishing activities. Therefore, code-switching to first language affects both language acquisition and socialization and helps children become active members in their playgroups in an ESL classroom.

In addition to the discussion on the views of first-language use in an ESL classroom, the following discussion reviews the literature on the effects of first-language use during classroom activities in an EFL classroom in Korean contexts. With respect to early English education in Korea where the participants of the present study had been raised, English has become a part of regular curriculum from the 3rd grade elementary students since the implementation of the 7th National Curriculum of Korea. According to the research findings of Namhee Kim and Hyun-jeong Kim (2008), early English education in Korea has a positive impact on the children's language development and does not have a negative influence on their development of Korean. Reflecting the positive effect on early English education, the 7th National Curriculum places much emphasis on the children's early development of English communicative competence and proficiency (Hyung-ji Chang, 2010). As a result of the curriculum, teaching English through English (TEE) has been increasingly adopted as a language policy in elementary school English classes in Korea. Unkyung Maeng (2009) examined the perception between elementary school English teachers and students on the TEE policy through a wide range of a survey collected by about one hundred English teachers and more than a thousand elementary students. Some of the findings point out that although teachers and students should speak in English in the TEE classes, the students use Korean more than English and the use of Korean is sometimes required in various situations and more effective than using English only. Furthermore, the students perceive that the use of Korean in TEE classes is positive. Similarly, Korean parents prefer to have English teachers for their children who are able to understand Korean. That was because their children can be stressed out in English only environments taught by native speakers of English who cannot understand Korean (Yoon-sook Lee, 2003). Nam hee Kim and Hyung-jeong Kim (2008) also suggest that English kindergarten teachers and parents recommend that both native English teachers and Korean teachers need to cooperate with each other to make early English education more successful in Korea. These research findings suggest that the use of Korean in an EFL classroom is considered as a positive behavior in the English development of Korean children.

III. METHODOLOGY

1. Data Collection: Ethnographic Methods

1) Fieldwork and data collection

I chose a university-sponsored family resource center (FRC) in the U.S. as my research site and observed the club activities for preschoolers for a semester. I chose the FRC as my research site because I heard from many Korean parents in that area that they sent their children to the FRC after-school club activities and wondered how Korean novice learners of English survive in English-speaking environments and what roles Korean and English play in those settings. I made an appointment with the school coordinator of the FRC and asked her permission to conduct my observations. She recommended one preschool club and one elementary school club, which some Korean children attended. I took field notes when I observed the two clubs for the first time and then selected the preschoolers' club as my research site. The elementary club had more students scattered in a wider room, which might have made it difficult for me to capture their activities on video. In the preschoolers' club, there were three Korean girls and a Korean boy with about twenty other international children. From my observations, I noticed that code-switching between English and Korean among those Korean children was pervasive even though the two club teachers who are monolingual Americans instituted an English-only rule. My first research questions emerged from my observations: a) When do the Korean preschoolers switch codes between English and Korean during the club activities? b) What activities are they doing when this occurs? and c) Does their use of their native language, Korean, facilitate or inhibit their participation in the club activities? After receiving permission from the school coordinator, the manager, and the two club teachers of the FRC, I applied for and received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB). I explained my project to the teachers and parents and received consent from the teachers and 17 parents. Only one parent did not consent, and I did not videotape that child. I then started to videotape the natural interactions of children and teachers during the club activities, focusing on the code-switching of the children in the club. I videotaped twice a week, Mondays and Fridays between 4 p.m. and 5.30 p.m. for one and a half months for a total of 12 hours. In addition, I also conducted an interview with an FRC teacher for three hours to supplement my data (Appendix A, Table 1).

2) Participants

Participants in this study are eighteen international children between the ages four and

five who were enrolled in the Kindergarten Kids Club Monday through Friday, between 4 p.m. and 5.30 p.m. Two teachers, Ms. Gail and Ms. Denise, were in charge of teaching the club. Out of four Korean children, I selected three Korean girls who switched languages frequently during club activities. There was a Korean boy who participated in this club but he mostly stayed silent and thus he was excluded from my focus group. My focus group consisted of the following three Korean girls whose names are all pseudonyms: Julia (Jihae's English nickname), newly arrived in the U.S. (at the time I collected data); Yunjung, six months' U.S. residence; and Jenny (Seungyon's English nickname), born and raised in the U.S. Julia and Jenny are called by their English nicknames in the center but Yunjung's Korean name is used because she has no English nickname. These girls were chosen because they frequently code-switched, in spite of the official club policy that English should be spoken at all times.

2. Data Analysis: Qualitative Analysis

1) Triangulation

I attempted to enhance the accuracy of qualitative analysis through triangulation of multiple data sources and analytic perspectives: a) videotaped interactions and logs, b) participant observations and field notes, and c) a supplementary interview and documentation. Through inductive analytic coding processes, I have identified several significant themes directly related to my hypothesis and research questions by capturing and verifying multiple perspectives from emergent patterns and themes. In order to better understand the data, I also looked at artifacts including school policy and children's school work. I read them, focusing on the issues of language.

2) Coding and transcription

Each time I videotaped, I watched the DVDs and kept a log, including a) date, time, and place I took each video, b) participants and focused participants, c) situated activity types (Levinson, 1979/1992), d) languages used in the activities, e) repetitive routines and patterns, and f) noticeable and important code-switching events. The logs I kept to supplement the video data helped me identify thematic code-switching events and scenes in the data. Then, I repeatedly watched these parts of the DVDs that related to important code-switching events, considering the following questions: a) When are they code-switching? b) What are they doing? and c) Who speaks each language in what situations? I selected code-switching scenes on the DVDs and transcribed them. When I selected scenes to transcribe, I focused on "conflict sequences" that might show "an essential impetus to

change, adaptation, and development” (Shantz, 1987, p. 284) in order to test my hypothesis. While coding data in my logs, I was able to recognize emergent, recurrent, and underlying patterns of code-switching activities.

Transcription involves analytic, interpretive, and descriptive processes. It also requires the researcher’s subjective selectivity in relation to which portions of data to transcribe and what to include in the transcription such as gestures, backchannels, etc (Ochs, 1979/1999). Selected scenes through coding processes were transcribed. I adopted Jefferson’s transcript notation style as presented in Atkinson and Heritage (1984/1999) but simplified the notation style for my research goals to reflect the importance of the use of different codes between English and Korean. I separated English and Korean in my transcripts in order to display which codes are used in which parts of speech. Thus the transcription separates communication in English in the left column of the table and communication in Korean in the right column of the table. Romanized Korean is *italicized and bolded* and the English translation of Korean is bracketed and underlined. When there is overlapping in turns, I use a {brace to indicate where the overlap begins. When there is a latch, I use an equal symbol (=). Any additional explanations about situations are presented (in parentheses). When children say certain words LOUDER, I capitalize the words. Underlined parentheses denote (inaudible speech). Serial dots (...) indicate a hesitant response. A detailed transcription key is included in the appendix B.

I also transcribed the audiotaped interview I conducted with a club teacher. I asked the teacher to check my transcripts. After transcribing the interview data, I coded and sorted quotes that related to my research questions. I attempted to understand from the participant’s viewpoints how the teacher perceived her situations. For example, I identified certain themes such as the teacher’s confusion about and difficulty with the language policy (Speak English only) of the club.

IV. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

1. Use of Korean for Collaborative Learning during a Hand Game

Bang, Snap, Clap is a hand game mostly practiced in the club while I was videotaping the club activities. Noticeable code-switching from English to Korean during this hand game occurred very frequently while the three Korean learners practice this game in pairs. According to Ms. Gail’s lesson plan, this activity aims at the development of the coordination between hands and sequential command words to enlarge quick thinking and movement skills of children. The role of code-switching between Korean and English in the practice of this hand game may indicate that a more experienced learner of English can

socialize and provide a scaffold for a newly introduced learner to participate in the club activities through the use of their first language. This collaboration between the experienced learner and the newly introduced learner seems to result in the collective activity being more important and robust than if an individual tries to learn the game independently. This is one example of what Vygotsky (1978) calls the “zone of proximal development.” In line 9 in Table 1, we can see how Jenny provides scaffolding for Yunjung and offers specific instructions in Korean that help her know what to do, such as, “If you say the words (with the motions), you’ll see (what you’ll have to do next)” or “You should not say the words in this second turn.” Jenny’s utterances also encourage Yunjung to learn the meaning of the English words, thereby socializing her to use language as well as using language to socialize. Most of Jenny’s utterances resemble the teacher’s instructions for the hand activity. Jenny’s use of Korean functions to provide Yunjung with the instructions and help her play the hand game better.

Table 1

Transcript 1: If You Say the Words, You’ll See

	Speaker	English	Korean
1.	Jenny		<i>Ah, jün-jja, da-shi!</i> [Oh, NO! AGAIN!]
2.	Yunjung	{BANG, SNAP, CLAP, BA	
3.	Jenny	{bang, snap, clap, bang	<i>Uh-hou, BANG ah-ni-ya.</i> [Huh, You are wrong, not BANG.]
4.	Yunjung		<i>Al-uh.</i> [I know.]
5.	Jenny	{Bang, snap, clap, ba,	
6.	Yunjung	bang, snap, clap, snap, clap	
7.	Jenny	{Bang, snap, clap, ba,	<i>SNAP yi-jan-ah!</i> [You should have said SNAP.]
8.	Yunjung	bang, snap, clap, ba	<i>Ka-meok-ueo-sseo.</i> [I forgot.]
9.	Jenny	BANG, SNAP (holds Yunjung’s hands and slowly shows how to move hands with the words)	<i>Mal-ha-myun-seo ha-myun al soo yi-sseo.</i> [If you say the words (with the motions), you’ll see (what you’ll have to do next).]
10.	Yunjung	Bang (repeats after Jenny with the motion.)	
11.	Jenny	{Snap	
12.	Yunjung	{SNAP (starts saying the word)	

	Bang, snap (doesn't realize she is not supposed to say the words in this second turn.)	
13.	Jenny	<i>No-rae-rul ahn hae-ya-ji!</i> <u>[You should not say the words in this second turn.]</u>

In line 12, Yunjung does not know she is not supposed to say the words in the second round. Using Korean, Jenny (line 13) points out Yunjung's mistake. The use of Korean not only facilitates the participation of the novice learner, Yunjung, in the pair hand game, but also helps her practice and get used to the activity. As a result, Yunjung can develop her potential in this activity with other international students in the future. In addition, this hand game itself focuses on the coordination between body and command words. Therefore, in this particular activity, language learning itself is not the focus of teaching, so the use of Korean between English commands does not inhibit language acquisition.

2. Use of Korean after Teacher's Instructions

Table 2 clearly shows an example of when children usually engaged in code-switching during club activities. Code-switching takes place most often right after the teacher's instructions. In this example, Ms. Gail gives the class instructions for making a sand jar. Julia doesn't understand, so Ms. Gail asks Jenny to explain the instructions to Julia. Jenny translates the required tasks to Korean for Julia.

Julia shows her desire to understand the teacher's instructions by asking Jenny what the teacher said. The role of Korean in this context is to help Julia understand what she has to do to accomplish the goal of the project. Jenny summarizes the teacher's instructions in Korean. Julia's code-switching functions as an individual strategy to maximize the learning environment as Cook (2001) argues. Jenny's code-switching reports the teacher's instructions in an emergent and interactional context (Cromdal, 2001) and provides scaffolding for Julia. With the help of Jenny, Julia then tells Ms. Gail in English the five colors she wants, so she was able to accomplish the task. Thus this example shows not only that Jenny's code-switching to Korean helps Julia participate in and accomplish the task, but also that Julia is continuing to use her English.

Table 2

Transcript 2: What Did She Say?

	Speaker	English	Korean
1.	Ms. Gail	Very first layer. Okay? We are, you are gonna come up here and tell me or Ms. Denise which color you want. Okay, and I want you to tell me or Ms. Denise, you can help us pour, okay? We will hold the funnel for you. And you can tell us when you want to stop. Let's say that you can have FIVE colors. Okay? You can have FIVE colors. That's it. Think about the FIVE colors you want to use. Okay?	
2.	Julia		<i>Moeo-rae?</i> [What did she say?]
3.	Jenny		<i>Moo-seun sag hal-geon-ji, da-seot sag sang-gak-hae-bo-rae.</i> [Think about five colors that you are going to choose.]

3. Use of Korean to Help a Novice Understand a Topic in Conversation

The conversation in Table 3 occurred at the end of snack time. Jenny brags to Sridhar (from India) about how big her house in Korea was. By asking Yunjung for clarification, Jenny in Korean facilitates Yunjung's understanding in the free-time conversation with Sridhar on the relevant topic.

Table 3

Transcript 3: Right? We Live in A Building

	Speaker	English	Korean
1.	Sridhar	You know what? In India, I used to live in um...ah, two story house.=	
2.	Jenny	=But in Korea, I have a building. I mean a LONG building.=	
3.	Sridhar	= mean it pretty big?	
4.	Jenny	I know, I know but I can go to eleven [floor] on building in Korea.	
5.	Yunjung		<i>Ma-ji, Woo-ri-building-eh sal-ji.</i> [Right? We live in a building.]
6.	Jenny		(nods couple times) <i>Building-eh sal-ah.</i>
7.	Yunjung		[We live in a building.] <i>Ma-ja il-cheung-eh sal-a-ji.</i> [You are right. We used to live on the first floor.]
8.	Jenny	My dad and my cousin live in the building.	

This example shows that Jenny's code-switching helps a novice, Yunjung, understand what she and Sridhar are talking about. It also functions as an ethnic solidarity marker which shows that Jenny and Yunjung share their experiences in Korea. In this way, they differentiate themselves from Sridhar who used to live in India. Although Yunjung is not really involved in the conversation with Sridhar, Jenny's use of Korean helps Yunjung grasp what other peers talk about in English and give her an opportunity to express her thoughts on the relevant topic, at least in Korean. The use of the first language in this situation is important for a novice English learner to understand what is going on in a new language environment.

4. Confusion over the Teachers' Policy on Speaking in English Only

Children are expected to speak only in English during the club activities; therefore, the teachers very frequently make sure that the Korean learners of English try to speak in English. However, when the teachers need to communicate effectively with Julia, a novice learner of English, they ask Jenny to translate into Korean for Julia. In addition, the teachers tend to allow the Korean learners to use Korean right after important instructions. I present two examples of confusion over the teachers' policy on speaking in English only. Table 4 displays the teachers' frequent utterances asking the Korean girls to speak in English whereas Table 5 shows one of the teachers asking Jenny to translate instructions into Korean for Julia.

In Table 4, children are participating in outdoor activities, specifically, drawing with chalk on the ground. The three Korean girls, Jenny, Julia, and Yunjung talk in Korean at the beginning of this scene. Right after that, Julia tells the two other Korean girls in Korean to quickly draw something else.

Table 4

Transcript 4: Hey, Girls, Please Speak in English

	Speaker	English	Korean
1.	Ms. Gail	Kyung, grab some chalk. {Hey, hey, hey, hey, come over here. Draw here. Sit down. Draw here.	
2.	Julia		<i>{Ya! Nugu yigeo naega da ssugo julgga?</i> <i>{[Hey, who wants me to give this after I finish using it?]</i>
3.	Yunjung		<i>Na!</i> <i>[Me!]</i>
4.	Jenny		<i>Na!</i> <i>[Me!]</i>
5.	Julia		<i>Gawi bawi bo hae!</i> <i>[Do rock scissors paper!]</i>
6.	Yunjung & Jenny		<i>{Gawi bawi bo!</i> <i>{[Rock scissors paper!]</i>
7.	Amy	(approaches Ms. Gail and points to her drawing)	
8.	Ms. Gail	I like it. Beautiful (talks to Amy).	
9.	Julia		<i>Ah, bbalri dashi neoga bbalri dashi haeyaji!</i> <i>[Oh, quickly, you should do it again quickly.]</i>
10.	Ms. Gail	Hey, girls, please speak in English.	
11.	Jenny	Okay.	
12.	Ms. Gail	Thank you.	
13.	Jenny	I went to house today and my mom=	
14.	Julia		<i>=Wa, naega, yigeo boaboa.</i> <i>=[Wow, I, Look at this.] (points to her drawing)</i>
15.	Yunjung		<i>Nadoya.</i> <i>[Look at mine too.]</i>
16.	Ms. Gail	Hey, girls, try to speak in English Julia, Yunjung, please.	
17.	Jenny		
18.	Julia, Yunjung		<i>Ya, youngeoro harae!</i> <i>[Hey, the teacher said "Speak in English!"]</i>

In line 10, Ms. Gail instructs the Korean girls to speak in English. Only Jenny responds to her request and tries to speak in English in line 13 whereas Julia and Yunjung in lines 14

and 15 continue speaking in Korean. Then, in line 16, Ms. Gail instructs Julia and Yunjung to try to speak in English one more time by calling the two girls' names. In line 17, Jenny reports in Korean to Julia and Yunjung that the teacher told them to speak in English. After that, Julia and Yunjung remain silent.

During the period of time I observed the club, the teachers often told the Korean girls to speak in English during club activities. Despite the teachers' reminders, it was almost impossible for the two Korean novice learners of English to speak only in English because Julia had just arrived in the U.S. with no competence in English at all and Yunjung was still a beginner in English. I was concerned that this frequent emphasis on the English-only policy for the novice learners of English might have a negative impact on their initial socialization process in the club because even though they want to communicate in English, they simply do not have the ability yet.

Furthermore, the following transcript shows evidence that the teachers sometimes ask Jenny, a more competent learner of English, to translate their instructions to Korean for the two novice learners of English, Julia and Yunjung, in order to help them accomplish club tasks. Right before the following example in Table 5, Ms. Denise emphasizes that the children should glue on the colored side by asking the class several times where to glue. After Ms. Denise instructs the children on how to make an Easter egg (including coloring, asking teachers to cut, and gluing the egg and chick), most children finished the activity. They played with the egg, for example, making the chick hatch out of it. But Julia was behind.

Table 5

Transcript 5: Hey, JENNY! Can You Tell Julia How She Is Supposed to Glue It?

	Speaker	English	Korean
1.	Ms. Denise	Julia, You need to hurry to finish coloring.	
2.	Julia		<i>Beol-sseo da-hae-sseo?</i> [Are you already done?]
3.	Jenny		<i>Ung, beol-sseo da-hae-dda.</i> [Yeah, I'm already done.]
4.	Ms. Denise	You guys make sure you write your name on the back of yours okay?= =	
5.	Jenny		<i>=name ha-rae, name</i> =[(She said) write your name, name.]
6.	Ms. Denise	Somewhere on the back, write your name please, so you don't want to switch.	
7.	Julia		<i>Name ha-go yeo-gi-eh=</i> [After writing my name, and then...]=

8.	Jenny		<i>=Pa-lee-pa-lee hae-ya-ji=</i> <i>=<u>[You need to hurry up. Hurry up!]</u>=</i>
9.	Ms. Denise	=JULIA! JULIA! You need to STOP talking and finish. You need to hurry up. (Ms. Denise gives Julia the paper egg back after she cuts it) Do you know how to glue it, Julia? (Ms. Denise is looking at Julia and talking to her but Julia turns around in her seat.) Hey, JENNY! Can you tell Julia how she is supposed to glue it?	
10.	Jenny	Okay	
11.	Ms. Denise	Make sure she knows.	
12.	Jenny		<i>Yeo-gi ha-go</i> <i>[<u>Glue here and then</u>]</i>
13.	Julia		<i>Al-eo</i> <i>[I know.]</i>
14.	Jenny		<i>Yeo-gi Kue-eh ha-go, yeo-gi mi-te</i> <i>ha-go, yi-jjock-eh pul-chil-ha-go boo-cheo.</i> <i>[<u>Glue at the last part here, and then at the bottom here, and then on this side, glue and attach them together.</u>]</i>

In line 9, Ms. Denise asks Julia to stop talking even though Julia's questions in Korean pertained to the activity. Then Ms. Denise asks Jenny to tell Julia what she said (implying translating to Korean) to help Julia finish the activity. This request, which contradicts the club language policy, may have a confusing impact on the perception of the Korean learners of English in terms of when they are allowed or not allowed to speak in Korean.

5. Teacher's Challenges

I interviewed Ms. Gail for about three hours after my observation of the club. The interview shows that the teacher herself struggled with difficult situations in the club. She told me that, at the beginning, she was not aware of how different and difficult it would be to teach a multicultural classroom. In the following transcriptions, ellipsis (...) designates Ms. Gail's frequent pauses.

It is completely different because you don't...you have no idea what's being said.... It was different because like twenty kids all speak different and you have no idea what they're saying at all, so I think that was a kind of unique experience. I think that

opened my eyes to completely different ways of thinking just because I never had an experience like this, so it just made me realize like, wow, because in most classrooms you don't see that, but now classrooms are growing to be so multicultural and so diverse. You have to be able to work with all students, like integrate all of them together and to know how to make ten kindergarteners play together, not separated out.... What is different is the communication is so different and cultures are so different and you don't, I'm not...I don't know...I guess I hadn't been educated very well as far as knowing all the differences or diverse cultures, and I think at the beginning I was just ...it's so overwhelming. For the first two weeks I didn't even pronounce anyone's name right.

Ms. Gail discussed these challenges in more detail. She said it was very difficult remembering students' names, giving instructions to children with different levels of English proficiency, understanding what children wanted her to explain, asking questions to them, and handling such young multicultural groups. In addition, when Ms. Gail talked about her difficulties with the language barrier, she used a lot of verbal and non-verbal expressions such as frowning, sighing, low tone, slow speed, dark face, looking down, pausing and saying "I don't know" frequently, blinking her eyes, or shaking her head. I think these nonverbal and verbal expressions show how much difficulty she encountered.

At first I was just like...I was never gonna remember Kyung, and Sakki, and Yunjung, and all these, you know, kids' names and I think that was at first such an overwhelming feeling, like, 'oh, my gosh! How am I gonna do this?'... I really understood the communication barrier was really hard...um...I don't know...try to explain why something like...why hitting with toys is not okay...because sometimes it's hard whenever you're explaining something and you feel like they don't understand anything that you're saying...I don't know. I think that's where it would be like battles to give instructions and explaining like when you got someone in trouble and what it was for. And I think that's kind of hard when there is a language barrier, like to make sure they really understand. ...I think there are a lot of confusions sometimes because they try to explain something, I wouldn't really understand because they were using their words or they didn't know what words to try to say... You know, some you'd asked names and some kids didn't really get you and would say something like 'blue' and they didn't know anything that you said. Or like you say 'What's your favorite color?' then they say like 'Yes, yes.'

Later, I asked Ms. Gail about the communication barrier in more detail and how she tried to overcome the difficulties it presented. She pointed out some important aspects of

placing children with different levels of English proficiency in the same class; however she did not seem to be aware of how first language use may help new students participate in club activities and of how more competent English learners provide scaffolding for new students using their first language. She also expressed that she did not seem to have any solutions for overcoming the communication barrier other than encouraging the children to speak in English only and accepting that there will always be confusion.

When you're trying to explain like instructions to ten students who are all different English-speaking levels, it's kind of hard and disappointing because a lot of kids were a lot smarter than they appear to be or like that kind of play to be because like if you get in trouble of course they're gonna pretend to understand like what you're saying. I mean it's hard because you can't...you can't expect whenever...when you are working with such multicultural young age groups, you can't expect like them to speak in English only because, because they're, they're totally submersed in both English and their native languages. Thus I just think sometimes it was just something to encourage them to speak in English but...other than that I can't really do anything other than that. I think of course there are a lot of confusing times, but the longer they are there, the less confusion but we also had new students all the time so there was always, always confusion I think.

From what Ms. Gail said, I assume that the English-only rule was in place to encourage children to use English, but she did not expect them to always use English. When I finished my analysis, I met the club coordinator in order to talk about my research findings, hoping that they might help the teachers and staff better understand functions of the children's first language use and possibly encourage the staff to consider some revision of the club language policy, speaking in English only. The coordinator said that the rule referred to a kind of target behavior, but the teachers recognized the need for flexibility. She also told me that the staff had a weekly meeting to talk about how to handle difficult situations.

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The findings of this study indicate that in spite of the policy discouraging the use of Korean, both teachers and preschoolers benefited from its use. The use of Korean facilitated the Korean girls' participation during club activities by a) scaffolding joint activities between the newcomers and experienced children, b) supplementing the teacher's instructions, and c) facilitating free-time conversation on relevant topics. In fact, even the teachers sometimes requested children fluent in English to translate instructions into

Korean. Thus, there is confusion over the teachers' policy on speaking in English only. These findings raise questions about the club's policy of requiring children to communicate in English. For preschoolers, the use of their native language can have benefits both for acquisition of English and for successful socialization. If the teachers are aware of these benefits from the children's first-language use, they may allow more flexibility in the language policy so that the first-language use can facilitate the children's socialization and their acquisition of English. However, this study is a case study, so not all the findings can be generalized to other social contexts. Therefore, more research is needed to explore when and how code-switching to the first language contributes to socialization into various multilingual speech communities and social contexts.

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APPENDIX A INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Table 1

Interview Questions to an FRC Teacher

1. Teaching experience in the club
 - 1) How long did you teach at that club?
 - 2) What did teaching at the club mean to you?
 - 3) What was the best part of teaching at the club?
 - 4) What was the most difficult time/thing teaching the club?

2. Language issues
 - 1) In which situations were there difficulties communicating with each child due to his/her lack

- of English competence? If students didn't understand your instructions, how did you try to help them?
- 2) How long do you think it usually took new students to feel comfortable and be competent members of the club and to be able to understand your instructions?
 - 3) What do you think of placing different English level children in the same age-based class?
 - 4) Which do you think it better: placing children in the club where there is nobody who shares their first language or where there is someone who shares their first language?
3. Teacher's perspective on children's first language use in the club
- 1) What do you think of children's use of their first language during the club activities? Even though teachers told children, "Please speak in English," some children still spoke in their first language. Why do you think they did so?
 - 2) How do you feel about forcing children to speak in English only?
 - 3) When do you think children speak their first language most? In what situations or activities did this occur most?
4. Novice English learner's language development
- 1) What activities or times do you think novice English learners like the most/least?
 - 2) What do you think about children's natural group formation based on their first language?
 - 3) By the time you had finished teaching at the club, how much did you think new coming children had improved their English?
 - 4) What kinds of activities do you think had the most influence in improving their English?
5. Teacher's discipline and preparation
- 1) What are the teaching objectives for the club? Please tell me how you usually organized the club activities daily, weekly, and monthly and what was the teaching objective of each routine activity, e.g. storytelling, play time, going to the bathroom, snack time, main activity, etc?
 - 2) What do you think the teacher's role is in the club? What do you think teachers should do to scaffold novice learners? What do you think of co-teaching the club with other teacher? What were some of the difficulties or conflicts between co-teachers?
 - 3) How did you usually prepare the lessons? What was difficult for you to teach at the club as a student teacher?
6. Teacher's communication with other members of the community
- 1) How did other administrators help you teach the club? Were there any teachers' meeting? If so, what did you usually do during the meetings?
 - 2) How much do you think you communicated with their parents? What were the difficulties of communicating with them? Do you have any suggestions for parents to help their children

- improve their English at home?
- 3) How can you evaluate your teaching and the students' learning?
- 4) After teaching the club, how have you changed?

APPENDIX B TRANSCRIPTION KEY

Left column of transcription table	Communication in English
Right column of transcription table	Communication in Korean
Left column of transcription table in Ch. 5	Communication within role-play
Right column of transcription table in Ch. 5	Metacommunication about role-play
Bold font in Ch.5	Utterances to set up or finish role-play frames
<i>Italic and bold font</i>	Romanized Korean
<u>[bracketed and underlined]</u>	English translation of Romanized Korean
CAPITALIZATION	Louder voice
{ (brace)	Overlapping in turns
= (equal sign)	Latch
() (parentheses)	Any additional explanations about situations
(<u> </u>) (underlined parentheses)	Inaudible speech
... (ellipsis)	Hesitant response

Seongwon Yun
 English Communication, College of Humanities
 Hanyang University
 17 Hangdang-dong, Seongdong-gu, Seoul, 133-791, Korea
 +82-2-2220-2474
 Email: seongwony@hanyang.ac.kr

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