Sociocultural factors in the loss of one's mother tongue: The case of Korean immigrant children

Cheong Rhie Huh

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SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS IN THE LOSS OF ONE'S MOTHER TONGUE: THE CASE OF KOREAN IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

A Project
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Education: Bilingual/Crosscultural

by
Cheong Rhie Huh
March 1997
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ABSTRACT

This project is a questionnaire-type survey research that assesses which sociocultural factors influence loss of mother tongue by Korean immigrant children residing in the United States.

Ninety-six subjects, in grades 7-12, responded to the questionnaires which focused on the family, school, language attitudes, and students' language use. Factor analysis was used to examine twenty variables from the family, school, language attitude, and students' language use responses. In order to provide the parental opinions on their children's mother tongue loss, thirteen mothers were interviewed as a part of the study.

The results of the factor analysis reveal that all 20 variables show very high communality. These variables are simplified into seven factors, and among these three factors three factors are enough to explain the loss of mother tongue in this study. Those factors are 1) attitudes toward students' English, 2) sociolinguistics at home, and 3) grandparent factors.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Why do language minority students come to lose their mother tongue (L1) by the time they become fluent in English? The loss of mother tongue is an issue that almost every minority group in the United States faces with its younger generation. However, this loss is often accepted and taken for granted as part of becoming an American citizen.

Since Fishman, Nighnry, Hoffman, and Hayden (1966) documented the attempt by various ethnic groups to maintain their mother tongues, it has been noted that once English is learned by immigrants and most successfully and efficiently by children, there is rapid loss of the minority language by the group. This language shift to monolingual English is said to occur rapidly and attains completion within three generations (Lieberson and Curry, 1971; Thompson, 1974; Lieberson, Dalto, and Johnston, 1975; Hakuta and D'Andrea, 1992, Pease-Alvarez, 1993). According to Pease-Alvarez (1993), even Spanish, a language thought to be particularly enduring in the United States, is seldom maintained beyond the second or third generation.

Loss of the mother tongue generally occurs as the result of the restricted use of that language. Such restriction may occur, for example, when one moves to
another country and begins using the societal language of that country, or when one learns a minority mother tongue at home but shifts to the societal language after learning it in school. The latter is the common pattern among language minorities in the United States. Until very recently, the phenomenon of the loss of the mother tongue among language minority children in the United States received limited attention from researchers, educators, and the general public. One of the main reasons for this lack of focus is that concern has usually centered on how language minority students could best be instructed to learn English as rapidly as possible. Therefore, the loss of the mother tongue was not been recognized as a problem until the concern about the lost potential (Pease-Alvarez & Hakuta, 1992), alienation, rootlessness, and problem of identity (Skutnab-Kangas, 1981; Wong-Filmore, 1991), and the disempowerment of the minority students (Cummins, 1986, 1989) were pointed out as the predicted, but unintended, unfortunate consequences of becoming proficient in the English language.

Another reason that the loss of the mother tongue has received limited attention is that researchers have depended on the linguistic approach for explaining or exploring this phenomenon. Fase, Jaspaert, and Kroon (1992) insist that
language loss should be understood from many areas of research dealing with "what" is being lost as well as with "how" and "why" this happens. However, the linguistic approach has only answered the "what" question, i.e., what part of language is being lost. Therefore, Olson (1983) advocates that because language itself is not a neutral factor, the social psychological factors should be considered in this process. Wong-Filmore (1991) also emphasizes that the loss of mother tongue should be studied only in reference to the social context in which the children are learning English, specially in societies like the United States and Canada where linguistic and ethnic diversity are not valued.

When we remember that children are products of their families and society, the "how" and "why" questions definitely need to be addressed. That is, a sociocultural theoretical approach might seem more comprehensive to understand the social and cultural pressures affecting language minority children in situations where they come to lose their mother tongues. Holt, in the preface of "Beyond language (1986)," emphasizes that the relationship between social factors and cultural factors should be examined in order to understand minority students holistically in addition to the factor of language. That is, educators
should look beyond the language of students to the broader social and cultural contexts to understand minority student performance in schools.

Background to the Study

This study will focus on finding out what kinds of sociocultural factors influence Korean immigrant children to lose their mother tongue during their school years.

According to the 1990 Census, Asian-Americans constitute the second largest minority after Hispanics in the United States and Korean-Americans are the sixth largest minority groups in the United States. However, bilingual education research seldom deals with these populations. A search through the literature reveals a scattering of works on Asian- and Korean-Americans. Because such materials do not provide research-based information on how Asian- and Korean-American children are different from those from the other minority communities or from the majority community, it is difficult for educators or districts to focus resources on them in ways that they do for more numerically represented populations, such as Spanish speakers. This has led to several consequences for Korean students, one being the loss of their mother tongue.
The Problem

The major goal of bilingual education is to help language minority students move into the mainstream classrooms at the appropriate academic levels of English. Even though this goal of bilingual education is plausible, it is usually accepted that language minority students often remain academically low achievers with low self-esteem and obscured self-identity.

Cummins (1989) argues that these negative aspects are the product of bilingual education which pushes students to give up their mother tongue and disempowers them. Also Krashen and Biber (1988) emphasize the role of the mother tongue as background knowledge which language minority students bring into the classroom. In addition to the general understanding that language minority students are low academic achievers, it is usually agreed that language minority students have a low self-esteem and obscured self-identity. Padilla (1991) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) ascribe this to the recent bilingual education system which forces students to give up their mother tongues. Padilla says that "the result of requiring a student to give up the native language for the acquisition of English may be a severe loss of self-esteem and alienation from society" (p.42). Taylor (1987) also notes, "If learning in the second language
contributes to the demise in knowledge and use of the heritage language, the results can be devastating" (p.187). This means that when minority children lose their language and culture, they may also lose their cultural identity and feel as if they belong nowhere, especially in times that are increasingly anti-immigrant and anti-bilingual education.

Ferdman (1990) points out, "For Puerto Ricans in the United States, the Spanish language is not just a means of communication; it also represents their identification as Latinos" (p.190). That is, there is a close linkage between language and identification because language is more than a tool of communication.

Skutnab-Kangas (1981) describes how much language minority children are subject to external and internal pressure:

Children from linguistic minorities are subject to a strong external pressure to become bilingual (or at any rate to learn the larger community well), since their own language usually has limited official rights. In addition to the external societal pressure, such children are often also subject to a strong family internal pressure to become bilingual. The parents usually want their children to learn the majority language well, especially to ensure that they have
better educational and economic prospects than they themselves had....However, the parents will naturally also want their children to learn their own language well (p.79).

Therefore, if children lose their own language (L1), then they tend to be detached from contact with their parents and their cultural and linguistic origin. And even though they may speak the majority language perfectly like majority members, the problems of identity will still exist because of the loss of or the lack of communicative proficiency in their mother tongue. As Skutnab-Kangas says:

Children from linguistic minorities thus bear the greatest pressure to become bilingual, and the risks of failure are gravest for them. This is a strong argument that the school as a system should feel a specially great responsibility for them (p.80).

Therefore, it is critically important for bilingual education to help language minority students foster and keep their mother tongue in order to preserve their cultural identity, to develop a bicultural identity.

When we remember the term "education," it implies drawing out children's potential and making them more than they were. However, we see that our bilingual education system has negated the meaning of education because it has
made children less than they were to begin with. That is, language minority students come to school fluent in their mother tongues and leave school essentially monolingual in English (L2), but with negative self identity and a lack of self confidence. Therefore, it is a problem that language minority students come to lose their mother tongue by the time they become fluent in English.

Statement of the Problem

There is a problem that Korean students come to lose their mother tongue by the time they become fluent in English.

Research Question

This study will examine the following research question:

What kinds of sociocultural factors influence Korean immigrant children to lose their mother tongue?

Definition of Terms

Mother tongue refers to the first acquired language or the language primarily used in one's family as a child. Language loss refers to changes in language proficiency. Language loss occurs when minority group members cannot
do the things with the minority language he or she used to be able to do. For example, he/she used to be able to share his/her daily life with his/her parents and now he/she encounters difficulty doing this. That is, some of the proficiency he/she used to have is no longer accessible.

Sociocultural factors refer to the factors coming from the contexts within which students function. Variables from their community, school, and family may come under sociocultural factors.

Theoretical Framework

This study will examine the Contextual Interaction Model set forth by Cortes (1986). This model is a dynamic model that considers the relationships among social, institutional, classroom, and individual factors to understand the outcomes of the language minority students. Cortes introduces this model to help educators improve their understanding of language minority students within the American social context and advocates to incorporate a multiplicity of factors that may influence educational achievement within specific contexts. His scholastic arguments suggest the followings:

1) Single-cause explanation should be rejected for
understanding children's performance because children are a product of their society, not a product of vacuum. That is, when we try to understand the language minority children's performance, it is unreasonable to understand their performance from only one cause. For example, the fact that English is different from Korean itself cannot explain the loss of Korean for Korean children.

2) Differences on the same outcomes even among minority groups. For example, the factors affecting language loss in Korean children may be different from those affecting language loss with Mexican and other minority children. Thus, the Contextual Interaction Model will help us to see what selected factors influence student's Korean language loss.
Chapter 2
Review of Related Literature

Until recently, the issue of mother tongue loss has not received enough attention to consider it a serious issue. One of the main reasons has been that concern has always centered on how language minority students can best be instructed so as to acquire competence in English as rapidly as possible. Another reason is that the research on mother tongue loss has depended mostly on the linguistic approach. This approach can explain about what part of the mother tongue is being lost. However, we must remember that children are the products of their family and society. Therefore, educators should examine the relationship between sociocultural factors in addition to solely linguistic factors. That is, the research of language loss should be done by understanding and studying the specific contexts that children have come from. Also, the endeavors should be done on rejecting the single-cause explanation on understanding the language loss.

The review of related literature will be organized into two sections. First, an overview of general studies on the loss of mother tongue will be provided. Second, a description of the Contextual Interaction Model of language loss with the case of Korean children in the United States
will be provided. Their societal context and educational context will be discussed.

An Overview of General Studies of Mother Tongue Language Loss

It is important to study and understand the sociocultural contexts in which minority students come to lose their mother tongue. Such contextual factors will include: parents, schools, peers, and students themselves.

Parents

In 1985, Okimura-Bichard examined the degree of mother tongue maintenance development in relation to the learning of English among Japanese children temporarily residing in the U.S. She also examined the factors which affected the individuals' success or failure in their endeavors in the learning of two languages. This study found that parents proved a critical factor in the children's language learning, particularly in the degree to which they maintained their mother tongue, Japanese. Taft and Cahill (1989) also found that children's competence in L1 was largely a function of the literacy level of their parents and their interest in the quality of their children's language. In "Some properties of bilingual maintenance and loss in Mexican background high-school students", Hakuta
and D'Andrea (1992) found that maintenance of Spanish proficiency of subjects was principally associated with parent's language practice in the home. That is, the more parents try to speak with their children in their mother tongue, the more their children maintain their mother tongue.

Wharry (1993) found that 88% of bilingual college students believed their parents wanted them to speak their mother tongue while only 13% of the monolingual English subjects held this belief about their parents. That is, parental attitude toward speaking and using their mother tongue is an essential factor for language minority students not to lose their mother tongue.

Even though some studies (Stevens, 1985; Li, 1982) support the belief that the longer foreign parents resided in the United State, the less likely it is that their children will develop their mother tongue, other studies (Okimura-Bichard, 1985; Taft & Cahill, 1989; Xia, 1992; Wharry, 1993) demonstrate that minority languages can be maintained over time as long as parents support their children to keep their mother tongue.

**Schools**

Skutnab-Kangas (1981) and Cummins (1986) have emphasized the responsibility of schools in relations to language loss
for bilingual children because "they have not chosen themselves to become bilingual; they are forced into something where a failure often may be a catastrophe" (Skutnab-Kangas, p.80). Especially the false assumption, that bilingual children who can speak English do not need special language services, accelerates language minority students to lose their mother tongue. Therefore, Olmedo(1992) has argued that the false assumptions on which some teachers form their expectation toward language minority students need to be challenged and changed. Extra(1989), in his research comparing the position of ethnic minority language vs. Frisian in Dutch primary schools, also found that the quality of teachers and the expectation of teachers towards minority students make a noteworthy differences with respect to minority language instruction. As Flores, Cousin, and Diaz(1991) point out the role of teacher is one of a cultural mediator who can organize the learning in order to mediate levels of knowledge between the teacher and students and among students themselves.

Furthermore, Kraven(1992) has reported that broader linguistic input in the minority languages are needed to encourage the language minority students to keep their mother tongues. Taft and Cahill (1989) also found that it
is virtually impossible for the children to develop their mother tongue in the absence of printed material in their primary language in homes and schools.

That is, the false expectation of teachers toward minority students and the lack of reading material at schools and at home can be contributing factors which facilitate minority student's primary language loss.

Students

The research literature indicates that students are proficient language users and bring many experiences into the classroom (Flores, Cousin, & Diaz, 1991). Okimura-Bichard (1985) has revealed that children's interests, attitudes, and the extent of use of the language contributed more significantly to the level in L1 and L2. In her study, Okimura-Bichard found that there is a great disparity in the pattern of language development among individuals: some children learn two languages relatively well, some do poorly in both, some learn the second language at the neglect of their mother tongue, and others learn the second language rather slowly. She explained this disparity between individuals "these differences were not attributable to uncontrollable factors such as the level of intelligence and the years of schooling in the first or second language
environment, but largely to the interactions of personal views and attitudes (p.85)."

Wharry (1993) also reported that students' integrative motivation to mother tongue is significantly related to adoption of their mother tongues. That is, integrative motivation suggests that if learners want to become a full-fledged member of their ancestral language, maintaining of learning their mother tongue is an important vehicle for the integration.

Si-Qing (1990) found that the language distance between the learner's L1 and L2 is also found to affect their choice of communication strategies. Therefore, the farther the language distance between learner's mother tongue and target language is, the more likely are language minority students to lose their mother tongue. That is, students' attitudes and interests toward their mother tongue, and their motivation to become a member of their community, and language distance between the learners' L1 and L2 can be significant factors to retain their mother tongue.

Summary

It is very important for educators and researchers to study children's socio-cultural contexts surrounding language minority students to understand the loss of their
mother tongue. Another important thing is that educators and researchers recognize that factors from context work together, not independently, on the loss of the mother tongue with language minority students.

The Contextual Interaction Model of Language Loss with the case of Korean Children

Why do language minority students come to lose their mother tongue by the time they become fluent in English? This is a common question that almost every minority group faces with its younger generation. However, the answer to this question cannot be the same for each minority group because its societal context is different each other.

Therefore, the question why Korean students come to lose their mother tongue by the time they become fluent in English has to be explained within their specific societal context. How their societal context affects the educational context also has to be explained.

Societal Context

In this context four related factors will be discussed:
1) immigration patterns, 2) language, 3) attitude toward education, 4) Korean language schools, and 5) parent-child relationships.
Immigration Pattern

According to Ogbu's concepts of "immigrant" and "involuntary" minorities, Koreans in the United States can be categorized as an "immigrant" minority because they are voluntary immigrants to this country and tend to consider discrimination and prejudice to be obstacles to overcome and a price that they may need to pay to achieve their ultimate objective of a better life for themselves and their children. They will pay this price even though they are subordinated and exploited politically, economically, and socially.

First, Koreans in the United States came to this land of opportunities, by their choice to have a better life and a better education. Furthermore, Korean immigrants in the late 1960's gained the reputation of being a successful minority group—industrious and education-oriented. Thus, from the beginning, most Korean immigrants could enjoy relatively favorable treatment from the majority. Therefore, they have developed the folk theory of success that they have to do well in school in order to arrive at their goal.

Second, because Koreans in the United States see their reference group as the one they left behind in their homeland, they do not feel they have to compete with the
mainstream American. They seek to do things that can
demonstrate their success to their reference group back home
and not necessarily to the majority group here.

Third, most Koreans in the United States came from the
middle or upper-middle classes. Therefore, they could
afford to start a new life, receive a good education and
tend to be easily assimilated into middle class status.

Attitude toward Education

According to Confucian tradition, education is esteemed
not only for its economic value in later life, but also for
the social status associated with educational achievement to
Koreans living in Korea and to those who have immigrated to
the United States. That is, educational achievement is not
only a way for financial security but also a measure of
personal growth and status to Koreans.

According to Kim, Sawdey, and Meihoefer (1980), even
after Korean parents have immigrated to the United states,
their goal of education for their children does not change.
Korean parents expect high scholastic achievement from their
children. It is evident regardless of the parents' length
of residence in the United States, educational level, or
socioeconomic status (Park, 1981). Therefore, Korean
parents are willing to tolerate adverse conditions such as
underemployment and extended work hours as long as they can provide good educational environments and opportunities for their children.

Language

Many aspects of the Korean language distinguish it from English beside the fact that the Korean language has a different alphabet from English. Among the major differences between Korean and English are differences in grammar, sentence structure, and speech sound.

First, Korean language uses honorifics to indicate the speaker's attitude toward the addressee and the person spoken of. Honorifics are the markings for pronouns, nouns, and verbs for the elders. And there are at least four different levels of speech—polite-formal, polite-informal, plain, and intimate style—from which one has to choose in everyday dialogue. For example, when you say "Bye," you have to use honorifics to elders, like "안녕히 가세요, " or "안녕히 가십시오." "안녕," or "잘 가," is proper to the youngsters or the friends with the same-age level. Therefore, if children say "잘 가," to the elders rather than "안녕히 가세요," they are subject to be ridiculed.

Second, in Korean the sentence structure or word order for a basic sentence is subject-object-verb (S-O-V); in
English, it is subject-verb-object (S-V-O).

Third, Korean consonants and vowels differ from those in English not only in pronunciation but also in the way in which they combine to form utterances and cause changes when certain sounds come together. There are no difference in sounds between p and f, l and r, and b and v. And in English, stress can change the meaning of words. However, in Korean language, stress in a word does not cause its meaning to change, in comparison with English speakers, Koreans often appear to speak in a monotone.

According to Liskin-Gasparro(1982), Korean is one of the most difficult languages for American students to master. When American students learn a foreign language, the easiest languages include French, Italian, and Spanish, the next group in difficulty includes German, and the third most difficult includes Russian and Hebrew. Korean is the most difficult language to master along with Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese. That is, differences in grammar, sentence structure, and pronunciation contribute to this result. Furthermore, cultural difference, which behaviors should be accompanied with different level of speech, cause difficulties for American students to learn the Korean language.
Korean language school

According to Takaki (1989), Koreans in California first established Korean language schools in the 1920s in Sacramento, San Francisco, Dinuba, Reedley, Delano, Stockton, Manteca, Riverside, Claremont, Upland, and Los Angeles. Since Educational Testing Service (ETS) has announced that Korean will be offered through the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) II, the Korean language schools have proliferated. According to the Korean School Association, it is reported that there are about 300 Korean language schools with about 30,000 students in the southern California, as of January, 1996 (Korean Central Newspaper, Feb. 22, 1996). In these schools students meet once a week on Saturday or Sunday morning, usually for about three hours where Korean language classes and cultural activities are provided. The Korean community's support of these schools demonstrates the value they attach to their children's bilingualism and understanding of Korean culture (Kim, 1992). The schools are also a reflection of Koreans' high standards for education. Children see that school is so important that even part of the weekend should be devoted to it (Kim, Lee, and Kim, 1981). With regard to teaching Korean to children in public schools, evidence shows that parents favor such programs as long as their children's
English language development is not jeopardized (Pak, 1984).

Parent-child relationship

Drawing on their Confucian traditions, Korean parents believe that a positive parent-child relationship depends on their children's obedience to their elders. In many families parents attempt to develop control over their children with authoritarian rather than egalitarian strategies. Therefore, parents give direction to their children and children are to obey their parents's directions.

From this hierarchical relationship between parents and children, Korean children practice the right usage of honorifics and of levels of speech toward their elders. Furthermore, children are instructed to obey teachers at school as they do to their parents at home.

Summary

The societal context of Korean students can be summarized:

First, Koreans in America are an "immigrant" minority group because they came to the United States by choice to have a better life and better education. Therefore, they have developed the folk theory of success that they have to
do well in school in order to arrive at their goal.

Second, according to their Confucian tradition and the reason for coming to America, Koreans' attitude toward education is positively strong enough to endure great personal sacrifice to support good educational environments and opportunities for their children.

Third, Korean language is different from English in grammar, sentence structure, and pronunciation besides different alphabets.

Fourth, Korean community has Korean language school to teach Korean language and cultures to their younger generations.

Last, Korean parent-child relationship is hierarchical. Parents give direction to their children; children obey their parents' direction.

**Educational Context**

It is important to understand that the societal factors directly affect the school's context and process. Usually the school's context and process include educational input factors, students qualities, and instructional elements. These three areas affect each other. Both the general educational input factors and students qualities influence the selection and implementation of instructional elements.
In this section, educational input factors, parent involvement or parent-teacher relations along with student attitudes toward the Korean language will be examined.

Educational input factors

Park (1981) reports that teachers regard Korean students as members of a "model minority" with exceptional academic ability. He explains that Korean students' comparatively high education achievement seems to be associated with values like conformity and respect for authority, key elements of the Confucian tradition of Korean families. Another explanation is that Koreans know that high educational achievement or credentials are their best hedge against discrimination even though most Korean students and their parents recognize that as members of minority group they will encounter discrimination in the job market (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991). That is, positive teacher expectation toward Korean students comes from their Confucian tradition which values education and respect for authority and from special endeavor to obtain high educational achievement in order to protect themselves from discrimination. Furthermore, the hierarchical relationship between Korean parents and their children seems to be extended to their school life with teachers by showing their
obedience to their teachers.

However, positive teacher expectations toward Korean students does not always benefit Korean students. Assuming that Korean students are doing well, teachers may not create a full range of learning opportunities. For example, a teacher may allow Korean children to work alone if they resist participating in small groups. Although these children may do well on their own, they need to develop the linguistic, social, and academic skills required for success in group situations. Through cooperative learning activities, for example, Korean students can learn not only academic content but also social skills such as how to lead a group, how to help others who are having trouble, and how to master the oral language skills that are important for success in group work (Kagan, 1986).

The Attorney General's Asian and Pacific Advisory Committee (1988) reports that schools in the United States have not instituted Korean language programs that would better prepare Korean students for the interdependent world of the future. That is, the absence of the Korean language, culture, and history from the curriculum may increase the ambivalence of Korean-American students toward their native language and heritage, thereby creating more psychological stress and additional conflicts with their parents,
siblings, and members of the extended family.

Parent Involvement/Parent-teacher Relationship

Korean parents highly respect school teachers and administrators according to their Confucian tradition. Most parents consider it their responsibility to assist the school by deferring to the authority of teachers. These parents believe that their role is to respect, listen, and follow the professional judgement of teachers. Therefore, they are reluctant to participate in school functions and confer with teachers because they are brought up to defer to the authority of educators. Furthermore, they are not confident in their ability to speak English and they are in the reality that they should work for long hours.

When we think that student's success depends in part on the quality of the relationship between their parents and teachers, it is important that parents and teachers must corporate to freely share information to support students' education. However, the relationship between Korean parents and teachers fails to provide the background information needed by teachers because of the parental lack of confidence in their ability to speak English, their Confucian tradition to obey the teacher, and the economic pressure to work long hours. American teachers also fail to
understand Korean students because they can not communicate with Korean parents. Another reason is that American teachers do not have the opportunity to be informed about Korean culture in their process of formal education (Darder, 1991).

Students' attitude toward L1

Very little research has been done on Korean students' attitudes toward their primary language (L1). However, from the informal talks with Korean students and from background information, it appears that Korean students' attitudes toward their L1 is rather negative. They report that they have been in and out of Korean language schools in their elementary and high school years because their parents forced them to go and that they did not want to go there for various reasons. The reasons include:

1) They have a perception that Korean is very difficult to learn because it has honorifics and different levels of speech,

2) They did not feel the need to learn Korean because English is the only academic language at school,

3) They felt they are busy enough even with the regular school work,

4) They always felt that they can't speak Korean perfectly
because their elders always pick on and laugh at their pronunciation and expressions in Korean,
5) They have had little chance to relate their Korean culture and language to their school work,
6) All of students communicate with their siblings and Korean friends in English, and
7) sixty four out of 75 students respond in English with their parents whether parents speak in Korean or in English.

These findings indicate that the language distance between Korean and English is going to affect their choice of communication strategies (Si-Qing, 1990) and that they are apt to give up their mother tongue when it is not related to their school work. Niyekawa (1983) admits that in case of an Asian language with its own orthography and literal tradition, it is extremely difficult, at least under prevailing conditions today, to go beyond maintenance of L1 at the basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) levels as the child progresses in English to upper grades in the secondary school because there is no linguistic relationship between L1 and L2 except with the Hindi languages that are distantly related. Therefore, the child's vocabulary and literacy in L1 could well lag far behind those of L2.

Sue and Padilla (1986) indicate that verbal scores of
Asian students on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) are far behind those of White students even though math scores of Asian students are better than Whites. These score difference have influenced Korean parents on forcing their children to spend more time on learning English. Even though Korean parents have a strong desire for their children to keep their mother tongue and culture, their aspiration for their children's academic success might be unconsciously stronger than that. Therefore, Korean students can concentrate on English without any conflicts with their parents not to use Korean language even at home as the grade goes up.

Summary

Why do language minority students come to lose their mother tongue by the time they become fluent in English? Even though this is a common question that almost every minority group faces with its younger generation, the answer to this question cannot be the same for each minority group because its societal context is different from each other.

In the case of Korean children in the United States the followings can be said (see Figure 1):
First, the vitality between the wish that Koreans keep their culture and language and the aspiration that they provide
good educational opportunities can play a critical role. Second, parents' lack of confidence in their ability to speak English has influence on parent-teacher relationship and parental involvement at school. Third, the school system itself does not provide Korean students access to their language and culture through curriculum and teachers' knowledge. Fourth, language distance has influence on Korean students' attitude toward L1. Last, students' perception of the L1 is not related to their academic work affect their language loss.
Contextual interaction model on language loss

Societal Context

- immigration
- attitude toward education
- language
- Korean language school
- family system
- parent-child relationship

Educational Context

Educational Input Factors
- Teacher's expectation toward Korean students
- Teacher's knowledge toward Korean

Instructional Elements
- Parental involvement
- Parent-teacher relationship

Student Qualities
- Students' attitude toward Ll

Language Loss
Chapter 3
Design/Methodology

This study was designed to assess which sociocultural factors influence the loss of their mother tongue by Korean immigrant children. In order to discover predominant patterns among a large number of sociocultural variables, questionnaire-type survey was conducted and the factor analysis was used with the subjects of Korean immigrant students. In addition to the students' questionnaires, interviews were conducted with Korean mothers to get more background information of family and to get parental opinions and observations about their children's mother tongue.

Subjects

Subjects in this study were ninety six 7-12th graders who live in the eastern basin of southern California and whose parents are Korean.

The Korean immigrant students consisted of 16 seventh, 20 eighth, 16 ninth, 15 tenth, 14 eleventh, and 15 twelfth graders. Overall, there were 51 boys and 45 girls. All of them were attending public schools.

They were contacted individually or as a group of 2-5 students and asked to fill out the questionnaires. Of the
96 samples collected, 29 samples were collected from Friday night youth group meetings of two Korean churches in the area. All of questionnaires were collected between December 7, 1995 and February 15, 1996.

Instruments

Questionnaires contained 49 item (See Appendix 1). 20 out of 49 items were five-point Likert-type scaled and other items were asked to obtain background information (age, gender, birthplace, length of stay in the U.S., etc.)

In order to find out which sociocultural factors influence the loss of mother tongue, variables from the family, school, students' language attitude, and students' Sociolinguistics were examined. Variables from each category were:

Family variables (FM)

- parent's length of residence in the U.S. (FM1)
- grandparents' language choice (FM2)
- parents' language choice (FM3)
- parents' language attitude toward English (FM4)
- parents' language attitude toward Korean (FM5)
- reading materials in Korean at home (FM6)

School variables (SCH)

- teachers' language attitude toward subject's English (SCH1)
school curriculum(SCH2)
reading materials at school(SCH3)
Korean friends(SCH4)

Student language attitude variables(SLA)
Language perception toward English(SLA1)
Language perception toward Korean(SLA2)
Language attitude between English and Korean(SLA3)
Korean as one of foreign languages(SLA4)
Language attitude toward English(SLA5)
Language attitude toward Korean(SLA6)

Student Sociolinguistics variables(SS)
Sociolinguistics with grandparents(SS1)
Sociolinguistics with parents(SS2)
Sociolinguistics with siblings(SS3)
Sociolinguistics with Korean friends(SS4)

In addition to the students' questionnaires, interviews were conducted with seventeen Korean mothers whose children participated in this study. The purpose of parental interview was to get more background information of family and to get parental opinions and observations about their children's mother tongue. Interview sheet was developed by the researcher and contains 36 items (See Appendix 2). Seventeen mothers who had consented were interviewed and recorded on audio-cassette tapes. All the interviews were
Procedure

A factor analysis procedure was used to examine which sociocultural factors cluster to the variable of language loss. That is, for the purpose of reducing the large number of variables to the smaller number of factors, factor analysis was applied to the original variables from the questionnaires of student subjects. Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) for MS WINDOWS 6.1 version was used to analyze the data.

Twenty items from students' questionnaires, questions #5 and #17-35, were used for factor analysis. These questions were Likert-scaled. Three major steps were followed:
1. preparation of a communality matrix,
2. extraction of the initial factors-the exploration of possible data reduction,
3. rotation of a terminal solution-the search for simple and interpretable factors.

Information from 29 items from students' questionnaires and parent interview were used to get more background information and opinions of subjects' mother tongue proficiency.
Chapter 4
Analysis and Results

This study began with the hypothesis that Korean minority children come to lose their mother tongue by the time they are proficient in English. In order to test this hypothesis, the following questions were asked of students and parents respectively: First question was that “Could you speak Korean when you were a child?” (Student Questionnaire #10) and that “Could your child speak Korean when she/he was young?” (Parent Interview sheet #6). Table 1 gives the summary statistics on this question from students and parents.

Table 1. Frequencies of the speaking ability of Korean when the student subjects are young

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Student #10</th>
<th>Parents #6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did you speak Korean when you were a child?</td>
<td>Yes 92</td>
<td>Could your child speak Korean when she/he was young?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over 95% of participants could speak Korean when they were young. But, three mothers reported that their children could not speak Korean even when they were young because
they were taken care of by non-Korean-speaking caretakers and their parents spoke in English to them.

The second question was about when children started using more English than Korean. To the question #12 of parent interview sheet, "When do you think your child started using more English?" mothers reported that their children started using more English than Korean right after they started their schooling and that finally around 3-4th grade, they seemed to have hard time expressing themselves in Korean to their parents.

The third question was about their current proficiency level in Korean and English. Student Questionnaire #13, "I can speak English better than Korean. (1:Strongly Agree - 5:Strongly Disagree)" and #16, "I can understand English better than Korean. (5:Strongly Agree - 1:Strongly Disagree)" were questioned. The mean scores on these items are 4.3 and 4.21 respectively and that indicate that student participants think they can speak and understand English better than Korean. That is, the subjects of this study were very confident on their English proficiency while they thought they were very poor in Korean.

The fourth question was about parents' satisfaction with the languages of their child. To the parent interview
question #34, "Are you satisfied with your child's Korean language performance?" seven mother said they are satisfied; ten mother, not satisfied. To the question #35, "Are you satisfied with your child's English performance?" 16 mothers agreed.

Therefore, these have proved that the hypothesis that Korean children come to lose Korean by the time they are proficient in English, proved to be correct.

Analysis of Data

For the purpose of reducing the variables of family, school, students' language attitude, and students' Sociolinguistics to the factor or factors of affecting the loss of mother tongue, three major steps were followed: First, a communality matrix was prepared to see how much the proportion of variance can be accounted for the common factors. Second, the initial factors were extracted by the method of Principal Components Analysis in order to explore possible data reduction. Third, a Varimax rotation was conducted to simplify the structure of factor matrix, selection of a solution which clearly identifies the distinct cluster of variables which form the factor or factors.

The basic guidelines for arriving at the final number
of factors were to eliminate those variables that shared less than 30% in communality and to cut off the factors which had low loadings. Each factor was named according to the variables which obtained a loading of .40 or greater.

Results

All 20 variables showed very high communality, from .47535 to .86190 (See Table 2). Gorsuch (1983) defines the communality as following:

By definition, the communality of a variable is that proportion of its variance that can be accounted for by the common factors. For example, if the communality is .75, the variance of the variable as reproduced from only the common factors would be three-fourths of its observed variance (p.29).

For example, from Table 2, variable FM319, parents' language choice, has the communality of .86190. That is, about 86% of variance of FM319 can be explained by the factor or factors extracted. Therefore, all 20 variables contribute to explain the factor or factors extracted with some reasonable variance.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Communality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FM319</td>
<td>.86190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS118</td>
<td>.85690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM217</td>
<td>.84063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCH127</td>
<td>.80984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS220</td>
<td>.79651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM529</td>
<td>.78387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA224</td>
<td>.77895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA530</td>
<td>.77763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM319</td>
<td>.77695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCH333</td>
<td>.73451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM15</td>
<td>.71919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA631</td>
<td>.71869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS422</td>
<td>.66896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS321</td>
<td>.64071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM634</td>
<td>.60890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA123</td>
<td>.60311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA325</td>
<td>.57166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA426</td>
<td>.50841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCH232</td>
<td>.47879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCH435</td>
<td>.47535</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Initial factor extraction by the method of Principal Components Analysis revealed seven factors with eigenvalue greater than one (see Table 3), and thus seven factors with the potential of having substantive meaning.

Table 3. Eigenvalue, percentage of variance (pct. of var.), and cumulative percentage (cum. pct.) of each factor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>factor</th>
<th>eigenvalue</th>
<th>pct.of var.</th>
<th>cum. pct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.37602</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.01515</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.37529</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.58955</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>51.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.40886</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>58.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.16102</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.08556</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That is, factor 1 explains 16.9% of the language loss in this study; factor 2, 15.1%; factor 3, 11.7%; and so on. Therefore, these seven factors explain 70.1% of the language loss in this study. But the factor plot in rotated factor space (Figure 2) shows that factor 1, 2, and 3 are enough to explain the loss of primary language in this study.
The first factor has three statements clearly associated with the attitudes toward students' English. That is, the attitudes of parents, teacher, and student toward student's English can explain the loss of student's mother tongue. The second factor also has three statements associated with how much students speak Korean at home with their parents and siblings. Therefore, this factor has been labelled as speaking Korean at home. The third factor, though somewhat difficult to clearly label with one name, seem to be associated with the grandparents. That is, how much they speak with their grandparents in Korean can help
us understand loss of their mother tongue.

Table 4 shows three factors and actual statements associated with the factors are listed in Table 5.

Table 4: Principal components factor analysis with Varimax rotation (The variables which obtained a loading of .40 or greater are bold-lettered.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rotated reading</th>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FM428</td>
<td>.9156</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCH127</td>
<td>.8930</td>
<td>.1082</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA530</td>
<td>.7994</td>
<td>.1528</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM319</td>
<td></td>
<td>.8503</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS220</td>
<td></td>
<td>.8455</td>
<td>.2332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS321</td>
<td></td>
<td>.6434</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM217</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.8817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS118</td>
<td></td>
<td>.1043</td>
<td>.8691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA426</td>
<td></td>
<td>.1219</td>
<td>.6034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM529</td>
<td>.1345</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA631</td>
<td>.2910</td>
<td>-.1978</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM15</td>
<td>-.2623</td>
<td>-.2628</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS422</td>
<td>.1355</td>
<td>.1958</td>
<td>.2443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCH435</td>
<td>-.1712</td>
<td>.2045</td>
<td>-.1258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCH232</td>
<td>.2535</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA224</td>
<td>-.2321</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA123</td>
<td>.3391</td>
<td>-.2093</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA325</td>
<td>-.1715</td>
<td>.2928</td>
<td>.1291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM634</td>
<td>.1186</td>
<td>.2041</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCH333</td>
<td>-.3277</td>
<td>-.4369</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5: Statements related to each factor, obtained in principal components factor analysis. The key factors have been labelled.

Factor 1: Attitudes toward students' English

28. My parent(s) thinks I should improve English. (Strongly Agree 5---Strongly Disagree 1)
27. My teacher(s) thinks I should improve English. (Strongly Agree 5---Strongly Disagree 1)
30. I think I should improve English. (Strongly Agree 5---Strongly Disagree 1)

Factor 2: Speaking Korean at home

19. How much do your parents speak to you in Korean? (Always 5---Never 1)
20. How much do you speak to your parents in Korean? (Always 5---Never 1)
21. How much do you speak with your siblings in Korean? (Always 5---Never 1)

Factor 3: Grandparents

17. How much do your grandparents speak to you in Korean? (Always 5---Never 1)
18. How much do you speak to your grandparents in as one of foreign languages. (Always 5---Never 1)
Chapter 5

Conclusion

The interpretations of the results will be phrased in the form of three summary statements of the conclusions, followed by the supporting evidence and discussion.

Conclusion I

Korean language status in the United States affects attitudes toward English. These attitudes, from the parents, teachers, and students themselves, explains part of the loss of mother tongue.

Factor 1 has three variables about attitudes on students' English. These three variables were asked in the form of statements, "My parent(s) thinks I should improve English." "My teacher(s) thinks I should improve English." and "I think I should improve English." To each of statements, the subjects of this study highly disagree with the means of 1.989, 1.989, and 2.542. That is, majority of student subjects did not agree with the statements that their parents and/or teachers think they should improve their English. Furthermore, even the students themselves did not think they should improve their English. That is, these results indicate that the student participants were very confident of their English language proficiency.
Language status refers to how a society views a particular language; it's value, prestige, and daily use. If society considers a language valuable to know, or as an asset, then that language has a higher status than one that society views as less useful. Also, society can view one language as more prestigious than another which also influences the status of a language. If a society uses one language more than another, the language which is used more has a higher status.

Cortes (1972) and Swain (1983) insist that when minority children do not learn about their home country, they feel that the culture and language of their home country is less valued and less significant. Seventy-one percent of student participants answered that they have not learned about Korea at school while twenty-nine percent of them responded that they have learned about Korea at school. However, even students who have learned about Korea at school have learned mostly through their own interests and choices. That is, they have learned about Korea while they were preparing special projects, not through the regular curriculum, i.e., history, science, social studies, and etc. Korea University (1996) conducted a survey on the state of Korean language and culture in the United States. Their subjects was 1,200 Korean residing in eight large city in the States, including
Los Angeles. This survey revealed that the major obstacle for Korean students to learn Korean is the lack of a motive for learning Korean, not the lack of educational facilities or conditions. That is, Korean students can not perceive the reason to learn Korean in this society because they have not had the opportunity to appreciate the value and significance of their mother tongue.

Even at home, by hearing Korean and English from their parents, they tend to tune out the language they are least competent in and, as a consequences, they do not even get a chance to appreciate their mother tongue. Through the parent interviews, mothers report that they use both languages, Korean and English, in communication with their children. They use Korean especially in the simple daily conversation; English, in the serious conversation related to their academic matters. That is, even at home, they do not have the chance to appreciate the significance of their mother tongue and they perceive English as having higher status than their mother tongue.

Furthermore, almost every mother reported they encourage Korean as long as that does not harm English proficiency. Pak(1984) also agree with this attitude as long as their children's English language development is not jeopardized while learning Korean in the public schools.
Therefore, this sometimes leads to the misconception that if they encourage their children to learn Korean along with English, their English will be jeopardized.

Beside their Confucian tradition which places high value on the academic success, this attitude seems to also come from their immigration experience. Usually Koreans are categorized as voluntary immigrants (Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986). Fourteen mothers came to the United States with fathers who wanted to have a better life and three mothers came for better educational degree. These mothers have aspirations that their children should not suffer because of language problems, which they have been through, even though they have had to pay the price of mother tongue loss. That is, because living in the United States is not their children's choice, but that of the parents, they have guilt feelings about their children experiencing language problems when they start school. Therefore, they are very lenient in allowing their children to speak English even at home. Sometimes they seem to expect their children to lose their mother tongue and they tend to take for granted their children responding to them in English and to ignore the use of English between siblings.

These attitudes are different from those of Mexican-descent children. In her research, Pease-Alvarez (1993)
describes that most Mexican parents are confident that their children will not lose Spanish and that many of the children use Spanish when interacting with their siblings. To the question, "Why do you think your child come to lose Korean?" all of Korean mother blamed themselves for not teaching Korean at home, while half of Mexican mothers blame themselves and the other half blame schools for not teaching their children their mother tongue.

One other big difference between Mexican-descent- and Korean-descent children is that only a few children from the Mexican-descent group reported that English is the most important language while 50% of the Korean subjects saw English as the most important language.

Students who think English is the most important language view English as the language they use most frequently, and the language that they speak and understand best. Some students supported this view by stating that "because this society use only English," and "because English is the language used at school." Students who think Korean is the most important language hold this view because Korean was the first language they learned to speak and the language that best represent their heritage and it is the language spoken by their parents. That is, these responses reflect the belief that English is more
instrumental while Korean is more integrative.

But, whether they think Korean is important to them or not, the loss of the mother tongue has occurred because Korean has low language status in the United States. The reasons for this are: 1) they have barely learned about Korean through regular school subjects, 2) even at home, they use Korean in the simple conversations and English for more serious matters, and 3) the immigration pattern as well as their Confucian tradition takes for granted that students will use English more than Korean even at home and with parents, and with siblings.

**Conclusion II**

Language practice in Korean with parents does not promote the students' Korean proficiency because children initiate the selection of main vocabularies in the conversation.

Factor 2 has three sociolinguistic variables related to home. These three variables were asked in the form of interrogative sentences, "How much do your parents speak to you in Korean?" "How much do you speak to your parents in Korean?" and "How much do you speak with your siblings in Korean?" To each of these questions, the subjects of this study answered they and their parents mostly use Korean in their communication. Means were 4.319, 3.8279, and 2.180
respectively. These results indicate that when students and parents communicate with each other, they mostly use Korean. Then, how does this factor explain a large portion of the loss of their mother tongue? The followings is an interpretation of those reasons.

According to parent interviews, two mothers answered that they use Korean; 3, English and 15, both languages. Almost every mother reported communication with their children was limited to simple sentences. For example, the utterances mostly used by mothers was "Have you done your homework?" "Did you eat dinner? "Do this or do that," etc. The sentences mostly spoken by their children were also simple sentences. For example, "Yes," "No," "Fine," "Give me allowance," "I am sick," etc. That is, they repeatedly used the repetitive vocabularies and they rarely got into any complex conversations in Korean. The pattern of communication between mothers and children communicate is that mothers use both languages or only English and the children speak and respond mostly in English. One mother reported that she asks her sister-in-law, who can speak English better than she does, to translate her messages into English when she needed to deliver important messages to her own child. Some mothers said that they speak in English, whether it is correct or not, when they have to deliver
important messages related to the academic matter or to give directions that should not be forgotten. Korean is used for the simple daily conversation.

Therefore, the children in this study have never had chances to move beyond elementary level use of Korean. The following example shows how a 7th-grade-Korean student and her mother communicate:

(This interview was done in Korean and English translation is in the parenthesis.)

Interviewer: 아이에게 어떤 언어로 이야기하세요? (What language do you speak to your child?)

Mrs. K: 한국말로 이야기합니다. (I speak in Korean.)

Interviewer: 왜 한국말로 이야기해까? (Why do you speak in Korean?)

Mrs. K: 제가 영어를 잘 못하기 때문에, 한국말로 이야기합니다. (Because I cannot speak English well, I speak in Korean.)

Interviewer: 그러면, 따님은 한국말이 맘

유창하겠네요? (Then, your daughter must be very fluent in Korean, isn't she?)

Mrs. K: 전혀 그렇지 않습니다. 제가 말하고 한국말로 이야기한다 해도, 딸 아이의 어휘 수준은 5~6 살 지리 어림에 수준입니다. (Not at all. Even though I try to speak in Korean with her, her vocabularies are very elementary, like at best 5-6 years old.) [Now, her daughter is a 7th grader.]

Mrs. Kim gave the example about giving her daughter the direction of changing into the sleepwear at bedtime.
Mother: 잠옷으로 잡아 입어요.
(Change to the sleepwear.)

Daughter: What is 잠옷?

Mother: 잠옷은 잠 때 입는 옷이 잡아요?
(Sleepwear is the clothes that you wear at your bedtime. You don't know that yet?)

Daughter: Oh, pajama or sleepwear!

Mother: 그래, "pajama"로 잡아 입어요.
(Yes, change to pajama.)

Since then, when this mother has to bring up "sleepwear" or "pajama" in Korean, she switches the vocabulary into in English and keeps the Korean sentence structure while her daughter continues using the English vocabulary. Five other mother reported similar stories. This example indicates that children take the initiative on language vocabulary selection. That is, when children cannot understand some Korean vocabulary in the conversation with mothers, the mothers switch into English rather than they have children learn and use them later. Furthermore, when the same Korean vocabularies are brought up later in the conversation, mothers tend to use English words rather than Korean ones. As time goes by, the conversations between mothers (parents) and children tend to be conducted primarily in English. As a consequences, children are losing their Korean vocabulary and their Korean proficiency. This is different from the
result of studies with Mexican background high school students. In their research, Hakuta and D'Andrea (1992) report that maintenance of Spanish proficiency was principally associated with adult language practice in the home. That is, Mexican parents take the initiatives in their conversation with their children.

The student participants in this study report that they speak with their siblings in Korean with a mean of 2.180. This report agrees with the result from the data collected from the informal talks with Korean college students who come to learn Korean at a local University. All of students, in the Korean class, communicate with their siblings and Korean friends in English.

Even though research has not been done on how much time Korean children spend talking with their siblings, it is logical to assume that they would spend more time talking with their siblings rather than with their parents. Therefore, even at home, they are more likely to use English than Korean. The mothers rarely asked their children to communicate between siblings in Korean either, even though mothers sometimes pushed their children to speak in Korean to parents.
Conclusion III

A family system without grandparents effects the children's loss of their mother tongue.

Factor 3 has three variables through the questions, "How much do your parents speak to you in Korean?" "How much do you speak to your grandparents in Korean?" and "It is a good idea for schools to offer Korean as one of Foreign languages." Each questions has mean scores of 4.553, 4.298, and 4.117 respectively.

This explains that grandparents and students communicate almost exclusively in Korean. But the problem is that only ten students out of all participants live with their grandparent(s). That is, even though they communicate with their grandparents in Korean, the chances to talk with them are very limited. Efforts were made to find the factors affecting language loss between groups living with grandparents and without them. However, because of the lack of cases of the group living with grandparents, it was impossible to compare between them.

Influenced by Vygotsky's emphasis on the interdependence of children's learning and the socially provided resources to support that learning, Moll and Greenberg(1990) emphasize that it is important to create the special circumstances within which children want to learn.
When it is assumed that language is one of skills or values to learn, it is critically important for Korean children to have a special circumstances to learn and practice Korean language. Especially, because the Korean language is one that requires markings for many levels of deference in casual speech, one cannot speak Korean without considering one's own social position and age relative to the position and age of one's addressee.

Tragic incidents between Korean grandparents and grandchildren are sometimes quoted by researchers to show how terrible it is for children to lose their mother tongue (Wong-Filmore, 1991). Through these incidents, it is said that grandparents are the keepers who preserve their cultures and language. And they are the messengers who can deliver Korean culture and language to their grandchildren. Parent interviews indicate that parents were very lenient toward their children's language behavior. And even though they want their children to learn Korean, their wish is not so intense as that of the grandparents. The parents' wish is that "If possible," they want their children to keep Korean culture and language. But, through the informal talks with the grandparents, they indicated that it is a "must" that their grandchildren should be able to speak Korean, and to know their culture. Therefore, it is
concluded that grandparents are more active mediators than parents in having children practice their language and culture.

To the question, "If you can speak Korean, with whom do you speak Korean most frequently?" grandparents were the choice that Korean students want most to talk with in their mother tongue. This result supports the notion that grandparents can be active mediators for their grandchildren's learning Korean.

Students participants highly agree with the statement that it is a good idea for schools to offer Korean as one of foreign languages. This high agreement indicates that children want to learn their mother tongue as one of foreign languages at school and that they feel school, not home, is a better place to learn their mother tongue. But, only 29% of students reported that they have learned about Korea mostly through special projects, not through the regular curriculum.

This is a different attitude from that of their mothers. Every mother participant, without any exception, accepted responsibility for their children losing their mother tongue. Indirectly, this indicates that they believe they are the ones who could and should teach Korean to their children. But, their children seemed to prefer learning
their mother tongue at school and do not blame their parents. Therefore, when their desire is not supported by the school and they do not feel home is a proper place to learn their mother tongue, they come to lose their mother tongue.

Implications

The analysis revealed several factors about loss of mother tongue with Korean children in the United States. It verified in large part that Korean language loss has been occurring and that the language shift has been to English. The factors for the loss of mother tongue were analyzed across the social context surrounding the students; family, school, and students themselves. From these factors, the followings can be interpreted:

1. The language status of Korean, in the United States, affects the attitudes toward students' English. These attitudes, from the parents, teachers, and students themselves influence the loss of mother tongue.

2. Language practice in Korean with parents do not promote the students' mother tongue proficiency because children initiate the selection of main vocabularies in English.

3. Family system without parent grandparents have children lose their mother tongue.
These interpretations tell us that Korean children in this study are not encouraged to keep their mother tongue.

At this point, this study provides an initial picture about which direction future research on the loss of mother tongue should be done:

1. Comparative research among different minorities in the United States should be done on this issue. Even though little research has been done, we can understand the factors on the loss of the mother tongue are not the same for the different minorities in the United States.

2. Longitudinal studies, starting from the pre-school years, are recommended for an in-depth study. Even though primary language loss begins when children start schooling, longitudinal studies have an obvious advantage in providing information over time.
Appendix A:

Student Questionnaire
1. How would you describe yourself?
   a. Korean  
   b. Korean-American  
   c. American  
   d. Others (Write in)  

2. Were you born in the United States?
   a. Yes  
   b. No  

3. If you answered "No" to question #2, when did you come to the United States?
   a. when I was younger than one year old  
   b. when I was one - four years old  
   c. when I was a kindergartner - third grader  
   d. when I was a fourth - sixth grader  
   e. when I was a seventh - twelfth grader  

4. If you answered a or b to question #3 or you were born in the United States, did you go to preschool/nursery before you started kindergarten?
   a. Yes  
   b. No  

5. How long have your parents stayed in the United States?
   a. less than one year  
   b. one - four years  
   c. five - eight years  
   d. nine - eleven years  
   e. longer than twelve years  

6. What is your gender?
   a. Boy  
   b. Girl  

7. What grade are you in?  

8. Including yourself, how many family members live at home?  

9. How many siblings do you have?  

10. Did you speak Korean when you were a child?
    a. Yes  
    b. No  

11. Do you live with your grandparent(s)?
    a. Yes  
    b. No  

12. What language is spoken most frequently in your home?
    a. Korean  
    b. English  
    c. Equally in both language, Korean and English  

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Beside each of the statements presented below, please circle one letter for each question.

**Question #13-16**

- a. Strongly Agree
- b. Agree
- c. My ability is the same in both language.
- d. Disagree
- e. Strongly Disagree

13. I can speak English better than Korean.
   - a. Strongly Agree
   - b. Agree
   - c. My ability is the same in both language.
   - d. Disagree
   - e. Strongly Disagree

14. I can read English better than Korean.
   - a. Strongly Agree
   - b. Agree
   - c. My ability is the same in both language.
   - d. Disagree
   - e. Strongly Disagree

15. I can write English better than Korean.
   - a. Strongly Agree
   - b. Agree
   - c. My ability is the same in both language.
   - d. Disagree
   - e. Strongly Disagree

16. I can understand English better than Korean.
   - a. Strongly Agree
   - b. Agree
   - c. My ability is the same in both language.
   - d. Disagree
   - e. Strongly Disagree

Any comments on questions #13-16?: (Write in)

---

**Question #17-22**

- a. Always
- b. Frequently
- c. Sometimes
- d. On special occasions or rarely
- e. Never

17. How much do your grandparents speak to you in Korean?
   - a. Always
   - b. Frequently
   - c. Sometimes
   - d. On special occasions or rarely
   - e. Never

18. How much do you speak to your grandparents in Korean?
   - a. Always
   - b. Frequently
   - c. Sometimes
   - d. On special occasions or rarely
   - e. Never

19. How much do your parents speak to you in Korean?
   - a. Always
   - b. Frequently
   - c. Sometimes
   - d. On special occasions or rarely
   - e. Never

20. How much do you speak to your parents in Korean?
   - a. Always
   - b. Frequently
   - c. Sometimes
   - d. On special occasions or rarely
   - e. Never

21. How much do you speak with siblings in Korean?
   - a. Always
   - b. Frequently
   - c. Sometimes
   - d. On special occasions or rarely
   - e. Never

22. How much do you speak with your Korean friends in Korean?
   - a. Always
   - b. Frequently
   - c. Sometimes
   - d. On special occasions or rarely
   - e. Never

Any comments on questions #17-22?: (Write in)

---
Question #23-31

a. Strongly Agree  
b. Agree  
c. I don't know  
d. Disagree  
e. Strongly Disagree  

23. It is difficult to learn English.  
24. It is difficult to learn Korean.  
25. It is more difficult to learn Korean than English.  
26. It is a good idea for schools to offer Korean as one of foreign languages.  
27. My teacher(s) thinks I should improve English.  
28. My parent(s) thinks I should improve English.  
29. My parent(s) thinks I should improve Korean.  
30. I think I should improve English.  
31. I think I should improve Korean.  

Any comments on question #23-31?: (Write in) ____________________________________________

Question #32-35

a. a lot  
b. some  
c. I don't know  
d. not much  
e. not at all  

32. How much have learned about Korea -i.e., Korean culture, history, and etc.- at school in the United States?  
33. How much does your school library carry books, which are written in Korean or which are about Korea?  
34. How much do you have books, written in Korean, that you can read?  
35. How many Korean friends do you have?  

Any comments on questions #32-35?: (Write in) ____________________________________________
36. When you come home from school, is there someone who can speak Korean with you?
   a. Yes  b. No

37. In school, have you learned about Korea?
   a. Yes  b. No

38. If you answered "Yes" to question #37, which subject(s) have you learned about Korea in?
   a. language art  b. social science  c. science  d. history
   e. others: (Write in)
   Any comments? (Write in)

39. Which racial background do your best friends have? (You may circle more than one.)
   a. Korean  b. Other Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, ...)
   c. White-American  d. Afro-American  e. Hispanic-American
   f. Others: (Write in)

40. If you can speak Korean, with whom do you speak Korean most frequently? (You may choose more than one answer.)
   a. parents  b. siblings  c. grandparents  d. Korean friends
   e. other: (Write in)

41. Which language do you consider to be most important to you?
   a. Korean  b. English

42. Why did you determine which language was most important to you in question #41?
   (You may choose more than one answer.)
   a. because it is the first language I learned to speak.
   b. because it is the language I use most frequently.
   c. because it is the language that I speak and understand best.
   d. because it is the language that best represents my heritage.
   e. because it is the language spoken by my parents.
   f. other reasons: (Write in)

43. Do you go to Weekend Korean Language School?
   a. Yes  b. No  c. I used to go.
44. If you answered "Yes" to question #43, why? (You may choose more than one answer.)
   a. because my parents want me to go.
   b. because I want to learn Korean.
   c. because I want to communicate better with my parents.
   d. because I am a Korean.
   e. because I can meet and play with my Korean friends.
   f. because I want to prepare for SAT.
   g. other reasons: (Write in) ________________________________

________________________________________________________

45. If you answered "Yes" to question #43, how long have you been attending? __________________

46. If you answered "No" to the question #43, why? (You may choose more than one answer.)
   a. because I have never heard about that.
   b. because I am busy enough with school works.
   c. because I don't want to learn Korean.
   d. because I don't have transportation to go there.
   e. other reasons: (Write in) ________________________________

________________________________________________________

47. If you answered "I used to go" to question #43, when did you attend? __________________

48. If you answered "I used to go" to question #43, how long did you attend? __________________

49. Please give me any suggestions for you to be a better bilingual in Korean and English.

________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________

Thank you so much!
APPENDIX B:

PARENT INTERVIEW SHEET
Parent Interview Sheet

1. What grade is your child in? ____________________________

2. What gender is she/he?  Girl  Boy

3. Was your child born in the United States? Yes No

4. If "No" to #3, when did he/she come to the United States? ____________________________

5. What language do you speak to your child?  Korean  English  Both

6. Could your child speak Korean when he/she was young? Yes No

7. Did you send your child to the preschool to have him/her learn English? Yes No

8. How did you have your child prepare for the schooling? ____________________________

9. Have you ever taught Korean alphabets before English ones? Yes No

10. Have you ever asked/forced your child to use specific language at home? Yes No

11. If "Yes" to #8, which language would it be and why? ____________________________

12. When do you think your child started using more English? ____________________________
13. What subject(s) does your child like most?  

14. Why do you think she/he likes that subject?  

15. What do you think about your child's Korean proficiency?  

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16. What do you think about your child's English proficiency?  

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17. Have you ever been advised from school teacher(s) that your child's English should be improved?  

Yes  
No  

18. If "Yes", what did you do to do so?  

19. Have you ever felt that you have difficulty to communicate with your child because of language problem?  

Yes  
No  

20. How long have you stayed in the United States?  

21. Why did you come to the United States?
22. Are you happy to live in the United States? Yes No

23. What is the most bothersome problem in living in the United States?

24. How many family members do you have? ______________________

25. Do you send your child to the Weekend Korean Language School? Yes No

26. If "Yes" to #25, why?

27. If "No" to #25, why?

28. Is your child called by an American name? Yes No

29. How often do you go to your child's school because of his/her educational matters?

30. What do you think is the most important concern of your child?

31. What is your most important concern to your child?

32. What do you want your child to be?

33. Are you satisfied with your child's academic performance? Yes No

34. Are you satisfied with your child's Korean language performance? Yes No
35. Are you satisfied with your child's English performance?  Yes  No

36. Why do you think your child is losing Korean?

Thank you!
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