INTERSECTIONS OF HOME AND SCHOOL: AN ANALYSIS OF DIRECTIVE
INTERACTIONS OF KOREAN AMERICAN CHILDREN AT HOME AND IN
PRESCHOOL

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Dissertation Director:

Dr. Nydia Flores

This study investigated the use of directives by three bilingual Korean American

children and their families in central New Jersey in the contexts of home and school.

Directives are a crucial part of language socialization in the home (Bhimji, 2002; Blum-

Kulka, 1997; Kent, 2012) and they are a critical part of the teacher's repertoire in the

classroom since directives aid teachers in the daily task of instructing the learning

processes of students (Waring & Hruska, 2012). While directives play an important role

in the language socialization practices of children in the home and school, there is little

research on how directives are used by bilingual children in both settings of home and

school. The study addressed this gap in research by examining the directive repertoires of

three bilingual Korean American children and their families in their homes and by

analyzing how the children's directive repertoires intersected with the use of directives in

their preschool classroom.

The study consisted of an eight-month ethnography of three Korean American

children and their families. The participants included three Korean American children,

their parents, siblings, and teachers in their preschool class. The children were recruited from a preschool class in which the researcher had previously volunteered. The data was collected through field observations in the three homes and preschool class, interviews of children, parents, and teachers, and a collection of material artifacts in order to capture the use of directives of participants. All observations were audio-and video-recorded.

The study contributed to an increased understanding of the bilingualism and biculturalism of Korean American children with a focus on their use of directives. It also shed light on the educational experiences and challenges of bilingual Korean American children in a monolingual preschool class. The study has implications for families and teachers of young bilingual children and learners of English in preschool.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was made possible through the guidance and generosity of my committee. It has been a great privilege and blessing to work with a committee of scholars who have been my guides and mentors in this journey. I want to thank my chair and advisor, Nydia Flores, for her generous support and wise counsel throughout the process. I am thankful for Ariana Mangual Figueroa, Cheryl McLean, and Betsy Rymes for their insights and generosity. Words cannot explain how indebted I am to these scholars for their guidance, wisdom, and kindness.

I am thankful for my friends, who have been my sounding board, prayer support, and counselors throughout this process: Jee SMN, Ruby, Ann SMN, Diana, Deborah, Hanna, Hyunhee, Jaeyoung, Ohmyo, Sylvia, and Sujung. I want to thank my parents, for their boundless love and patience, and my brother for his support. Umma, Abba, and Eric—thank you for everything. I love you.

My children, Leo and Jordan, have been my inspiration and joy. They have given me a light and purpose for these long nights. My husband, Sean, has been full of love and patience, and I could not have done anything without his support and love. I thank my God, who has given me inspiration and purpose for every page in this dissertation and for every day of my life.

Finally, I extend a thankful heart to the families that participated in this study. Your resilience and hopes to raise bilingual children in this country have been an inspiration and joy to experience. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction

Getting another person to do something is usually a complex task. There are many factors involved, such as thinking of the best time to ask that person, the tone of voice one may use, how to introduce the request, how to respond if the person refuses on the first try, how to move ones hands and what facial expressions to use. In language research, the act of getting another person to act upon a request is performed through the use of directives. Directives are "attempts of varying degrees by the speaker to get the hearer to do something with the propositional content that the hearer does some future action" (Searle, 1976, p.11). In Searle's definition, people use directives to get other people to perform a requested action in the future. Ervin-Tripp (1976) further defined the different categories of directives to include need/want statements, imperatives, embedded directives, permissives, questions, and hints. Conversation and discourse analysts (Schegloff, 1984; Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Goodwin, 1990) have expanded on Searle's initial definition of directives by adding that a directive is not only one utterance but a sequence of interactions between two or more people. This study was informed by the expanded definition of directives as a sequence of interactions between two or more people.

Giving and receiving directives is a complex task that requires knowledge of what is appropriate to say and to whom, in what manner, where, and when. Directives are often issued in indirect ways because they may threaten a hearer's sense of 'face', which as Goffman (1967) theorized, is not located within the person's body but diffusely in the interactions between people. According to Goffman, all people desire to be approved and unimpeded in one's actions. Thus, social interactions involve defending and protecting each other's faces.

Directives may threaten the face of the hearer and the speaker because the speaker may ask the hearer to do something that contradicts her desire to be approved or her actions. The speaker is also threatened because the hearer may reject the directive, and in so doing reject the speaker's desire to be approved. For example, a teacher's command to a student to stop speaking with another student may conflict with the student's desires to continue conversing. The student may not approve the teacher's desires if the student does not comply and thus, the teacher may lose face. As a result, giving and receiving directives are often highly complex routines that involve multiple sociolinguistic verbal and gestural cues.

Thus, directives have been a fertile topic for language researchers. For researchers of language socialization, using directives has been a rich topic of study since children need to be taught appropriate ways in which to issue and respond to directives. Furthermore, children are introduced to beliefs and patterns that guide cultural rules for appropriately using directives in the family and community. This study analyzed the directive use of three Korean American children and their families to examine the language patterns and practices of these families. It also examined the directive use of the three Korean American children in their preschool class with their teachers and with each other to examine language patterns and practices in the preschool class.

Statement of the Problem

Research has shown that directives are a critical part of the teacher's repertoire in the classroom since directives aid teachers in the daily task of instructing the learning processes of students (Waring & Hruska, 2012). In classrooms with multiple languages and repertoires, however, there may be multiple and often competing ways of

appropriately using and responding to directives. For children who speak one language at home and another in the classroom, understanding the teacher's directives and appropriately responding to or issuing directives may be a complex and difficult task.

While there has been research on the use of directives at home or in school, there is a gap in the research on directives used by children as they travel through different contexts in the home and school. Furthermore, there is a gap in research on the way bilingual Korean Americans are socialized to use directives in the home and school. To address this gap in research, this study examined the following research questions:

(1)   How do participants issue and respond to directives? What kinds of utterances, gestures, and forms of eye contact emerge when participants issue, or respond to directives?

(2)   How are directives used to socialize participants into appropriate ways of behaving, thinking, and interacting?

(3)   How do the multiple directive interactions of the children, parents, and teachers develop, converge and intersect in the multiple and interrelated contexts of home, community, and school?

(4)   What language preferences and practices exist in the participants' different contexts, and what do these language practices and patterns reveal about the larger social contexts and balances of power in the lives of the participants?

In the following section, I introduce the larger historical context of the three families in this study and the three families in particular.

A Description of Korean Americans and Korean Immigration Patterns to the U.S.

The three families who participated in this study were Korean Americans. These Korean American families were part of a longer history of Korean immigration to the United States. In the historical context of Korean immigration, there were three waves of immigration from Korea to the U.S. (Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1998). The first wave occurred in 1903 with approximately 8,000 Korean immigrants but was abruptly halted in 1905 when the Japanese government stopped issuing passports to decrease competition between Japanese and Korean workers in the U.S., and to cut off any Korean independence activities in the U.S. since Japan had colonized Korea at the time (Takaki, 1998).

The second wave of immigration followed the McCarran-Walker Act in 1952, an act that lifted the ban against immigration of Asians while continuing a discriminatory quota based on origin of nation (Kim, 2004). During this second wave between 1951 and 1964, approximately 14,000 Korean immigrants arrived in the U.S. consisting mainly of war brides who married American soldiers and Korean orphans adopted into American families (Kim, 2004).

The third wave of Korean immigration followed the Immigration Act of 1965, a policy that abolished an earlier quota system of national origin and set new policies for reuniting immigrant families and bringing in new labor to the U.S. (Chan, 1991). Unlike first-wave Koreans who expected to return to Korea once the country was freed from Japan's colonizing rule, these third-wave Koreans came with their families as settlers in the U.S. At the same time of the large migration in the third wave, South Korea was

experiencing rapid economic modernization and hyper-urbanization, which led to fierce job competition and fewer economic opportunities in Korea (Takaki, 1998).

During the third wave of immigration, Korean immigrants came from diverse backgrounds ranging from college-educated middle class professions to working class professions (Takaki, 1998). Due to the language barriers and limited employment prospects in the U.S., most Korean immigrants took on jobs as auto mechanics, welders, greengrocers, wig shop owners, laundromat owners, and barbershops, even though some were formerly white-collar workers as medical, academic, and technical professionals and 70 percent of the second-wave immigrants had arrived with college degrees (Chan, 1991). As owners of small shops and businesses, many Korean immigrants worked long hours. A typical day for a Korean greengrocer, for example, began at dawn and ended at 9PM (Takaki, 1998). Many Korean immigrants reported that they worked hard for the success of their children (Chan, 1991). For instance, one immigrant who was once a teacher in Korea and became a janitor in the U.S. wrote, "I have become an old stranger who wants to raise a young tree in this wealthy land" (Takaki, 1998). This teacher, along with thousands of Korean immigrants became strangers in a foreign land with hopes for their children to receive the economic, academic, and social benefits they forfeited in their native country.

In the context of this larger history of Korean immigration, the three focal children in this study are all grandchildren of third-wave Korean immigrants who came to the U.S. after the Immigration Act of 1965. I describe the three generations of immigrants that are pertinent to this study in the graph below.

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First Generation
- First generation immigrants to the U.S.
- Third wave immigrants to U.S. after 1965
- Grandparents of three focal children in the study

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Second Generation
- Children of third wave immigrants
- Parents of three focal children in the study

↓

Third Generation
- Three focal children in the study
- All born in the U.S.

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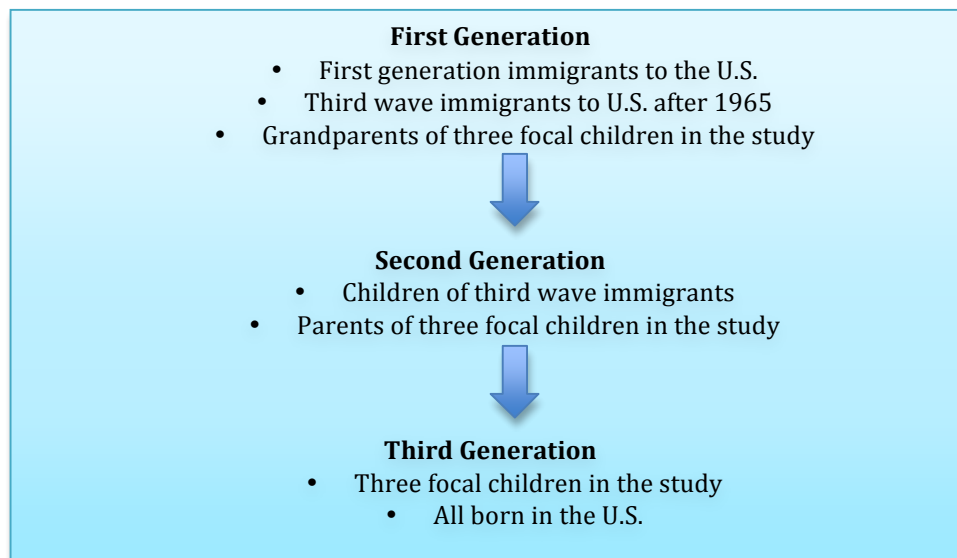
Graph 1. The Historical Context of Immigration for Three Families

In the graph above, the third wave immigrants who came to the U.S. after 1965 were the grandparents of the three focal children in this study. After arriving to the U.S., these third wave immigrants worked in Korean-owned farmer's markets and laundromats. Although they came from various backgrounds and socio-economic statuses, they all took jobs in Korean laundromats as launders, in Korean churches as Korean pastors, or in Korean grocery stores as grocers. In the graph above, the first generation's children make up the second generation of immigrants. The parents of the three focal children in this study are in the second generation. These second generation immigrants have various backgrounds and they were either born in the U.S. or they immigrated to the U.S. between the ages of six and 18 with their parents. All of the second-generation immigrants, the parents of the children in this study, attended American universities, and the fathers' jobs ranged from pastor to pharmaceutical

engineer to computer technician. All of the mothers attended American universities as well but did not work and stayed at home with their children. Finally, the third generation in this study is made up of the three focal children in this study and their siblings. They are the children of the second generation and the grandchildren of the first generation immigrants who came to the U.S. after the Immigration Act of 1965. All of the three focal children were born in the U.S.

Before the Immigration Act of 1965, there were approximately 10,000 Koreans living in the U.S. In 1985, that number rose to half a million (Chan, 1991). Although the number of Korean immigrants continued to rise, the number steadily decreased since 1987 due to the improved economy and political milieu of Korea (Shin, 2005). Even so, there are over 1.4 million Koreans in the U.S. today with over 50% of the Korean American population in California, New York, New Jersey, Texas, and Virgina (Census, 2010). New Jersey has the third highest population of Korean Americans. The following graph created by the East-West Research Center displays the approximate number of Korean Americans residing in each state according to the U.S. Census of 2010.

KOREAN AMERICAN POPULATION BY STATE, 2010
미국 주 별 한국계 미국인 인구, 2010

WASHINGTON 80,049
MONTANA 1,369
NORTH DAKOTA 933
MINNESOTA 20,995
VERMONT 1,271
NEW HAMPSHIRE 3,021
MAINE 1,741
OREGON 20,395
IDAHO 2,806
SOUTH DAKOTA 1,179
WISCONSIN 10,949
NEW YORK 153,609
WYOMING 803
MICHIGAN 30,292
RHODE ISLAND 2,658
NEBRASKA 3,815
IOWA 7,375
PENNSYLVANIA 47,429
MASSACHUSETTS 28,904
NEVADA 18,518
UTAH 7,888
COLORADO 28,177
ILLINOIS 70,263
INDIANA 13,685
OHIO 21,207
WEST VIRGINIA 1,571
CONNECTICUT 11,760
NEW JERSEY 100,334
DELAWARE 3,099
CALIFORNIA 505,225
KANSAS 4,178
MISSOURI 12,689
KENTUCKY 7,264
VIRGINIA 82,006
MARYLAND 55,051
DISTRICT of COLUMBIA 2,990
ARIZONA 21,125
NEW MEXICO 3,760
OKLAHOMA 9,072
ARKANSAS 3,247
ALABAMA 10,624
GEORGIA 60,836
N CAROLINA 25,420
S CAROLINA 7,162
TEXAS 85,332
MISSISSIPPI 2,301
LOUISIANA 4,752
FLORIDA 25,747
ALASKA 6,542
HAWAI'I 48,699

less than 25,000
25,000 - 50,000
50,000 - 75,000
75,000 - 100,000
100,000 or more

Sources: US Census Bureau; US Department of Homeland Security

EAST-WEST CENTER
COLLABORATION · EXPERTISE · LEADERSHIP

Graph 2. Korean American Population by State.[1]

According to the map, the state with the highest Korean American population is California (505,225) followed by New York (153,609), New Jersey (100,334), Texas (85,332) and Virginia (82,006). I added the red oval to mark New Jersey, which is where this study takes place. The high number of Korean Americans in New Jersey is demonstrated by the fact that the Korean language is the fifth most spoken language in New Jersey (Census, 2010). All of the three families in the study had lived in New Jersey for more than five years. They regularly shopped in Korean grocery stores and ate in Korean restaurants in New Jersey. The families were involved in Korean communities, such as Korean churches and Korean language schools.

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[1] Retrieved March 17, 2016, from *Asia Matters from America* by East-West Center in http://www.asiamattersforamerica.org/southkorea/data/koreanamericanpopulation

Korean Americans and Languages

Korean Americans have a complex history with the Korean and English languages spoken in the U.S. During the first wave of immigration in 1905, Korean immigrants viewed learning English as an economic and social advantage that earned them acceptance in the country and access to business opportunities (Takaki, 1998). The Korean newspaper, *Kongnip Sinmun*, stated in 1910 that, "the reason why many Americans love Koreans and help us, while they hate Japanese more than ever is that we Koreans gave up old baseness, thought and behavior, and became more westernized" (Takaki, 1998). Learning English was one way that Korean immigrants became more westernized to gain acceptance in America. By learning English, Korean immigrants also asserted their identity against other Asian American immigrant groups such as the Japanese or Chinese Americans.

Third-wave immigrants who arrived after the Immigration Act of 1965 faced struggles with the English language that were similar to the first-wave Korean immigrants. Many Korean immigrants struggled with English. This English language barrier was one large reason for why many Korean immigrants could not continue their previously held white-collar occupations in Korea, but were forced to settle for small self-run businesses such as laundromats or barbershops (Takaki, 1998). For this reason, the grandparents of the three focal children in this study worked in Korean-owned laundromats, grocery stores, and churches where they were able to continue their work in Korean.

For Korean immigrants from all three waves of immigration and for the three

families in this study, the English language was tied to power. As Bourdieu (1977) explained in his theory of linguistic legitimacy that language is intimately connected to power. A standard or normalized language is one that serves official uses and is tied to social, economic, and political capital. In the history of Korean immigration, the English language functioned as the standard and normalized language through which immigrants might obtain economic and social access to American society. Bourdieu (1977) continued to theorize that speakers who lacked the legitimate language were excluded from domains of power that required this competence. For Korean immigrants who struggled with the English language, they were excluded from domains of power in business, workplaces, and social centers that required knowledge of the English language. English was seen as a prerequisite for immigrants to receive acceptance and integration into the American society, a reality commonly experienced by immigrant groups in the U.S. (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996).

While learning English was viewed as a social and economic advantage, maintaining the Korean language also provided economic, social, emotional, and cultural advantages to Korean families. Korean families sought to continue speaking Korean at home and in Korean institutions, such as Korean churches or Korean cultural groups (Shin, 2005). For Korean families living in the U.S. during the Japanese occupation of Korea, it was critical to maintain Korean ways of life and speaking so that they could return to Korea once it was freed from Japanese rule (Takaki, 1998). Maintaining the Korean language, for these first-wave immigrants, had a patriotic and nationalistic purpose.

For second-wave and third-wave immigrants, maintaining the Korean language

had social, cultural, and economic benefits. Speaking Korean was tied to social cohesiveness of Korean communities. Business associations were created for Korean business owners; Korean churches provided services in the Korean language; Korean language radio stations, newspapers, magazines, and websites were made accessible to Korean Americans; and ethnic communities and enclaves such as Koreatowns also known as 'K-towns' prospered in California, New Jersey, and New York (Takaki, 1998; Shin, 2005). For instance, the three families in this study participated in Korean churches on a weekly basis, where sermons were preached in Korean and English. The parents of the families regularly browsed Korean websites and showed Korean television programs to their children. The three families also frequented bookstores, grocery shops, and markets in a Koreatown in northern New Jersey.

Researchers have documented efforts of Korean parents and Korean communities in teaching the Korean language to children of immigrants through heritage language schools, family language policies, and Korean communities (Cho, 2000; Cho & Krashen, 2000; Jo, 2001; Lee, J.S., 2000; Park & Sarkar, 2007). In the current U.S. educational public school system, Korean American children have limited opportunities to learn Korean, which places the responsibility of teaching the Korean language often on family members and communities (Tse, 2001). According to Lee and Shin (2008), there are approximately 1,200 Korean heritage language schools in the U.S. with an enrollment of approximately 60,000 students. The parents of two children in this study planned on enrolling their children in Korean language schools as well. While there is a documented effort of Korean parents and communities to maintain Korean, Kim (1981) reported that Korean parents also emphasize learning English as necessary to the educational success

of their children.

Introduction to the Families

In the next section, I will introduce the participants of the study. Before proceeding, I would like to preface my introduction with an explanation of what is meant by the term, 'Korean American'. There is a wide range of what is meant by Korean American and the label itself includes a complex history since members of the Korean community in the United States hold different views and evolving ideas about who may be considered a Korean American. Within the Korean community in the U.S., further divisions exist regarding when a person had immigrated, if he/she plans to return, how that person's identity is indexed by language, behavior, clothing, relationships, etc. As Kang and Lo (2004) discovered, members of the Korean community use labels such as "1.5 generation", "second generation", "Americanized," "whitewashed," Korean Korean," "American Korean," "Koreanized," "Westernized," "Korean-washed," and "fob". Moreover, speakers use these labels in different ways dependent on the interaction and context of the interaction.

Thus, for us to understand how members of the Korean community in the U.S. view themselves and others around them, it is necessary to analyze the ways in which their discourse indexes their identities. As Duranti (1997) proposes, words carry an indexical power that can describe, evaluate, and reproduce the world around us. To capture the multiple ways in which participants use words to identify themselves and others around them, I adopted a discourse analytic approach (Kang & Lo, 2004) to

understanding the term, Korean American, and to be sensitive to ways in which participants use words to index, describe, evaluate, and reproduce identities during observations, recordings, and interviews.

I will now introduce the three families who participated in this study. I will use a genealogical diagram to show the family member's names, kinship relationships, migratory status, and place of birth. I also describe the family's living arrangements, family language policies and practices, and concerns related to the children's language maintenance of Korean. These characteristics were chosen because parents mentioned these family traits during interviews of parents.

In the kinship diagrams[2], a triangle represents a female relative; a circle, a male relative; two horizontal lines represent a marriage bond; a single vertical line indicates a descent bond between parents and child; and a single, solid horizontal line stands for a co-descent bond for siblings.

Bomi Kim
Born in South Korea
Immigrated to U.S.
at age 9

Bumjoo Kim
Born in South Korea
Immigrated to U.S.
at age 6

Ariel Kim
Born in the U.S.
Age 1.7 at time of
study

Karis Kim
Born in the U.S.
Age 4.7 at time
of study

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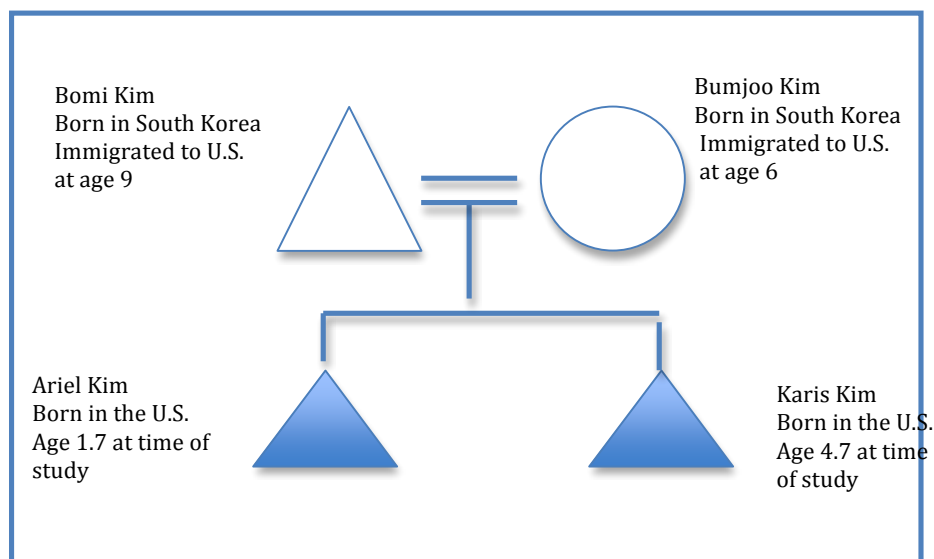
[2] Kinship diagram conventions from O'Neil (2008) in Descent Principles, Part I of *An Introduction to Descent Systems and Family Organization.*

Graph 3. The Kim Family

Bomi Kim and Bumjoo Kim were both children of third-wave Korean immigrants who came to the country seeking better opportunities for work and employment. Bumjoo's parents began a laundromat business in the U.S., where he used to help his parents on the weekends. Bomi's father was a pastor and her family had immigrated to the U.S. to seek employment in a Korean church in the U.S. Bomi and Bumjoo both immigrated to the U.S. at a young age, and they attended public schools and American universities. They can speak and write in the Korean and English languages. Bumjoo became an assistant pastor at a Korean American church and Bomi supported him with administrative tasks as a church administrative secretary.

Bomi and Bumjoo and their daughters, Ariel and Karis, lived in a two-bedroom apartment in New Jersey located approximately 20 minutes from their church. The four family members shared one bedroom and slept in one room. The other bedroom was used as a playroom for the two daughters and was filled with books, toys, and chests full of the girls' clothing. The family spent most of their time in the living room, which had a sofa and television set, and the dining room, which was connected to the kitchen. The field observations took place in the playroom, living room, and the dining room.

Both parents spoke in both Korean and English at home with the children. The two girls also spoke both languages at home with each other and with their parents. Parents expressed a desire to raise their children as bilingual speakers and deliberately spoke in both languages with their children. The girls had books in both Korean and English and they played games on their mother's iPad in Korean and English. They also

watched television shows that were streamed from YouTube and other websites in both languages. The girls met their grandparents at least a few times a month, and spoke mostly in Korean with their grandparents, who were more comfortable speaking in Korean. The family attended a Korean American church, where sermons and worship songs were sung in English but meals and conversations after Sunday service took place in both Korean and English.

The Chung Family
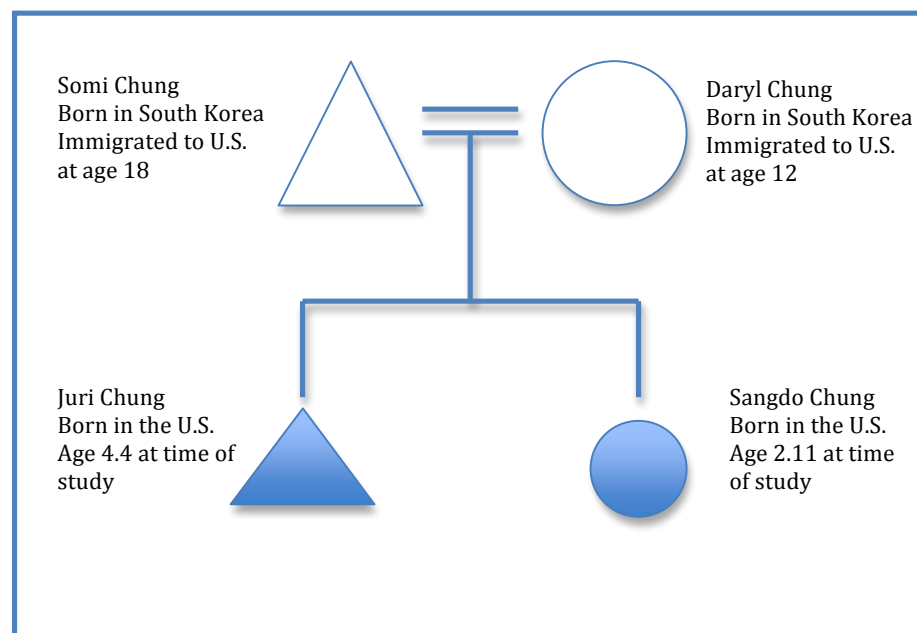
Graph 4. The Chung Family

Somi Chung and Daryl Chung were both children of third-wave Korean immigrants who came to the U.S. for better economic opportunities. Somi's parents owned a small dry cleaning business in Pennsylvania, where she and her younger sister and younger brother worked on the weekends and during school and university vacations. Daryl's parents also
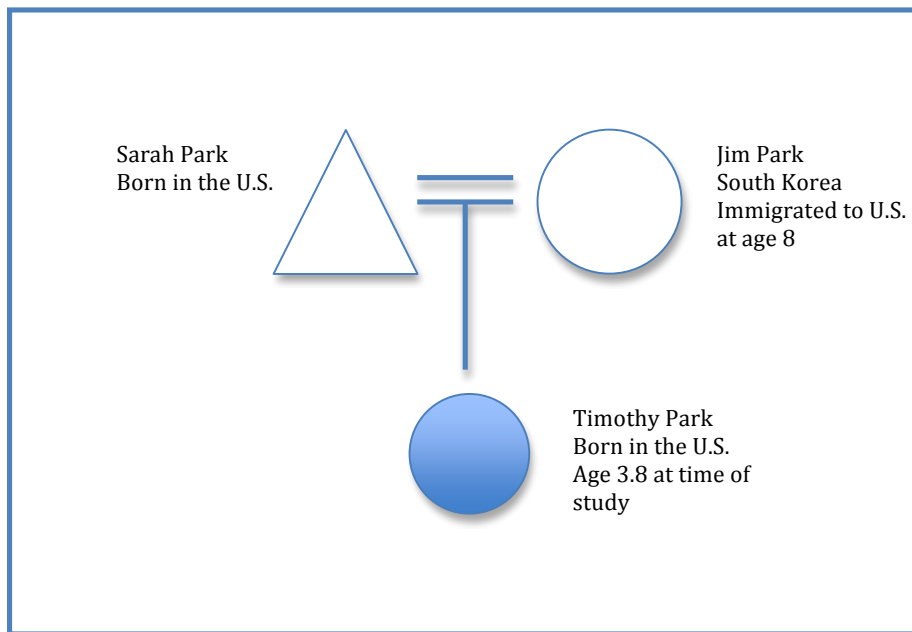
owned a dry cleaning business in Pennsylvania, where he and his younger sister worked after school days and during the weekends. Somi immigrated to the U.S. at age 18 and attended an art university in Philadelphia. She became a graphic designer but stopped working after having children. Somi started a small start-up business making children's blankets and clothing from home. Daryl immigrated to the U.S. at age 12 and attended American public high school and a university in Pennsylvania. Daryl became a pharmaceutical engineer.

Daryl, Somi, Juri, and Sangdo lived in a three-bedroom apartment in New Jersey. Daryl and Somi shared the master bedroom while Juri and Sangdo also shared a bedroom. The third bedroom was used as an office space when Daryl or Somi needed to work. Juri and Sangdo's bedroom was large enough to fit their bunk bed and shelves of toys and books. The family spent most of their time in the main space, which consisted of the dining room and living room. The living room had a long L-shaped couch and television set. Most of the field observations took place in this living room, the dining room, and the children's bedroom.

Daryl and Somi both spoke and wrote in Korean and English. Daryl was strict about speaking Korean at home and spoke mostly in Korean, while Somi spoke a mix of Korean and English. Both parents expressed a strong interest in raising their children as bilinguals. To achieve this goal, parents spoke to the children in Korean on a daily basis, bought Korean and English books, posters, toys, and television programs, and visited South Korea at least once every two years. Parents spoke to each other in Korean, while children spoke to each other and to their parents in both English and Korean. The children met their grandparents in Pennsylvania a few times a month and spoke in Korean

with grandparents. The family was a part of a Korean American church where sermons were preached in Korean and most conversations and meals after Sunday service were in Korean.

The Park Family

Sarah Park
Born in the U.S.

Jim Park
South Korea
Immigrated to U.S.
at age 8

Timothy Park
Born in the U.S.
Age 3.8 at time of
study

Graph 5. The Park Family

Sarah Park and Jim Park were both children of third-wave Korean immigrants who sought better economic opportunities in the U.S. Sarah's parents worked at a farmer's market upon arrival in the U.S. and eventually opened a dry cleaning business. Sarah's father also entered seminary school and became a pastor in the U.S. as the family continued the dry cleaning business. Sarah worked with her younger sister and younger brother at the dry cleaners during weekends and school vacations. Jim's parents also owned a dry cleaning business, at which he and his older sister worked during weekends and school vacations. Sarah was born in the U.S., attended public schools and an

American university. Sarah became an elementary school teacher but stopped working after having her son, Timothy. Jim immigrated to the U.S. at the age of eight and attended American public schools and a public state university in New Jersey. Ji became a computer technician who helped businesses set up and establish fiber optic towers.

Jim, Sarah, and Timothy lived in a two-bedroom apartment in New Jersey. Jim and Sarah shared the master bedroom while Timothy lived in the smaller second bedroom. Their two bedrooms were connected by a shared family space that consisted of the living room and dining room. The living room had a small sofa, a television set, and a shelf of Timothy's toys and books. The field observations took place in the living room and dining room.

Jim and Sarah speak to each other in both Korean and English, and they speak to Timothy in both Korean and English as well. Timothy speaks mostly in English to his parents. Timothy's pediatrician had advised Sarah to choose one language when speaking with Timothy to prevent language delay. Sarah chose to speak to Timothy in English during his infancy to prevent academic delay when he entered Kindergarten. As he became a toddler and established a linguistic foundation in English, both Sarah and Jim began to speak in both Korean and English at home. Both parents expressed desire for Timothy to learn both languages. Timothy visited grandparents from his father's side in New Jersey and from his mother's side in Pennsylvania a few times a month. Grandparents from both sides expressed dismay and frustration at not being able to communicate with their grandson, and have placed pressure on the parents to teach Timothy Korean. Sarah planned to send Timothy to a Korean language school or ask her in-laws, former Korean teachers, to help teach Timothy Korean.

An Introduction to the Teachers

There were three teachers who participated in this study. All of the three teachers taught in the children's preschool class. In the following chart, I discuss the teachers' language competencies, nation of origin, and role in the classroom.

	Miss Mary	Miss Euri	Miss Denise
Language Competencies	English	Korean and English	Korean and English
Nation of origin	U.S.	South Korea	South Korea
Role in Classroom	Head teacher	Assistant teacher in training	Assistant teacher in training

Graph 6. The Teachers

Miss Mary was the head teacher of the preschool class. She was fluent only in English and was born in the U.S. She was a White female who had been teaching for over 20 years. As the head teacher, Miss Mary supervised all of the intern teachers and the students in the class. She established the pacing and timing of the curriculum and she lead most of the circle times that I observed in this study. Miss Mary lead the musical worship time during circle time and also demonstrated and modeled any new lessons for the class during circle time.

Miss Euri was an assistant teacher to Miss Mary. Miss Euri was fluent in Korean and English, and she mentioned to me that she felt more comfortable speaking in Korean. She had been born in South Korea and she planned on returning to South Korea some day in the next few years. Miss Euri's role was as an assistant to the teacher, and she was also an intern training under Miss Mary to become a Montessori certified teacher. Miss Euri did not lead circle time. Miss Euri often walked around the room during work time and assisted children who needed help, and assisted during nap time.

Miss Denise was the second assistant teacher. She was fluent in Korean and English but felt more comfortable speaking and writing in Korean. Miss Denise was born in South Korea and had immigrated to the U.S. for job employment and the certification process of Montessori teachers. Miss Denise was an assistant to the head teacher and assisted the teacher during circle time or work time. Miss Denise was an intern under Miss Mary and she hoped to receive her Montessori certification after the training.

A Description of the Study

The present study investigated the locally situated and emergent language practices of the three bilingual children and their families by tracing their use of directives. It investigated the interactions that families engage in as they issue, respond to, reject, and reissue directives. The study considered the multimodal resources from the languages, songs, gestures, forms of eye contact, and visual cues, which the participants employed to use directives. The study also examined the use of directives by the bilingual children and their teachers in the classroom. Finally, the present study analyzed the larger cultural practices of language socialization in the homes and school through the micro-interactions of using directives. I explored the cultural expectations and beliefs that were

reflected in the everyday routine of using directives. Data were collected through an eight-month ethnography that consisted of field observations, interviews of children and adults in the study, collection of artifacts, and audio-video-recordings.

While this study examined the daily lives of the three Korean American children and their families, this study also addressed the larger questions of language patterns in Korean American families by examining the three family's language policies and practices in their efforts to raise bilingual children in the U.S. Fishman (1972) argued that once the first generation of immigrants set foot in the U.S., it would take three generations for language loss to occur. The children in this study were all third generation Korean Americans. Yet, all three families developed communicative repertoires that drew from Korean, English, and hybrid forms of Korean and English. As such, this study may shed light on the language practices of immigrant groups that have been growing in number and duration in the U.S. Moreover, this study's findings may draw implications for Korean Americans and other immigrant groups in pointing to the three families' strategies for language maintenance and their development of hybrid language practices through directive interactions.

At the same time, it is important to note the implications of power and language in the three children's lives. Even though the family's homes were a central part of the children's lives, they were also part of a preschool class that had different language policies and practices. As Blommaert (2005) explained, each person is involved in centering institutions at all levels of social life, from the family to the state and even further out to transnational communities. Thus, any individual's social environment is polycentric and involves a range of criss-crossing centers. Not only are the multiple

centers polycentric, they are also stratified because every center has a different range and value. Within these polycentric and stratified centers, individuals possess multiple ways of speaking that are ranked in different levels of legitimacy in the multiple linguistic fields they inhabit. Thus, individuals need to acquire different ways of speaking to have a legitimate voice in different fields.

This research traced the three children's interactions and activities across multiple spaces in the home and school, and examined how broader social and political forces shaped the daily practices of the participants in their local homes and school. It analyzed how the larger questions of immigration, language maintenance, and language policy shaped the local practices of the family members in the home and the teachers and students in the classroom. The study analyzed which linguistic repertoires were deemed legitimate in the multiple contexts of the participant and which linguistic repertoires are connected to what types of capital. My research examined these questions of the larger trajectories of immigration and language policy by focusing on the everyday use of directives. It traced the ways in which relations of power shaped who had voice and who did not, and how this power balance influenced the way directives are understood, received, and carried out.

Chapter 1 reviews the literature on directives used in the home and school. The literature review is followed by Chapter 2, a discussion of the theoretical framework of language socialization, which guided the study. The literature review concludes with ways in which the study was informed by past research and ways in which it expanded on the literature. In Chapter 3, I include a discussion of the methodology that was used to conduct the study. The discussion of the methodology includes a description of a case

study, description of the study site, selection and recruitment of participants, methods of

data collection, and data analysis. Chapter 4 presents the results of directive interactions

found in the home and the larger issue of language maintenance and the family language

policies and practices that are instituted in the home. Chapter 5 presents the results of

directive interactions found in the children's preschool with a discussion of the

intersections found between home and school. In Chapter 6, I present a summary of

findings. In Chapter 7, I discuss the relation to this study to present research on

directives, and share implications of the findings on directives, language policies, and

practices in the home and classroom for practitioners and researchers. In Chapter 8, I

conclude the study with the limitations in this study and directions for future research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

In this chapter, I present a review of literature that explores the empirical research on directives and bi- and multi-lingual children. The first section discusses key terms used in the study and defines directives. The second section reviews literature related to directives and families with young children. The third section reviews studies of directives and bi- and multi-lingual children with an emphasis on Korean American children. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the theoretical framework of Language Socialization, which guides the present study.

Defining Directives

In this section, a general definition of directives is introduced along with the major questions that have been raised in the research of directives. Directives are "attempts of varying degrees by the speaker to get the hearer to do something with the propositional content that the hearer does some future action" (Searle, 1976, p.11). In other words, directives are a speaker's attempt to get the hearer to perform a future action and they may take the form of an order, command, question, request, prayer, challenge, hint, invitation, or suggestion (Searle, 1976). For example, a speaker's attempt to get a hearer to close a window may be issued as a direct statement, "Close the window", a question, "Is it cold in here?" or a suggestion, "I suggest that someone close the window before starting class". Ervin-Tripp (1976) further defined the different categories of directives to include orders, requests, prohibitions, and other verbal moves that attempt to solicit goods or action of others. Conversation and discourse analysts (e.g., Schegloff, 1984; Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Goodwin, 1990) have expanded on Searle's initial definition of directives by adding that a directive is not only one utterance but a sequence of

interactions between two or more people. This study was informed by the expanded definition of directives as a sequence of interactions between two or more people.

Giving and receiving directives are known to be highly complex routines that employ mitigated, implicit, and indirect ways to decrease the threat that is posed to the face of the speaker and hearer (Searle, 1976). As such, using directives with children and socializing children into culturally appropriate ways of using directives is a complicated process that has been analyzed in several fields of research. Directives have been examined from several perspectives in diverse fields such as pragmatics, child development, psycholinguistics, and applied linguistics, among others (e.g., Bhimji, 2005; Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Kent, 2010; Searle, 1976).

The first concern that has occupied much of the research on directives is the question of directive categories. More specifically, what kinds of directives are used in certain situations? Theoretically, to organize directives into different categories, researchers have drawn from Searle's (1976) definition of directives as a Speech Act, an utterance that serves a performative function in communication, such as an apology, a greeting, or a promise. Research on directives as a speech act has expanded our understanding of directive types and frequencies but there are limitations that must be considered.

First, Searle's (1976) definition of directives limits the directive to a single utterance spoken by the hearer. A directive, however, may involve more than one turn if the speaker expands on the directive in subsequent turns. If, for instance, a parent initiated the directive by first asking, "What do you think about the blocks in your room?" and in the next turn added, "Do you think they should be cleaned up?" These two

questions are part of one directive sequence and the child needs to hear both questions to understand the directive.

Furthermore, the hearer may become a collaborative participant in constructing the directive. For example, if the speaker asks a question with the purpose of asking the hearer to shut the window, she might ask, "Is it cold in here?" to which the hearer may respond, "Would you like me to close the window?" By responding in this way, the hearer's question may become a collaborative part of the directive and thus, the sequential interaction is what constitutes the directive rather than a single utterance issued by a speaker. Following this reasoning, conversation and discourse analysts (e.g., Schegloff, 1984; Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Goodwin, 1990) have argued that a directive must be seen as a sequence of interactions. Furthermore, Kent (2012) posited that directives used in the home by family members needed to be examined as collaborative interactions between parents and children rather than as directives issued by parents *to* children.

There is a need for more research that defines directives as an interaction between interlocutors, rather than as a single utterance by a speaker. Therefore, the current research analyzed directives as an interaction between interlocutors and investigated the collaborative process of participants in creating directives.

Also, defining directives as a speech act limits cultural differences in the diverse ways directives are used and understood. For example, Fitch (1994) argued that directives defined by Searle (1976) involved cultural assumptions that were not examined when researchers from different cultural contexts adopted Searle's definition. Since Searle's Speech Acts (SA) were meant to be universal acts, they have not considered the local context, which shaped the words and their meanings. As the anthropologist Rosaldo

(1982) noted, Searle's theory only considered the 'what' and 'why' of words but not the 'where', 'how', and 'when' of the context. In other words, while Searle's theory of SA focused on the function and purpose of each speech act, the context of where, how, and when were overlooked. Therefore, this study investigated both the use of directives and the context in which directives were used to fully understand how the children and their families and teachers interact through their directive use.

Another approach to research on directives has been to focus on how directives are performed in interaction. Rather than analyzing directives with preset categories and types, this study's approach has drawn from Hymes' (1968) theory of linguistic performance to examine how directives are performed in their cultural context. Hymes (1968) had proposed that the actual language use of people needed to be studied rather than standardized notions of grammatical competence, as Chomsky (1959) had argued.

Hymes transcended Chomsky's notion of competence, homogeneous speech communities, and independence of socio-cultural features by proposing a social approach that accounted for heterogeneous speech communities, differential competences, sociocultural features, socioeconomic differences, social perceptions, contextual styles, and shared social norms. Hymes' social approach involved redefining competence generally as "the capabilities of a person" (p.64) and communicative competence as being dependent on both *knowledge* and *use*. In other words, a person was competent because he or she had knowledge of the language but *also* appropriate use of the language: "He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner" (p.60). Hymes examined

communicative competence to emphasize the social aspect of communication in language.

Following Hymes, language researchers (e.g., Bhimji, 2002; Blum-Kulka, 1997; Goodwin, 2006; He, 2000) have pursued a contextualized social trajectory in examining how directives are performed in actual interaction, and how this performance reflects the cultural context. Rather than defining directives as a single utterance, researchers have re-contextualized directives into the interaction and redefined them according to their cultural context and immediate performance in social interaction. This study followed this social trajectory and defined directives in social interaction while examining the cultural context and performance of directive interactions.

Directives and young children

A review of recent literature shows that one part of the studies on directives and young children focuses on the interactions in families. Among these recently published studies on directives and families, I found that several researchers have focused on mother's interactions with their children (e.g., Bernicot & Legros, 1987; Halle & Shatz, 1994; Schneiderman, 1983) while Brumark (2010) examined both parents' interactions with their children. There is a need for more research that investigates the directive interactions of both parents with children. To address this need, this study analyzed the directive interactions of the mothers and fathers of all three children who participated in this study.

Goodwin (2006) investigated interactional sequences where parents and children negotiated disputes resulting from directive sequences to explore the different forms of social organization that emerged in the families. Goodwin examined the various verbal

and embodied directive sequences in which the parents and children participated. Goodwin (2006) revealed that families used a constellation of features when performing directives, including embodiments of the directive, tying utterances to prior utterances, and affective stances. Embodiments of the directive included enacting the directive, such as a parent pretending to brush ones teeth when directing a child to brush his teeth, positioning the child to enact the directive, such as a mother positioning her son in front of a table while directing him to clean his plates, and facing the child while issuing the verbal directive. Affective stances shifted from serious to playful depending on the context. Goodwin also found that different directive sequences formed various forms of social organization in the family. For example, families in which children were successful at bargaining and only committing to part of the parent's directive led to escalations of authority through threats or a parent's surrender. On the other hand, when parents pursued their directives, children were accountable for their actions. The results of Goodwin's study contributed to my analysis of the embodied directives of family members in Chapter 4 and the embodied directives of teachers and students in Chapter 5. This study also guided me in examining how directive interactions were shaped by the social relationships between family members.

Aronsson and Cekaite (2011) examined directive sequences in Swedish families through a video ethnography of everyday routines. The researchers found that family members used directives to make contracts between parents and children. Contracts were made as a result of successive downgradings or upgradings of parental directives to children. Both parents and children drew from verbal and nonverbal resources to give directives and responses, such as parents' mitigated requests and children's nonverbal

escape strategies. This study was informed by the analysis of verbal and nonverbal resources that parents and children drew from when issuing and responding to directives.

Among the recently published studies on directives and young children, studies have examined the directive interactions of children with other children or other community members in addition to family members. In a study that examined the contexts of children, Seeley (1999) analyzed requests and directives used by eight and nine-year old children to explore how children's directive use was distinct from adults as interlocutors. Seeley's findings revealed that parents used explicit directives with children because the child's status in relation to the parent was one of submission, subject to parental regulation. Children, in turn, used different strategies when issuing directives to parents due to the difference of power between parents and children. Conversely, children used more explicit and top-down directives when engaged in fantasy and role-play with their pets and toys. When speaking with other children, children used directives in diverse ways dependent on the context, ranging from cooperative negotiations to competitive arguments. Seeley concluded that both adults and children used directives and requests in pursuit of personal and shared goals. Within the children's interactions, Seeley found that children maintained and negotiated their different statuses based on the interlocutor through choices from the linguistic resources the child found available. Seeley revealed, through an examination of directive use, that children enacted 'being a child' through multiple ways and negotiated their social identity through interaction with others. Seeley's findings guided my analysis of the way children in this study negotiated their social identity through directive interactions with siblings and parents at home in Chapter 4 and with teachers and classmates in school in Chapter 5.

Rosaldo (1982) conducted an ethnography of two years and nine months in the Philippines. Rosaldo analyzed the directive usage of Ilongots, a tribe who inhabited the southern regions of the Philippines. Rosaldo revealed that the Ilongots used directives in order to socialize children into appropriate hierarchical relationships with adults and appropriate performances of directives in the community. While Searle's (1976) category of directives as a speech act applied to the directive use of Ilongots, Rosaldo found that the rules were different. For example, overt and explicit directives were not construed as harsh or impolite. Rather, explicit directives were less about self-directed prerogatives and desires and more about the affirmation of relationships that were important in ongoing social life. The results of Rosaldo's study contributed to the examination of directive interactions in this study by sharpening the focus on hierarchical relationships between participants in the home and school.

Kryatsiz and Tarum (2010) examined the directive use of middle-class Turkish 4-year old girls to see how the girls socialized one another into appropriate affective display, directive use, and gender in free play conversations in their nursery school classroom. Kryatsiz and Tarum recruited seven girls in a children's preschool in a middle-class community in Istanbul, Turkey. The children were aged between four years and three months to four years and nine months old. Kryatsiz and Tarum (2010) reported that the girls used directives to invoke a group mentality among peer groups. For example, they explicitly discussed a rule that 'girls share everything' and used directives and tag questions to create egalitarian relationships. In one instance, when one girl, Deniz, was excluded from an interaction between two other girls who were whispering to one another, Deniz invoked the norm of egalitarian relationships by saying, 'girls share

everything, right? Girls don't do like that'. When the girls played with boys, they enacted

the role of mother in pretend play and formulated directives that included imperative

forms that were terse and aggravated. For instance, a girl commanded a boy to 'come

here' and 'be quick', pretending to be his mother. While Kryatsiz and Tarum (2010)

revealed ways in which Turkish girls established social relationships and hierarchies

through directive use, it did not include the use of directives by boys because the

researchers did not find variation in their use of directives. Kryatsiz and Tarum (2010)

contributed to my analysis of peer relationships that were shaped by directive interactions

in the children's preschool in Chapter 5, particularly with respect to how children claimed

ownership over space and objects through directive interactions.

Language socialization studies have highlighted mealtimes as important cultural

sites where family members socialize one another into forms of speaking and behaving.

Ochs and Shohet (2006) have identified mealtimes as vehicles for family members to

reinforce or modify the social and cultural order in their worlds. Through mealtimes,

family members socially construct knowledge and moral practices together. For example,

family members are socialized into the practice of sharing food and eating together,

which Ochs and Shohet (2006) call commensality. Furthermore, mealtimes are cultural

sites where family members are socialized into appropriate forms of communication. This

may include prayers, recounting narrative about the day, recounting events of the past,

showing deference to each other.

In one study on mealtimes, Blum-Kulka (1997) examined the dinnertimes of 34

Israeli and American families to explore how parents socialized children into cultural,

local, and family norms during dinnertime. Blum-Kulka reported that parents' directives

were relatively explicit and direct, compared to other contexts outside of the home. The directness, however, was accepted as polite within the home and, children were socialized into direct ways of issuing directives within the home. Blum-Kulka considered three aspects of family dinner discourse. First, she considered the negotiation of power relations between parents and children. Second, she considered the degree of formality of the event. Finally, she considered the interaction between the language of affect and language of control in the parent-child discourse. Furthermore, Blum-Kulka found that there were culturally specific Israeli and American styles of control that determined how parents used directives with children. Blum-Kulka's study informed the present study with regard to examining the way directives shaped social relations between family members during meal times.

Paugh and Izquierdo (2009) analyzed interactions about food and eating among dual-earner middle-class families in Los Angeles, California. In particular, the researchers examined dinnertime episodes from five families to explore how bargaining contributed to struggles between parents and children over health-related practices and values. The qualitative study employed diverse data collection methodologies, such as semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, video recordings of daily activities and meals of families, and tracking of family members' activities and uses of space. The study revealed that while parents had theories and goals for what children should be eating to be healthy, their goals were complicated by the their everyday practice of eating together with their families. During mealtimes, parents and children frequently argued over and negotiated on what kinds of food and what sized portions they would eat. These conflicts were built turn-by-turn in the dinner conversations as family members co-constructed and

evaluated one another's eating choices and preferences. Thus, this study found that a family's eating patterns and ideas about health were a result of everyday negotiations and conversations at the dinner table.

Paugh (2005) explored the ways in which children were socialized to understand and talk about work long before the children began working themselves through participation in everyday interactions with family members at dinnertime. Paugh used data from two subsets of data. The first subset included eight families recorded by Ochs and colleagues between 1987 and 1989, while the second subset included eight families that participated during 2002-2003 in an ongoing study of working families conducted by the UCLA Sloan Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELF). Paugh examined recorded dinners among 16 dual-earner American families in Los Angeles. She found that children were socialized into particular understandings about what work is, and expectations for how to conduct oneself at work, through conversations during dinnertime. Also, children acquired conversational and analytical skills that were valuable in the parents' workplaces by overhearing and joining in parents' conversations about work during dinnertime.

Directives and Bilingual and Multilingual Children

In the second part of this literature review, I present recent studies on directive interactions of bilingual and multilingual children. In a study of directives of two Mexican families, Bhimji (2005) analyzed the use of directives by caregivers with young children in two Mexican immigrant families in South Central Los Angeles. Through her 18-month ethnography of two low-income Mexican families, Bhimji's study revealed that while caregivers' speech to the children consisted largely of directives, the directives were given in various forms, explicit, implicit, or interplicit (i.e., neither implicit or

explicit and thus an intermediate category) and with varying sentence structures, declaratives or interrogatives. She reported on a total of 650 directives given by caregivers in both families. Approximately 63% of them were explicit imperatives, such as *Dile* "bye" (Tell her, "bye"); 21% were interplicit, as when a parent tells her toddler climbing a shopping cart, "*Un pie en el frente"* (One foot in front); and 16% were implicit directives, such as *Se dice "gracias"* (One says "thank you") (Bhimji, 2005, p. 67).

In Bhimji's study, children learned household tasks, social norms, nominal words, new skills, and how to tease and challenge family members through directives. This complex verbal practice of issuing directives was used by the family to socialize young children into family norms and practices. While Bhimji's study focused primarily on the caregivers' speech to the children, she suggested that children may also socialize younger siblings with directives as they grow older. Bhimji's study was notable for the way in which she traced the socialization patterns of the two families through the use of directives. The present study drew from Bhimji (2005) in analyzing the use of directives in three Korean American bilingual families to examine the socialization practices of the family. It also examined the use of directives in the three children's classroom to investigate the intersection between socialization patterns in the home and school.

In another study on Spanish and English bilingual children, Orellana (1994) conducted a qualitative investigation of the English language acquisition of three Spanish-speaking children in a bilingual preschool. Orellana found that children used English for playacting at being characters from popular children's culture, while speaking Spanish for other types of play, regular conversation, and for directives during playacting

episodes. Orellana's study contributed to the understanding of the intersections between directive interactions of children at home and school, particularly with regard to the children's language choices for specific contexts in Chapter 5.

Another study by He (2000) examined the ways in which Chinese heritage school teachers used directives to socialize children into moral stances. The study revealed that teachers used directives in various ways and forms and directives carried significant cultural information richly embedded in the ordinary interactions of the classroom. For instance, teachers used an Orientation-Evaluation-Directive pattern where the teacher oriented herself to student's behavior to question it, evaluated the moral consequences of students' behavior, and issued commands to change the student's behavior. For example, when students were inattentive, one teacher oriented to the student's inattention by explicitly marking it, evaluated the consequences of their parents' time and money going to waste, and directed them to pay more attention. Through this sequence, the teacher used directives to emphasize the moral responsibility of the children to honor their parents. Also, teachers co-constructed directives with the students by engaging them in interactional directives where students answered questions that led to the teacher's directives. The students participated and even resisted or subverted the teacher's constructed socialization agenda. For example, He noted that one teacher rhetorically asked 'What time is it?' expecting students to answer with the correct response, "Vocabulary time" but a student wittingly answered with the wrong answer, "Game time" knowing that it was time for their next vocabulary lesson. Through examples of co-constructed directives, He demonstrated that language socialization is a multi-directional process that is co-constructed by teachers, students, and their peers. He's study is notable

for its emphasis on bidirectional socialization. Furthermore, it seriously considered and reflected on the cultural context of the teachers and, at times, the students. This project was informed by He's bi- and multi- directional focus on socialization and examined the use of directives by children and adults to socialize one another. He's study also contributed to a better understanding of the directive interactions between teachers and students in Chapter 5.

In a study on language shift and maintenance, Field (2001) examined the directive routines between caregivers and children in a Navajo community. Field found that certain aspects of language use, namely directive routines, were more resistant to change than language code for community members whose language use had shifted to English. Field's findings contributed to my understanding of language maintenance of the Korean American families through the use of directives in Chapter 4.

Han's (2004) study presented an ethnography that investigated child language socialization practices in a Korean-American preschool classroom. Han found that various forms of directives were a primary tool that teachers used to teach compliance and obedience. The teachers' directive interactions included explicit and implicit prompting of social etiquette words and honorific answers, sing-song requests, and disciplinary directives. The preschool teachers presented appropriate social norms through directives in the form of reminders using statements such as 'you should / should not do X' and 'didn't I tell you?'. This study guided my analysis of the family members' use of honorifics in Chapter 4 and the preschool teachers' use of directives in Chapter 5.

Theoretical Framework: Language Socialization and Communicative Repertoires

This section discusses the theoretical framework of language socialization, which informed the present study. Language socialization is a field of research that examines how children and other novices develop communicative competence through engagement with parents, peers, experts, and their environment to become active, competent members of their communities. In their seminal volume, which first defined language socialization as a field, *Language socialization across cultures,* Schieffelin and Ochs (1986b) defined language socialization as "socialization through language and socialization to use language" (pp. 2-3). In other words, while children and novices are socialized *to* use the language, they are also socialized into appropriate and effective ways of behavior *through* the language. Language socialization then, is a study of how children and novices become speakers of culture who speak the language and know how to appropriately speak, to whom, when, where, and in which contexts and social situations (Hymes, 1968). When using the term 'socialization' in 'language socialization' Ochs and Schieffelin were inspired by Edward Sapir's classic 1933 article 'Language,' where he wrote:

> "Language is a great force of socialization, probably the greatest that exists. By this is meant not merely the obvious fact that significant social intercourse is hardly possible without language but that the mere fact of a common speech serves as a peculiarly potent symbol of the social solidarity of those who speak the language" (p.15).

Sapir revealed that the power of language was in its ability to create social solidarity of those in a social group whether it was a family, a chess club, a group of close friends, an office of colleagues, or any other community that shared the same language. Language socialization is a study of how this social solidarity is formed by and taught to newcomers in the group, whether they are children or novices.

In summary, language socialization research rests on two major tenets put forth by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986b):

> 1) "The process of acquiring language is deeply affected by the process of becoming a competent member of a society, and
> 2) The process of becoming a competent member of society is realized through language by acquiring knowledge of its functions, social distribution, and interpretations in and across socially defined situations" (p. 277).

According to these two statements, *the context of the language*– "knowledge of its functions" – and *the context of culture* –"social distribution and interpretations in and across socially defined situations" – are both key aspects of language socialization. Following Dell Hymes' theory of communicative competence, language socialization researchers viewed communicative competence as knowing how to appropriately use the language, *context of the language*, and knowing when to appropriately speak the language, *context of culture* (Hymes, 1968).

The theoretical framework of language socialization informed the present study in several ways. First, I conducted an eight-month ethnography to examine the language socialization processes of three Korean American bilingual children and their families, in the children's homes and preschool classroom. Second, the study collected analytical and descriptive records of field-based data, with reliance on recorded data. Finally, the project examined the connection between everyday face-to-face use of directives between children and siblings, parents, and teachers, with the macro language socialization processes of the home and school.

Furthermore, recent scholarship on the language socialization processes of multilingual families have revealed that interactions of bi- and multi-lingual speakers were characterized by translanguaging. Translanguaging was defined by García (2009) as

an act that bi- and multi-lingual speakers performed by accessing various linguistic features or various modes of what we usually define as autonomous languages to maximize their communicative potential. The word, 'translanguaging' was first coined by Williams (1994) to define the ability of bi- and multi-lingual speakers to draw from multiple languages, which formed an integrated repertoire for the speaker. Wei (2011) added that translanguaging conveys a certain creativity and hybridity for the way that multilingual speakers create a new whole from the languages and communicative resources in their repertoire. García and Wei (2014) have described translanguaging as different from code-switching because it is not merely switching between two languages, as in the act of code-switching, but constructing a complex and interrelated set of communicative and discursive practices that create a speaker's complete language repertoire. In our example of directives, a Korean American may 'translanguage' when she accesses different and various linguistic features or modes of Korean, English, and hybrid forms of Korean-English to maximize her communicative potential.

This perspective of translanguaging is useful because is not centered on languages but on the everyday practices of speakers that allow them to make sense of their multilingual contexts (García, 2009). Taking the focus off of languages acknowledges what Rymes (2014) had explained, that languages are not sealed off by walls from each other and they are not switched back and forth like radio stations. Rather, the focus is on how people use various linguistic features or modes of multiple languages around them in order to communicate in the most effective way possible. Translanguaging goes beyond code-switching (although it encompasses it) because translanguaging looks at how languages are not just switched but transformed to a hybrid meaning-making process that

multilingual speakers use systematically and strategically.

As bi- and multi-lingual speakers translanguage, they develop communicative repertoires. A communicative repertoire refers to the whole collection of ways that bi- and multi-lingual speakers may use to communicate and function effectively in multiple communities (Rymes, 2013). This may include gestures, forms of eye contact, dress, and posture. John Gumperz (1964) first used the term 'linguistic repertoire' to define the range of languages and registers that existed in a community. While Gumperz' concept included multiple languages, it did not address other multimodal features of an interaction such as a person's appearance or gestures (Rymes, 2014). Yet all of these features influence and shape the communication that takes place between people. Communicative repertoire encompasses the linguistic features and the multimodal features of communication to refer to the whole collection of communicative resources that a person draws from in order to make meaning. By taking the approach of communicative repertoires, Rymes (2014) shifts away from linking ways of speech, dress, and behavior to categorical types and moves towards connecting communicative elements in ones repertoire with the diverse and daily experience and life of the speakers.

Through this perspective of translanguaging (García, 2009) and communicative repertoires (Rymes, 2014), Korean Americans do not use the Korean and English languages as separate entities or switch codes for certain situations or audiences. Rather, they combine languages effortlessly in many possible ways and configurations in order to achieve maximal communicative potential in each directive interaction.

Recent studies on the language socialization processes of multilingual speakers have highlighted the translanguaging experiences of bilingual and multilingual speakers. For example, Kenner (2004) examined how young children learn writing at home in communities that spoke Arabic, Chinese, and Spanish in London. Kenner focused on how children interacted with multiple learning environments to learn and develop multiple scripts of home and school languages. Through an ethnography, Kenner found that children employed diverse resources that different linguistic scripts provided. The findings showed that children drew from multiple semiotic resources when learning to make meaning with language. This study contributed to the design of my study in examining the multiple learning environments of the three Korean American children.

In another study, Moje, Cicechanowski, Kramer, Ellis, Carrillo, and Collazo (2004) examined teenage literacy practices that occurred outside of school in northern U.S. Through ethnographic methods, the researchers revealed that communicative practices drew on the students' and families' funds of knowledge from home and communities. Furthermore, those funds of knowledge were multimodal and involved gesture and oral storytelling, popular cultural texts like games and television programs, and the internet. Also, students drew from community funds of knowledge that centered on youth, ethnic identity, and activism. Yet the researchers found that these home and community funds of knowledge were rarely invited or encouraged in school. The findings of this study helped me to focus my study on the multimodal communicative resources the children and their families developed at home, and to question the place and acceptance of the children's home and community funds of knowledge and communicative repertoires in their preschool class.

In another study on bilingual children, Volk and de Acosta (2001) conducted an ethnography to examine ways children blended practices from different domains in new contexts. The researchers discovered that bilingual children developed literacy and language through a support network of people, which included parents, grandparents and elders in church in Puerto Rican communities in the U.S. Children combined experiences from home, school, church, and other spaces to make meaning. This study contributed to the design of this study by focusing my analysis on the children's families.

In a study of a family of British Asian heritage, Pahl (2014) analyzed one young British Asian heritage girls' textual productions. Pahl specifically examined how the girl made sense of her experience of racism. The study's findings revealed that the young girl, Lucy, brought in funds of knowledge from home, such as textiles, gardening, and books like *Twilight* as key themes as she wrote about her experiences with racism in the forms of stories. This study contributed to my study by drawing my focus on the ways in which the children in my study may make sense of their directive interactions through multiple resources from home and school.

By adopting the theoretical framework of language socialization and communicative repertoires, this study examined the practices of Korean Americans are a more complex hybridity of Korean, English, and transformations and mixtures of the languages (Jo, 2001; Kang & Lo, 2004; Reyes & Lo, 2009). Rather than viewing the Korean and English languages as separate, discrete, and sealed languages, this study recognized ways in which Korean Americans have created new and hybrid forms of the languages. In this perspective, bi- and multi-lingual speakers are not viewed merely as victims of language loss or shift but as translanguaging speakers with evolving

multilingual repertoires. More specifically, this study examined ways in which three Korean American families combined the Korean and English languages, along with gestures and forms of eye contact to achieve maximal communicative potential in the everyday routine of giving directives and telling each other what to do. The family members drew from a constellation of resources in their communicative repertoires to obtain their goals in each specific directive interaction.

Expanding the Literature on Korean American Language Socialization

This section discusses ways in which the present study expanded on the literature on Korean American language socialization. In language socialization research focusing on Korean American bilingual development, researchers need to deconstruct the bounded limits of the Korean and English languages and consider what codes exist between and beyond these two stable notions of Korean and English. For instance, children and adult novices may be socialized into and co-constructing Konglish, Korean-dominated English, and English-dominated Korean, and other hybrid language practices, as Zentella (1997) revealed in her ethnography of *el bloque*. As recent scholarship on multilingual development has revealed, languages are not bound and sealed units with firm boundaries; rather, languages overlap one another and serve as discursive resources that are available to speakers (García, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Makalela, 2015). Therefore, this study considered the constantly developing and shifting nature of the multiple repertoires that the children and their families used to interact with one another, in addition to the repertoires that the children and the teachers in the classroom used, when examining the directives that the children, their families, and teachers used.

Researchers also need to reexamine the speech communities that have been researched—the Korean family, the American public school, and the Korean church or heritage school—to capture the fine-grained details of movement within and across these communities, such as the immigration of parachute children who are sent to the U.S. for more access to education without their parents or the living patterns of second and third generation Korean Americans who travel to South Korea often. New patterns of immigration need to be considered to understand the varying reasons, resources, and desires for gaining communicative competence. The desires of a family permanently settling in the U.S., for instance, will differ from those of a family in the U.S. for only the duration of their child's four years of high school. The boundaries of the Korean American communities also need to be deconstructed as they are often shifting, evolving, expanding, and sometimes resisted by the groups that are caught by the boundaries. Therefore, the study involved observations and interviews of the three families throughout the data collection period to be sensitive to the contexts and immigration histories and trajectories of each family. The children's contexts of home and school were not considered separate spheres but concentric networks in which the child participated on a daily basis.

Furthermore, future research in language socialization research focusing on speaking in two or more languages may widen its scope by finding robust ways of capturing the larger, societal patterns that shape the micro-processes of socialization in the home. For example, Yun (2008) examined how children used role-play to construct social identities in a Korean Baptist church community in a Midwestern state but did not

account for the ways in which the church shaped the children's interactions with each other and their teachers and parents.

Ethnic social structures, such as churches, community centers, ethnic enclaves, and language schools, have been a great source of support and resources for immigrants in the U.S. as reported by Zhou and Kim (2006) who argue that ethnic social structures, such as language schools, churches, and community centers form a sophisticated system of supplementary education in the Chinese and Korean immigrant communities in aiding the child's formal public education and serving as social support, network building, and social capital formation for both communities. The Korean church, in particular, has been one of the largest ethnic centers in the Korean American community in terms of size, influence, and financial resources and is often an institutional vehicle for the cultural reproduction and socialization of second and subsequent generations of Korean Americans (Shin, 2005).

Finally, in their description of language socialization as a field, Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) described socialization as a process that a child or novice experiences to acquire the knowledge, orientations, and practices that are necessary to participate fully and appropriately in the community's practices. Much of the language socialization research focusing on language contact has been built on stable notions of communicative repertoire, language, and community shared by sociolinguists for over 30 years. Thus, communicative repertoires have been viewed as set ways of knowing how and why to communicate; languages as bounded and deep stable structures; and speech communities as stable, local groups that shared the same communicative repertoires with ease.

All of these sociolinguistic terms, however, are now in a dramatically different present context. We are in what Blommaert and Backus (2012) have called a "superdiverse" world, one that is shaped by "new dimensions of social, cultural and linguistic diversity emerging out of post-Cold war migration and mobility patterns" and new mobile global communication systems that allow people to maintain intense relationships with their countries of origin and use languages that are otherwise absent in their local neighborhood (p. 5). For my study on Korean American families, their identity of Korean American has new dimensions due to the global communication systems that connect Korean Americans to South Koreans.

This superdiversity forces us to question the most basic notions of where people live, to what communities they belong, to what degree they belong to these communities, how they identify themselves, and what kinds of languages they engage in and to what extent. In this context of superdiversity and globalization, repertoires must become a "new form of analysis" as Blommaert and Backus (2012) have advised (p.5):

> Repertoires invite a new form of analysis. No longer seen as the static, synchronic property of a 'speech community', we can now approach it as an inroad into Late-Modern subjectivities—the subjectivities of people whose membership of social categories is dynamic, changeable and negotiable, and whose membership is at any time always a membership-by-degree. Repertoires enable us to document in great detail the trajectories followed by people throughout their lives: the opportunities, constraints and inequalities they were facing, the learning environments they had access to (and those they did not have access to), their movement across physical and social space, their potential for voice in particular social arenas. We can now do all of this in significant detail, because we are no longer trapped by a priori conceptions of language, knowledge, and community.

Language socialization research must seriously reconsider the most basic questions that superdiversity raises: What language(s) is (are) being socialized to the child or novice, and how are these languages emerging and changing through practice? What

communities is that child or novice being socialized into, and how are these communities using language? What resources and communicative mediums are now available, and how do these resources move through time and space? These questions have informed the design of the present study and are considered and reflected upon throughout the collection and analysis of data.

Summary

The literature review has discussed the research on directives and young children and bilingual and multilingual children. The research has demonstrated that directives may be analyzed from various theoretical perspectives, specifically from the theory of Speech Acts (Searle, 1976) and the theory of communicative competence and interaction (Hymes, 1968). Research on directives from both perspectives has revealed that directives are a crucial linguistic routine that is used in the home, school, and social networks to interact. Furthermore, research has demonstrated that directives are used to socialize children into cultural ways of behaving, thinking, speaking, and interacting with others in the home, school, and social networks. The theoretical framework of language socialization was also discussed. While numerous studies have focused on the directive interactions of families with young children, only one study has examined the directive interactions of Korean American children (Han, 2004), and no studies to my knowledge have examined directive use in Korean American families in the contexts of home and school. Thus, to fill this gap in research, the following research questions guided the present study.

Research Questions

(5)   How do participants issue and respond to directives? What kinds of utterances,

gestures, and forms of eye contact emerge when participants issue, or respond to

directives?

(6)   How are directives used to socialize participants into appropriate ways of

behaving, thinking, and interacting?

(7)   How do the multiple directive interactions of the children, parents, and teachers

develop, converge and intersect in the multiple and interrelated contexts of home,

community, and school?

(8)   What language preferences and practices exist in the participants' different

contexts, and what do these language practices and patterns reveal about the

larger social contexts and balances of power in the lives of the participants?

Chapter 3. Methodology

In this chapter, I will discuss the methodological approach used to analyze the directive interactions of three bilingual preschool Korean American children and their families. This section will outline the theoretical framework of the chosen method, describe the study site, the procedures used for enlisting participants, define my positioning as a researcher, and explain the methods used for collecting data and analyzing data.

Preliminary Research

In 2013, I conducted a pilot study of language practices among four bilingual Korean American families living in Central New Jersey. The preliminary study was generated from a one-month case study consisting of field observations and audio-and video-recordings of play school classes, home visits, interviews, and artifact collection. The study employed a purposeful sampling since the researcher was a member of the same ethnic group and, based on initial observations during religious gatherings, the children were found to respond to directives frequently. Four bilingual Korean American children between the ages 2.8 and 3.4 and their mothers participated in the study. The three Korean American children in this study were part of this initial group of four children. I observed a playschool that the four mothers of the participating families had designed and implemented for their children. The playschool was meant to transition the children into preschool. The four mothers took turns teaching the play school classes. The play school class was held two days during the week, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, from 10AM to 1PM, for three hours. The play school classes were designed with a two-way approach to language instruction with the first day of instruction fully in the Korean language and the second day fully taught in the English language. The curriculum

covered Bible stories, games, arts and crafts, activities that promoted fine and large motor development, and literacy lessons on both the English and Korean alphabets.

For the pilot study, I observed five classes for three hours each with a total of 15 hours and used a portable recorder to record audio while recording video through a video camera placed on a tripod from a distance that captured all of the students and the teacher. I observed the four mothers and their children at home on four separate visits to four separate homes for one to two hours each with a total of five hours audio- and video-recorded during the daytime when only the mothers and the child were present due to the father's work schedule. During home observations, I sat in the corner of the room behind the video camera and asked the mother and child to progress with their day's activities as they usually would. The research recorded a total of 20 hours of audio- and video-recordings in the data. Mothers and children were interviewed during home visits and I collected relevant artifacts from the play school classes.

The analysis revealed that children used varying forms of verbal and gestural resistance and compliance. To be specific, they employed the following combinations:

(1) initial verbal compliance + post-gestural resistance
(2) initial gestural compliance + post-gestural resistance
(3) initial gestural compliance + post-verbal resistance
(4) initial gestural resistance + post-gestural compliance

Furthermore, the analysis of the turn-by-turn interactions uncovered that children utilized the combination that was most strategically useful in the specific interaction. For example, children used the combination of incipient compliance that decreased the amount of forceful reaction from the parent yet increased the autonomy and control they could maintain over other people and objects. In addition, children used both languages, Korean and English, to maintain control of their turn and respond to directives. By

utilizing the most strategically beneficial variation of incipient compliance, the children were able to increase autonomy and control over their actions while preventing upgraded directives and acts of force from others.

In the pilot study, I identified the children's use of directives as a common linguistic routine used in the home with family members and in a classroom setting with teachers and other children. It also assisted me to identify routines in the home between family members that involved the use of directives, such as meal times. I expanded on the pilot study by including the parents and siblings of the three children I had included during the preliminary study, adding the preschool as another research site and including the teachers of the preschool class as participants, and by increasing the amount of time I observed participants in the homes and preschool of the three children.

Theoretical approach: Ethnography

This study was an eight-month ethnographic study of three Korean American bilingual children and their families in New Jersey, examining their use of directives in the multiple and overlapping contexts of home and school. I chose an ethnographic method to capture the cultural patterns across and within the participant's worlds, and to understand the social processes and interactions within them. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), ethnographies are a valuable social research method for analyzing cultural patterns and social processes in societies. Ethnographies have been conducted by anthropologists, social scientists, historians, linguists, political scientists, economists, and communication science researchers to describe cultures and everyday lives of groups in detailed and complex ways (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Thus, an ethnography is a

strong qualitative method when analyzing the beliefs, languages, behaviors, issues, and cultures of a group. Ethnographies are different from other qualitative methods in that they analyze groups of people and the sets of beliefs, behaviors, and practices that groups experience; ethnographies collect multiple sources of data that are used to triangulate data; and ethnographies involve a longitudinal data set and thus require a longer period of data collection and time in the field for observations.

Ethnographies involve collecting multiple sources of data, such as field notes from participant observation, interviews, and artifacts (Hymes, 1996; Lassiter, 2005). Collecting multiple sources of data allowed me to gather in-depth data and "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973) with closely observed details of the participants' interactions. By collecting multiple sources of data, ethnographic researchers explore careful details of participants' lives and community groups, and open up and challenge any prior understandings they had about cultural patterns and practices (Hymes, 1996).

Another feature of ethnographies is that they are longitudinal. The ethnographic method provided a way of observing the rich details of participants' interactions over a long period of time to see how activities co-occur. In other words, the ethnographic method revealed patterns of behavior or themes that recurred across a longitudinal dataset. This kind of process allowed me to see the wider set of practices that are made of the repeated occurrences of everyday events.

Finally, the ethnographic approach is dialogic and collaborative with participants. Hymes (1996) argued that we need to listen carefully to participants' voices as we collected multiple sources of data. By connecting data pieces with participants' voices and larger patterns, an ethnography reveals shared interpretations and understandings of

communities (Hymes, 1996; Duranti & Goodwin, 1992). An ethnography is an engaged and situated mode of inquiry (Pahl, 2014) and it allows collaboration with participants in the way data is collected and analyzed (Lassiter, 2005).

The ethnographic approach has been widely used in language classrooms and educational research (e.g., Anderson, 1989; Watson-Gegeo, 1988, 2004) and in language socialization studies (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). Through deeper and more extended engagement with the people who are researched, ethnographies are able to address complex social and cultural questions and capture richer, finer details of the experiences of the participants. Through ethnographic methods, the language use of participants can be analyzed as a complex and dynamic process of social interaction.

Furthermore, the paradigm for language socialization research has called for ethnographic studies that are longitudinal in perspective to demonstrate the acquisition of linguistic and cultural practices over long periods of time and across multiple contexts (Kulick & Shieffelin, 2004). Language socialization research is invested in long-term ethnographies because of its focus on how culturally meaningful practices are socialized and acquired by children and novices. This process of socialization is a process that takes place over time and thus requires a research method that is longitudinal in nature.

Following the ethnographic method, this study involved collecting multiple sources of data, which included field notes from field observations, audio- and visual-recordings of observations, interviews of parents, children, and teachers, and physical artifacts collected in the field. The study was conducted over a period of eight months after a two-month pilot study and included a total of ten months of data collection of the three Korean American families. As an ethnographic researcher, I listened carefully to

participants' voices during observations, interviews, and conversations I had with them in the homes and classroom. Their voices were an important part of data collection and analysis and contributed to the shared interpretations and understandings of the three Korean American families and their directive interactions.

Data Collection

This section begins by discussing how data were collected through participant observation, audio-visual recordings, informal children interviews, formal parent interviews, formal teacher interviews, artifacts, and field notes. Then it addresses the importance of triangulation in ethnographies and describes the researcher's positioning.

Participant Observation

This study used participant observation to analyze the directives used by the participants. Participant observation is a powerful tool for research because it allows the researcher to enter into the participants' worlds. For instance, Canagarajah (2009) maintains that participant observation is the researcher's "attempt to enter into the flow of life of the community and experience how language relationships are lived out by members" (p.153). By both observing and taking part in the participants' lives, the researcher may understand viewpoints of the participants while collecting data. Furthermore, Gans (1997) argues that participant observation is an effective method for researching minority groups because it can provide empirical data about often stereotyped or less known minority groups by considering the voices of the participants in the group. As a result, participant observation is a method often used by researchers conducting case studies and ethnographies.

Following the studies of Bhimji (2005) and Kim (2009) who also used participant observation, this project studied the linguistic repertoires of three children through the children's interactions with siblings, parents, and teachers. By conducting participant observation of these three Korean American children in the context of their homes and school, I understood and analyzed their linguistic routines from their local, emergent, and heterogeneous experiences.

I conducted observation of the three homes and the preschool class with a purpose of observing the interactions between the three primary participants with their siblings, parents, and teachers. My observation notes included the directives used by children and adults, the context in which directives are used, patterns detected in the use of directives, the social and cultural implications of the directives used, and the socialization patterns detected through the communicative event.

I observed the three children's homes from August 1, 2014 to May 31, 2015 for the duration of eight months. I observed each home for a total of 12 observations of at least two hours, which yielded a total of 24 hours per home and a total of 72 hours for all three families. In addition to the 72 hours, the families were asked to video-record their dinnertimes for an hour at least once a week for eight weeks so that there were an approximate total of eight hours per family and a total of 24 hours for all three families (one hour per eight weeks per three families) of dinnertime recordings. Following the studies of Kent (2012) and Ochs and Taylor (1993), which asked the parents to record family meals so that the researcher's presence did not disturb the family's naturally occurring interactions, this study asked the parents to video record dinnertimes without

the presence of the researcher. The total number of recordings included 96 hours (72 daytime hours and 24 dinnertime hours per three families).

As the classroom was my other research focus, I observed the children's classrooms for three hours twice a month from September 1, 2014 to January 31, 2015. I visited the classroom at least ten times during this period. This yielded a total of 30 hours in the classroom. Data were collected and analyzed from August 2014 to May 2015, to total eight months of data collection.

Methods of Audio Visual Recordings in the Home

For recordings in the home, all field observations were video recorded and I was present for one hour in each of the three homes for the duration of eight weeks, with a total of 24 hours. For dinnertime recordings, I requested families to record every five to seven days to ensure consistency. I was present at the first, third, and last of eight dinner recordings of each family to observe the context and interactions of the families. Specifically, I observed the interactions between the child in the study and the child's parents and siblings. I wrote field notes on the use of directives by family members and the way the children and the parents respond to and resolve directives, the context of the directives, the cultural and social implications of directives, and the socialization patterns connected to the use of directives. During the first visit, I also made sure that the parents felt comfortable with using the recording device. For families who owned MacBooks, I requested that they record using their MacBook iPhoto application. Computers were placed on the dinner table at one end or on a counter or shelf in the vicinity of the dinner table. Families who owned MacBooks had prior experience using their devices. For families who owned laptops with video cameras attached, I asked them to record using

their laptop video camera using Media Player's recording option if they owned a Windows operated system.

The families were asked to record dinner interactions one time a week during eight consecutive weeks. In total, I had 24 hours of audio-visual recordings of the family's dinnertimes. After the fourth week of recording, I contacted the parents to answer any questions regarding the process of recording and to ensure that parents were recording twice a week every week. The parents were asked to send digital files of recordings to the researcher through an online storage space, such as www.Dropbox.com, at the end of each week. The parents were trained on how to use the online storage space before beginning recordings. All of the video and audio recordings were saved into my laptop as digital files, so that they were accessible for transcription, which took place within one to two weeks of receipt of the recordings. Video recordings were made with a Sony 8GB Digital video camera, an Apple Ipad, and a Vivitar 410 Digital Video Camera. Audio recordings were made with the Olympus WS-510M Digital voice recorder and a Leveler microphone.

Methods of Audio Visual Recordings in the Classroom

This study documented the directive repertoires of bilingual Korean American preschool children by employing audio and visual recordings in the classroom and at home. During the past eight months, I have volunteered to assist the head teacher with taking photos for the school's website and for a Thanksgiving photo frame making activity. Since I had adopted this role, the children were accustomed to my presence behind a camera.

In the classroom, I audio- and video-recorded during the circle times in the morning from 9:30 a.m. to 10 a.m. and during the children's work times that follow circle time from 10 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. During circle time, the head teacher lead the children in a time of songs, Bible stories, and guidelines for the day. I chose to record this time because the teacher's main goal for circle time was to communicate her lessons and guidelines for each day and I had often seen her using directives with the children during circle time. During circle time, I placed a video camera on a tripod behind the history shelves to capture the teacher's interactions with the children.

In addition to the video camera, I set up a digital voice recorder behind the teacher so that it captured the verbal interactions of the teacher and children more clearly. During circle time, the teacher remained stationary in the front of the circle so that it was possible for the voice recorder to record the teacher's interactions from a stationary position behind the teacher. By setting the audio recorder behind the teacher, I prevented any disruptions that the presence of the audio recorder may cause to the teacher's lesson. I turned it on before the children sat around the rug for circle time and turned it off after the children had been dismissed. The audio recorder was placed in the same position for every recording since the teacher's stationary position was at the front of the circle for each 'circle time'.

In addition to recordings conducted during circle time, I also recorded for one to two hours during small group work sessions to capture one-on-one conversations between the teacher and three children and one-on-one conversations between the three children. This time was chosen to document the children's interactions with each other and the teachers since there will be more child-initiated talk. As Rimm-Kaufman, La

Paro, Downer, and Pianta (2005) revealed, children socialized more frequently during smaller group times. Before recording, I conducted tests runs in the classroom to ensure that the visual and audio output were captured accurately. Video recordings were made with a Sony 8GB Digital video camera, an Apple Ipad, and a Vivitar 410 Digital Video Camera. Audio recordings were made with the Olympus WS-510M Digital voice recorder and a Leveler microphone.

Informal Interviews with Children at Home

In addition to collecting data through participant observation and video-audio recordings, informal interviews with children were conducted to understand the children's use of directives. I used two activities, puppet play and illustrations, to conduct the interviews.

Since this study focused on the developing directive repertoires of children, it was important to interview the children to understand the world from *their* eyes. At the same time, interviewing children had its challenges. As No (2011) reported in her experience with interviewing children, there may be an unequal power relation between the adult researcher and child participant, which may cause child interviewees to be guarded or selective in their responses. To develop a more reciprocal and mutual power relationship between the researcher and child participant, the researcher may take a role that is less authoritative in the research context and take the views of children as equally important as those of adults. For this reason, I have maintained an observer's position in the classroom, rather than a teacher's, to create a more reciprocal relationship between the children and researcher. In addition to the researcher's positioning, the interviews were structured so that children were able to maintain and direct the flow of conversation.

Dockett and Perry (2007) revealed that conducting interviews with children as casual conversations in non-threatening or authoritative tones have been an effective method of interviewing children. One way in which the researcher may create a more casual environment for the child is to use props. With regard to props, Dockett and Perry (2007) suggested the use of storybooks or drawings. The informal interviews of the three children were held in a familiar environment in the home. After the puppet show, rather than using the technical term 'directives' I asked the children about instances when they may have been told 'to do something' and used the more common word 'command' or 'order'. I used puppet props for interviews with children because puppets were a familiar toy for young children and the puppets allowed the children to actively speak during the interviews.

First, I brought finger puppets and asked the children to enact role-plays of the mealtimes at home. One child was invited to participate and be the parent puppet while the other sibling, if present, was the puppet in the character of the child. By enacting mealtimes, I observed the use of directives, the context in which they were used, and how the child presented them in the role-play. I recorded the interactions between the two children and the children and myself. I also recorded ways in which directives were given and received during this time. After role-plays, if there was evidence of directives, I asked the child informally about how he or she chose that directive.

In addition to puppet props, I brought paper and colored pencils and asked children to draw an activity that they often do at home with their family members and explain what is happening during this time. I asked them to draw dinnertime at home and explain what was happening during dinnertime as they had illustrated it (See Appendix F

for examples of illustrations). The children were invited to explain their illustration to one another and to me. The children were also asked to illustrate a routine activity that they performed with their teachers at their preschool. All of the interviews were audio and video recorded using a digital voice recorder and a digital video camera on a tripod behind the desk so that it did not interfere with the interview.

Interviews with Parents at Home

Semi-structured interviews with parents were conducted to examine the parents' expectations for the child's education in class and at home, goals for language socialization, use of directives, and beliefs and attitudes towards the child's developing bilingualism. The purpose of the interviews was also to examine the parents' use of directives with their children, their expectations and practices of language socialization, and the context of their family's immigration history and trajectory. Following No (2011) and Kim (2009), this study used semi-structured interviews to allow the parents to focus on topics that are of most importance to them. A separate protocol was used for the parents with specific questions related to their expectations for the child's education, goals for language socialization, use of directives, and beliefs and attitudes towards the child's developing bilingualism in the classroom and at home (found in Appendix C "Interview of Parents"). The interviews began with a question to 'break the ice' and to assist the parent in becoming comfortable with the interview. Breaking the ice was important because as Cresswell (2007) suggested, qualitative semi-structured interviews may be viewed as conversations. With the purpose of creating an atmosphere that lead to comfortable conversations, interviews were held in settings familiar to the interviewee. The interviews began with questions that engaged the interviewee, and the researcher

allowed the interviewee to maintain control over how long they would like to discuss a topic.

The mothers and fathers of the participating children were interviewed at least twice during the data collection period to investigate the second, third, and fourth research questions regarding the parents' use of directives with children in the home. Interviews took place at a time that was most convenient for the parents, either before or after dinner, so that it did not interfere with the children's or the parents' schedules. Both parents and their child participated in the interviews. The interviews took the amount of time required to answer questions in the protocol (See Appendix C). The interviews were audio recorded with a voice recorder, which was placed to the side so that the interview resembled a natural conversation.

Interviews with Teachers in the Preschool

Semi-structured interviews of teachers were conducted with the purpose of examining the teachers' pedagogical beliefs, language socialization patterns in the classroom, and the use of directives. The three teachers in the classroom were interviewed at least twice during the data collection period to examine the sixth and seventh research questions of how directives were used by teachers in the classroom. Interviews took place at a time that was most convenient for the teacher so that it did not interfere with the children's or teacher's schedules, such as during the children's free learning activity time. I interviewed at least one teacher a week, beginning with the first week of observation. The interviews were as long as it was necessary to discuss all the questions in the protocol (See Appendix D). The interviews were audio recorded with a digital voice recorder. The recorder was placed to the side so that the interview resembled

a natural conversation. The teachers were not informed of the topic or research questions

of the study prior to or after interviews during the collection of data.

Field notes and artifacts

Field notes were taken during all sessions of participant observation. They served

to document insights that I had in the moment of observation so that I may return to

expand on and reflect on them after data collection. Field notes recorded any insights,

patterns, notable moments regarding the use of directives and language socialization

processes. I carried a small, portable notebook and pen to take field notes so that it did

not impede full participant observation but was still accessible when I needed to take

notes.

Artifacts such as children's worksheets and drawings were collected as evidence

of children's communicative patterns, social relationships, context, and their use of

directives. The artifacts collected for the study included work completed by children in

class, such as coloring work, practice with writing, or illustrations. These artifacts were

examined for any directives illustrated or written into the work, directives used during the

teaching of the classwork, or directives children used or responded to as they completed

the work. Artifacts also included notices distributed to parents from the school.

Triangulating the data

Triangulating the data involved collecting multiple sources of data so that one

source did not bias the results of the analysis. For ethnographies, triangulation is

important because triangulating the data prevents the researcher from relying too heavily

on one source of data. As an example, Maxwell (2005) points out that researchers may

rely on the widespread assumption that observation is useful for describing behavior and events while interviews are useful for obtaining the perspectives of participants. This assumption however, as Maxwell asserts, is inaccurate and by triangulation of the data, the researcher may realize that observation may be a valuable way of analyzing perspectives of participants while interviewing may provide additional information missed in observations.

Thus, by collecting multiple sources of data I was able to check the accuracy of data sources while adding more depth and rigor to the data that was collected. To triangulate the data, this study collected multiple sources of evidence through participant observation, interviews, audiovisual recordings, and collection of physical artifacts. Before describing each method of data collection, the next section discusses how I positioned myself as a researcher for this study.

How I Positioned Myself as a Researcher for this Study

As a researcher, I needed to be careful about how I positioned myself within the research sites. For the purpose of research, a participant observer can become an insider or outsider in different situations. For example, Griffiths (1998) maintains that a participant observer constantly crosses boundaries that position the researcher as an insider and an outsider. In some ways, I was an insider who shared the language, socialization patterns, and culture of the Korean American children. The research questions for this study had grown out of a personal struggle that I faced as a Korean American mother of a young child. As a mother, I wanted to know how my son's language socialization processes would influence my son's educational experiences

outside of the home. This desire stemmed into my research as I sought to understand more fully how language shaped the way that immigrant children speak, act, think, and interact with others.

Initially, I had concerns about my subjectivity and familiarity with Korean American cultural norms or patterns. However, I realized that I was able to distance myself as a researcher through a few methodological processes: drawing from an outsider's perspective and the use of a diary. While I was an insider to the Korean language and socialization patterns, I was aware of ways in which I was an outsider. First, although I considered myself a Korean American, I realized that Korean Americans are a heterogeneous group with constantly changing and evolving ways of speaking, being, and interacting. As Lew (2006) revealed, Korean Americans comprise a widely heterogeneous group of people although they are often stereotyped as one monolithic culture. The three Korean American families I observed varied in how and when they immigrated to the U.S., the age of the parents and children, the generational differences between the children and the researcher, the economic and social differences between the families and the researcher, and the educational experiences of the parents and children. Since I had not received any formal education in South Korea, this may have also lent to an outsider's perspective if any of the parents have had formal education in South Korea.

Second, while I shared knowledge of the Korean language and socialization patterns, I was an outsider to the world of children because I was an adult. As Fine and Sandstrom (1988) argue, children have a separate culture, a culture of childhood that researchers need to comprehend and approach as a separate culture with interaction norms different from those used in the adult world. When observing the children, I was

careful to not impose or assume patterns or norms based on what is considered common in the interactions of adults.

Third, I was an outsider to the Montessori philosophies and patterns upon which the class was structured. I had volunteered once a week to gain a rapport with the teachers and administrator of the school. Therefore, in the classroom, I had been positioned as an observer. Since I was new to Montessori classes, I had been asked by the head teacher to only observe during my visits for the beginning weeks. This request was advantageous to me because I could be introduced to the children not as a teacher but as a visitor and observer. The children had greeted me as "Miss Sora" in the same way that they greeted the other teachers but I tried to create a distance that would allow me to remain a participant observer. When children asked me questions about class, I referred them to the other teachers and did not answer questions so that they viewed me as an observer in the classroom, and not as a teacher. Researchers (e.g., Christensen, 2004; Corsaro, 1985) have revealed that the power relationship between a researcher and children must be carefully investigated since the power difference may deny the researcher from reaching into what may matter most to the children in their interactions with one another. Therefore, I tried to minimize the power between the children and the researcher by deciding to enact my identity as a visitor and observer who had less power than the teachers in the class.

Although I was an outsider to my participants' worlds, I needed to reflect on my positioning as an insider as well. For this reason, the second methodological process I used to maintain a researcher's distance was to keep a diary in which I reflected on my role and interactions with the children on a weekly basis. In this diary, I recorded insights

gained during observations and developments that I saw in my relationships with the participants. The diary was also used to record methodological questions or challenges I faced as a researcher during data collection.

Finally, the last way in which I positioned myself as a researcher in the site was to keep field notes during the observations. Maintaining a process of note taking during observations was a reminder to continually observe, analyze, and be aware of the context, participants, and interactions. Field notes were expanded on during the day of or day after observations so that insights and occurrences may be expanded upon. Both the diary and the journal were used in the analysis of data.

Data Analysis

This study was informed by No (2011) and Kim (2009) who both used a thematic approach to data analysis. To elaborate, the thematic approach discovered themes within the data that were related to the research questions. My analysis was informed by Boyatsiz (1998) and Saldana (2009) who described the thematic analysis approach as a process of encoding qualitative information and developing codes that labeled and described sections of data. The codes, according to Boyatsiz (1998) and Saldana (2009) did not refer to the actual themes but to pieces of data that contributed to a larger theme. Codes may be theory-related and theory-driven codes derived from a bottom-up and inductive reading and analysis of the data. The thematic approach was a flexible approach that was often used by ethnographers to examine the larger themes that are present in the rich details collected through multiple sources (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Saldana, 2009)

The research questions of this study investigated the developing directive repertoires of bilingual Korean American preschool children. The process of data analysis discovered themes in the data related to the developing directive repertoires of bilingual preschool children. Themes that were inductively formed through reading of the data included themes that related to the different characteristics of compliant and resistant directive interactions, patterns of language use and translanguaging, language maintenance, shift, and loss, bi- and multi-culturalism in the families, and issues of power and legitimacy in the English language.

Cresswell (2007) described the qualitative approach to data analysis as a spiral process in which the researcher constantly revisited the research questions and the data collected up to that point while continuous collecting data and conducting research. Following Cresswell (2007), I began data analysis at an early stage of data collection. Once I had transcribed the first week's observations, I created and organized files for field notes, transcripts of recordings, interviews, and artifacts in my computer according to the date and the research site. For the corpus, I transcribed the English and Korean languages. For transliterations of Korean, I used the Yale Romanization of Korean, which is a commonly used method of transliteration in linguistics for the Korean language. I also provided translations of Korean into English in the analysis of data. Once the data were organized, I read over the data until I was familiar with them. Then I revisited my research questions and honed in on topics and themes to specifically observe for the next data collecting activity.

Conversation analysis and linguistic anthropology contributed to my analysis of the discourse found in the data. For transcription of all discourse, I was informed by

conversation analysis to transcribe speech, gestures, and suprasegmental features (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). After collecting data, I drew from the framework of communicative competence to analyze the discourse of participants (e.g., Gumperz & Hymes, 1964; Hymes, 1968). Discourse related to patterns of socialization in the home and school was analyzed according to the theoretical framework of language socialization (Scheiffelin and Ochs, 1986a). Data analysis occurred in three phases: Organizing the data, coding the data, and synthesizing the data.

Phase 1: Organizing the data

The collected data included field notes from participant observations, transcriptions of audio and video recordings, transcriptions of interviews, collection of artifacts, and reflections from observations. The data were named by the date and site of research, such as "December 10.Preschool". The data were organized in two ways. First, the data were placed in folders according to the location and date. Within and across these folders, codes were created according to the following themes: themes that related to the different characteristics of compliant and resistant directive interactions, patterns of language use and translanguaging, language maintenance, shift, and loss, bi- and multi-culturalism in the families, and issues of power and legitimacy in the English language. The files were saved and stored in folders organized by the date and site of research on my password-protected computer. These files were organized throughout the data collection process so that I could begin analysis of data in the early stages of data collection.

Phase 2: Coding the data

As Cresswell (2007) noted, the process of coding data helps the researcher to

organize, interpret, and compare across different points of the data. The initial codes were formed based on the themes found in the collected data and they were refined as the researcher continued the spiral process of going between the data analysis and data collection in the research sites.

Coding schemes were formed following the typological method of analysis as described by Goetz and LeCompte (1981). Typological analysis was commonly used by ethnographers to analyze and organize data. Typologies were created from a theoretical frame or set of propositions or they emerged from common sense perceptions of reality. This method of data reduction was intended to construct the reality of a research site and the typologies were used to discover the ways in which participants viewed categories and relationships.

Thus, I analyzed, reduced, and organized the data according to common sense perceptions of reality that emerged from the data to discover the ways in which my participants viewed social interactions and relationships. Specifically, following Kent (2012), I coded for instances that denoted compliance, resistance, and incipient compliance when responding to directives. However, directive interactions did not always fall into strictly one category of compliance, resistance, or incipient compliance but rather often combined instances of compliance and resistance in one interaction. In those instances, directive interactions were coded as both compliance and resistance and marked for those characteristics of compliance or resistance during the specific turns of the interaction. Furthermore, directives were coded according to degrees of directness, in terms of how explicit the speaker's directive had been. Since this study was informed by the expanded definition of directives as a sequence of interaction between two or more

people, rather than Searle's (1976) approach of speech acts, the typologies focused on the interactions. For example, compliance, resistance, and incipient compliance analyzed the participant's response to another participant's directive and the interaction between them.

Coding schemes were created so that the researcher was able to capture the themes in a presentable way. Data codes were related to themes that the data generated. I employed TRANSANA, a software to organize coding schemes for the data. I used TRANSANA for its interactive data visualizations and categorizations of coding schemes (See figure below).

Figure 1. Transana window
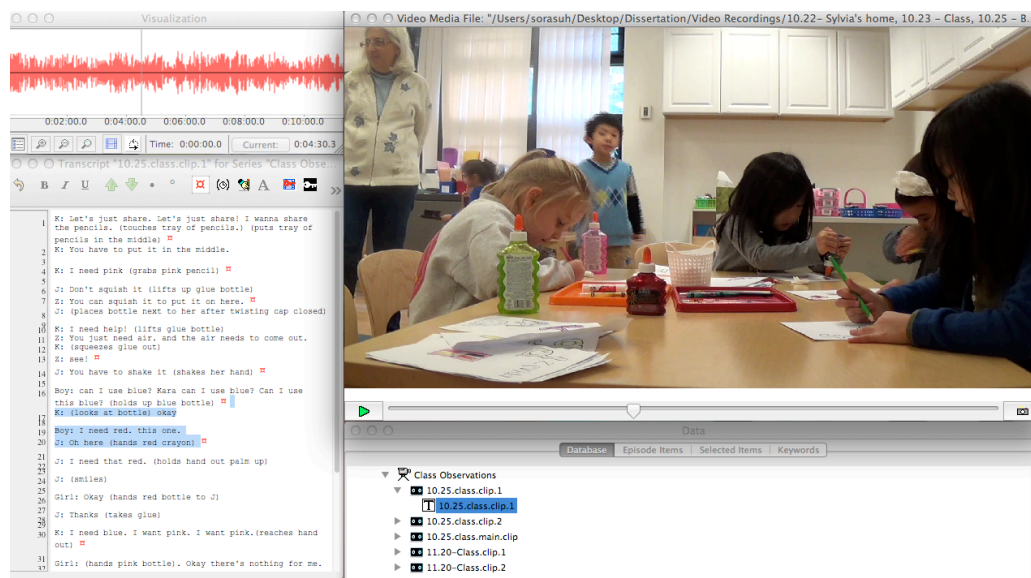
Phase 3: Synthesizing the data

In the last phase of data analysis, codes were sorted and grouped first according to categories that grouped common practices, activities, and ideas together. These categories were then formed into common themes according to the thematic approach. Cresswell (2007) advised that categories ought to be mutually exclusive so that units of data fit into

one category. The categories shed light on the phenomenon of the developing directive

repertoires of bilingual preschool children. They also revealed patterns of language

socialization used in the home, school, and social networks that involved the children's

directive interactions. Categories that related to routine interactions included the

following:

- Circle time – Calendar time
- Circle time – Watching lesson
- Cleaning
- Dressing
- Eating
- Receiving reprimands
- Greeting and conversing
- Playing
- Praying
- Reading
- Setting up for meals
- Sharing
- Singing and worshipping
- Sitting and standing
- Working

Categories that related to directive use and language socialization were:

- Codeswitching
- Compliance
- Explanation of class rules
- Explanation of home rules
- Eye contact
- Gestures
- Introducing the directive
- Mediating between sibling and adult
- Mitigating
- Modeling
- Negotiating
- Praising child after directive
- Reminders
- Resistance
- Second or subsequent turns of directives

- Tattle telling
- Types of initial directives

See Appendix E for a complete list of the coding scheme. After categories were formed, themes were inductively created from the data. Themes were formed on the different characteristics of compliant and resistant directive interactions, patterns of language use and translanguaging, language maintenance, shift, and loss, bi- and multi-culturalism in the families, and issues of power and legitimacy in the English language.

A Description of the Study Site: North Valley, the Korean church, the Homes, and Grace Montessori Preschool[3]

General Facts about North Valley and the Korean church

This section provides a description of the research site, beginning with a description of the town in which the school is located, the church that is connected to the school, the Montessori philosophy that directs the school's organization, curriculum, and daily schedule. The home sites are also introduced in this section. Finally this section considered the relations of power that were involved in the multiple contexts of the participants.

The study took place at a preschool located in North Valley, a town in central Jersey. North Valley was a town of 22.5 square miles with a population of approximately 45,000 people ("About East Brunswick", 2014). The town boasted of a strong school system with approximately 8,300 students in grades K-12 and 90% of its graduates continued on to higher education. The majority of North Valley was White, 68% in 2010,

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[3] North Valley and Grace Montessori will be used as pseudonyms in the study.

while 24% were Asian, and 5% Hispanic and 3% African American. ("About East Brunswick", 2014). The town was a prosperous suburban area located close to major highways. North Valley had a recently renovated public library, spacious park, and facilities for tennis and golf.

The Grace Montessori preschool was located in a Korean United Methodist church in North Valley. The Korean church has been known or recognized as one of the largest ethnic centers in the Korean American community in terms of size, influence, and financial resources and was often an institutional vehicle for the cultural reproduction and socialization of second and subsequent generations of Korean Americans (e.g., Kim, 2010; Shin, 2005; Takaki, 1998). This particular church in the study had an explicit focus on developing the next generation of children in the church. Although the researcher was familiar with the church's history, she was not a participant or member of the church or preschool.

The Grace Montessori preschool was a Christian Montessori school with the mission to serve God by helping children to develop a relationship with Him, to sense His presence, and to understand and enjoy God's closeness. The school's goal was to provide a loving, non-competitive, nurturing, stimulating, and developmentally appropriate program, which met the needs of all children. While Grace Montessori was a Christian institution affiliated with the Korean American church, the children and families were not required to be Christians to enroll. Some of the children in the class attended the Korean church with their families while some of the children did not attend the church but came to the school from North Valley or neighboring towns. The class had 24 children between ages three and six. The class was ethnically diverse with children of Korean, Chinese,

Indian, Egyptian, Hispanic, and European backgrounds. There were three Indian, one Egyptian, one Hispanic, one White-Korean biracial, one Chinese-Korean biracial, and 15 Korean children. Most of the children were bilingual and spoke another language at home other than English, such as Korean, Chinese, Hindi, Arabic, or Spanish.

The Classroom Design

This specific classroom was divided into two rooms, separated by a walk-through closet and a bathroom for children. One classroom was designated for mathematics, geography, and bible stories. The other classroom was designated for science, language arts, and practical life activities. In the figure that follows, a map demonstrates the placement of the two rooms and the different learning areas that were designated for each room. The shelves in both rooms contained learning activities and tools for the designated learning areas only. For instance, the room to the left of the closet and bathroom included shelves that contained learning activities for mathematics, geography, and bible stories. This room was also where an activity called 'circle times' took place. Circle times were 15-30 minute portions of the day in which the teacher lead the students in discussions, stories, songs and group lessons. Children sat in a circle facing the teacher during these times so that they could see the teacher and all of their peers. The figure below displays the location of the two classrooms, the furniture in the classroom, the shelves according to subject areas taught in the room, and the circle time rug found in the classroom on the left. The tables are indicated by blue rectangles, the shelves by white rectangles, and the circle rug by a rounded square which resembles the actual shape of the rug.
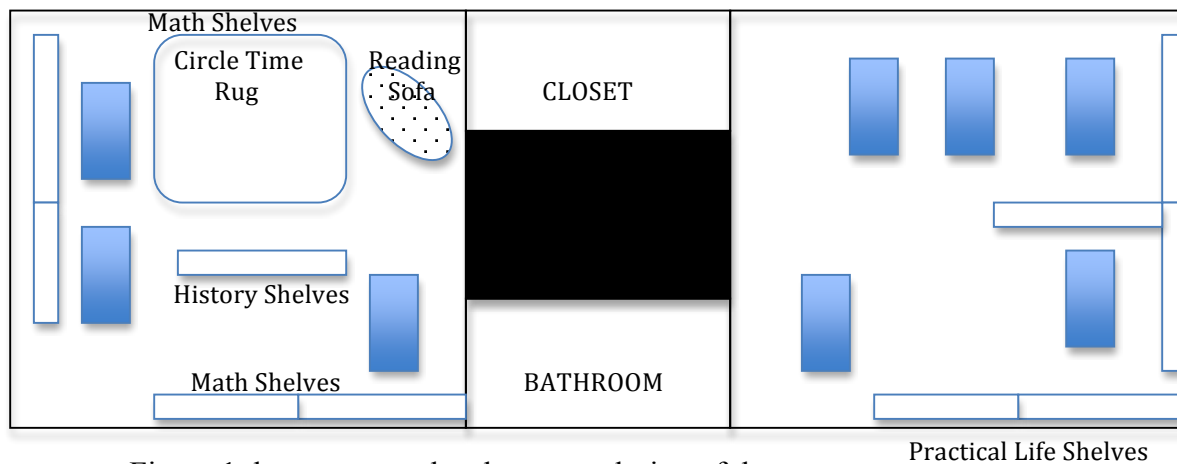
Figure 1 demonstrates the classroom design of the two rooms.

Figure 1. Map of the Classroom

Children were divided into two groups by the teacher on a daily basis so that there was an even number of children in both rooms and the children were exposed to both rooms throughout the week to have access to all subject areas in the two rooms.

While this classroom was divided into two rooms, Montessori classrooms were customarily wide, open spaces where children were free to walk around to all of the diverse academic areas. This specific room was divided into two sections because of the architectural layout of the building and the teachers shared on numerous occasions that this was not the best layout for their Montessori class. At the same time, this division allowed the teachers to divide and manage smaller groups of children.

Rationale for Selection of Grace Montessori as a Study Site

Grace Montessori was selected for this research study for several reasons that contributed to the design of this study. First, 15 out of the 24 children in the class were Korean American, which assisted in enlisting the three Korean American participants from one class. In addition, this preschool was part of a larger socializing institution in

the Korean American community.

I was first introduced to this school through a friend whose daughter had attended the preschool class three years ago. Although the child has graduated from the preschool, the mother was a close acquaintance of the director, and she helped to facilitate my meeting with the director of the school. Upon gaining permission to conduct research in the preschool class, I volunteered at the preschool to develop an initial understanding of the school's philosophy and curriculum and to develop a rapport with the teachers in the preschool class.

A Description of the Montessori Method

Grace Montessori was based on the philosophy of Dr. Maria Montessori, an Italian physicist and educator who opened her first Montessori school in 1907. Montessori's educational philosophy posed that children should not be forced into a prescribed curriculum. Rather, class activities should be made for the child's pace of learning and the child's process of learning (Montessori, 1949). Montessori's teachings were based on the philosophy that children possessed absorbent minds. Three central ideas formed the philosophy of the absorbent mind: 1) the child was an active agent of her own intellectual formation; 2) the child's absorbent mind develope in consciousness, and 3) the child's mind absorbed from the environment.

Montessori pointed to the child's mastery of a language at a young age as an example of the child's absorbent mind. She explained that young babies and children who had not received formal language classes in an institutionalized setting were still able to speak a language fluently due to their absorbent minds. According to Montessori's philosophy of the child's absorbent mind, the reason for the child's acquisition of their

first language was that the child's intensely curious, active, and sensitive mind absorbed the sounds of the voices around them and naturally internalized the structures in which words, phrases, and sentences fell into place within the mind. Moreover, the child's enthusiasm and eagerness to absorb language facilitated this process. Thus, Montessori's pedagogical practices centered on arousing interest in the child and following the child's learning patterns and interests.

For this study, the Grace Montessori preschool was chosen for two major reasons. First, the school emphasized a child-centered classroom and agency of the child in their education. To answer the research question on the kinds of utterances and gestures that children used to issue and respond to directives in the classroom, a child-centered curriculum was more conducive to observing and recording more child-centered talk and interaction. Secondly, the Montessori method had its origins in Italy and it had been a pedagogical method used mostly in the U.S. and Europe, which lead to contrasts in the way directives were used in the Montessori classroom and the homes of the three Korean American families. These contrasts were examined through the third research question, which analyzed the intersections and contrasts between directives used in the home and school.

The Montessori Classroom and Schedule

As a result of the teaching philosophy, the class' environment played an important role in teaching. For instance, the furniture in a Montessori class was customarily sized to match the child's height and reach. The shelves, desks, chairs, sofas, and tables in the classroom I observed were all made for the child's height and reach.

Along with the furniture, the child's activities during the day were also made for the child's pace and process of learning. The classroom was lined with shelves with age-

appropriate learning tools and activities. During what was called 'work time', children chose any learning tool and explored, played, and solved it for as long as they needed with the guidance of the teachers only when necessary. All the learning activities were age-appropriate and they had several levels of difficulty that the child could master through time. The activities were designed in a way that children were able to begin and end learning activities without supervision. When children were learning a new concept through the activity, a teacher intervened and provided the child with a short lesson on the new concept. The classroom had learning activities for mathematics, geography, bible stories, science, language arts, and practical life. While the areas of mathematics, geography, science, and language arts resembled the content of the same areas in public schools, Montessori schools were unique for their inclusion of an area called 'practical life'. In Montessori philosophy, practical life taught the child to take care of their hygiene, the environment, movement, and social relations. For example, this area included activities that taught the child how to close buttons, wash tables, water plants, slice fruits and share with other children.

Montessori classes were multi-aged classrooms, customarily with three ages in one class. The class I observed has children from ages ranging from three to six. Dr. Montessori believed that children needed to learn to work together, cooperate, and develop leadership skills in a non-competitive setting (Montessori, 1949). In this setting, children were not compared to one another by receiving grades or ranks. Rather, older children were expected to teach younger children while younger children learned from older children. Montessori classrooms were expected to behave like a family of children for the three years they were together. The children in the class I observed have known

other children in the class for one to three years and the teachers endeavored to create a family atmosphere by encouraging children to cooperate and teach one another rather than compete against one another.

The Daily Schedule of Classes in Grace Montessori

The schedule of the class allowed the children to follow their own pace and process of learning. When children arrived at 9:00 a.m., they were allowed to play with constructive toys such as Legos and building blocks until 9:30 a.m., when the lead teacher lead the children in a circle time of bible stories, singing, and greeting. From 10:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m., the lead teacher divided the children into the two rooms and the children were allowed to freely choose learning activities and learn for an hour. From 11:30 a.m. to 11:45 a.m., children returned to circle time where the lead teacher dismissed them, one by one, for a bathroom break and lunch. The children had lunch until 12:30 p.m., went outside for recess until 1:15 p.m. and had nap time until 2:00p.m. Afterwards, they had a second time of free learning activities until 2:30 p.m., and prepared to leave for the end of the school day at 3:00 p.m. in the afternoon.

 A Description of Home Sites and Rationale for Choosing Family Activities

This study investigated directives used in the context of the home environment of the three preschool children who attended Grace Montessori. In particular, the researcher observed the everyday routines of three families to examine the directive repertoires of the parents and children at home. Language socialization researchers have focused on routine and recurrent activities of everyday life which, "provide the raw materials of empirical analysis and serve as windows on underlying principles of social organization and cultural orientation" (Garret & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 345). Several researchers

(e.g., Bhimji, 2005; Blum-Kulka, 1997; Kent, 2012; Ochs & Taylor, 1993) have focused on mealtimes as a daily routine that is used by families as a key site for socialization of children into morally and culturally appropriate practices. This study examined the mealtimes of families to investigate the socialization practices that involve directives between parents and children and children with their siblings.

In addition to mealtimes, the study observed routine play times between siblings at home to capture the children's interactions with one another. Much of the literature on directives has focused on a top-down, uni-directional use of directives by parents and teachers to their children (e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1997; Goodwin, 2006; Halle & Shatz, 1994; He, 2000; Pember, 1986; Schneiderman, 1983). While some researchers have examined the directive use of children with parents (Brumark, 2010) or with peers (Kryatsiz & Tarum, 2010), there is a gap in research on how children use directives multi-directionally with both parents and siblings. To fill this gap, this study examined the children's use of directives with other children.

Selection and Recruitment of Participants: Children, Parents, and Teachers

This section will discuss the methods for choosing participants, methods for recruiting participants, the description of participants, and the factors that may disqualify a participant for the study. The participants were chosen from a preschool Montessori class located in North Valley, New Jersey. Following the sampling methods of Kent (2012), Kim (2009), and No (2011), the current study used a purposeful sample to recruit students from the class to examine a phenomenon in depth.

While the three children and their families were my primary participants, this study also observed the interactions of these three children with their teachers in the

classroom to examine how the three children's directive repertoires developed with others in school and at home.

While there has been research conducted on directives used in the classroom, there is a gap in the research of how Korean American children issue and respond to directives. Thus, this study examined the directive interactions of three Korean American children across multiple contexts of home and school to examine how their use of directives influenced and shaped their educational experiences. Though the study does not claim generalizability to other ethnic groups, it presents an ethnography of one group of children in a classroom that may shed light on the educational experiences of other ethnic groups as well. The children who participated in this study interacted with other children who were not Korean American. While I focused mainly on the interactions of the three children with each other, I also included how the three participants responded to and issued directives to other children in the classroom.

To answer my research questions on the bilingualism and language socialization of families, I enlisted participants who were bilingual. This study drew from the continua of bilingualism approach proposed by Hornberger and Link (2012) to argue that there are multiple ways of being a bilingual person. For example, bilingualism may range from receptive bilingualism, comprehending the spoken language but not producing through speech or writing, to productive bilingualism, producing the language through speech and writing.

In considering the number of participants, the studies of Bhimji (2002) and No (2011) informed this study. Existing research has preferred qualitative studies on the

language socialization processes of young children with participant numbers from three or more families. For qualitative research, Yin (2003) advised a small number of participants to capture more in-depth analysis of each participant. With the purpose of analyzing the developing directive repertoires of each child with richer detail and greater depth, this study focused on three Korean American children and their families. Also, to examine the children's multidirectional use of directives with the parents and siblings, I asked children with siblings to participate.

Participants were recruited one month before the observations began to ensure that there would be three child participants in the study. Building off of the rapport that I had developed during six months of field observations and volunteering at the school, I approached the parents of the children during a time that was convenient for the parents, such as when they dropped off or picked up their child or another time they suggested was convenient for the parent.

Factors that disqualified a potential participant were lack of commitment to participate in the study or prolonged absence from the preschool class. If the children fell outside the range of ages three to six, the child may be disqualified to be enrolled in the preschool class and was therefore not qualified for the study. If the children's siblings at home were younger than three or older than six, however, the study included their interactions with the children who were enrolled in the preschool class to answer the second research question about the children's interactions with other children. As the children were under the age of 18, the researcher obtained consent from the parents of the children before conducting research. Only children who attended the preschool class for at least half of the week were included in the study. Children of parents who were both

Korean American were considered for the study to answer the second, third, and fourth research questions of how Korean American parents use directives with their children in the home. Only the mothers, fathers, and siblings of the three children who are recruited from class were included in the study. The data sources I compiled for the three families were based on home observations, transcripts from audio- and video-recordings, interviews of parents, and interviews of children.

Chapter 4. Results of Directive Interactions in the Home

This chapter presents findings regarding directive interactions of the three children with their family members in the three homes. As previously reported in the research design, data were collected through three protocols: audio-video recordings of naturally occurring speech in the three homes, field observations in the homes, and interviews of families in the homes. In this chapter, I draw from the three protocols to show the kinds of directive interactions that occurred in the three homes, while the next chapter (Chapter 6) will focus on directive interactions in the school. This chapter, which focuses on directive interactions in the home, is divided into two sections.

The first section presents findings regarding the larger social context of the families with relation to language preferences and practices of family members. This section draws from interviews with family members to respond to the third research question: What language preferences and practices exist in the participants' different contexts, and what do these language practices and patterns reveal about the larger social contexts and balances of power in the lives of the participants? This discussion of the broader social context of the families' language practices, patterns, and balances of power allowed me to examine how the macro context shapes and influences the micro directive interactions of the families in their three homes.

In the second section, I examine directive interactions that resulted in compliance and resistance, and how these directive interactions are used in the home to socialize participants into appropriate ways of behaving, thinking, and interacting.

The second section is designed to address the following research questions:

- How do participants issue and respond to directives? What kinds of utterances, gestures, and forms of eye contact emerge when participants issue, or respond to directives?

- How are directives used to socialize participants into appropriate ways of behaving, thinking, and interacting?

As a reminder to the reader, the three families who participated in the study were the Kim family, consisting of Bumjoo (father), Bomi (mother), Karis (4.7), and her sibling, Ariel (1.7); the Chung family, consisting of Daryl (father), Somi (mother), Juri (4.5), and her sibling, Sangdo (2.11); and the Park family, consisting of Jim (father), Sarah (mother), and Timothy (3.8).

Context of power: Language preferences and practices

This section focuses on the larger social context that influenced the daily language practices, preferences, and directive interactions of the family members. By considering the social context and the questions of whose voices were heard, in what language, and with what power, we may better understand the daily directive interactions in the three homes. In all three homes, there were two major concerns shared by the parents which will be the two themes analyzed here in this chapter. First, the parents were concerned with maintaining and honoring the native language of Korean but used different methods to maintain Korean. Second, the parents were concerned that children were becoming more dominant in English due to the linguistic power and legitimacy granted by institutions in the family's lives, namely the children's school and church.

Language maintenance and identity

In all three homes, language maintenance was a major concern for the parents. The parents of Juri and Sangdo, and Karis and Ari deliberately spoke Korean at home for children to maintain their knowledge and use of Korean. The parents of Timothy translanguaged between Korean and English to expose Timothy to the Korean language. When I asked Sarah, mother of Juri and Sangdo, about language use at home during an interview, she shared:

Excerpt 1 (November 4, 2014)

> We speak Korean and sometimes English 'cause my second child seems to understand more when I speak in English. And I speak in Korean because I want to teach them both languages, especially since we're from Korea. We're Korean. I think I believe they should know what their mother country language is.

For Sarah, speaking Korean was a form of identification. South Korea was her "mother country" and speaking the Korean language identified her family with their country of origin. For the same reason, her husband, Daryl, stated that he spoke "95% Korean at home" when he spoke with his children. For Daryl, he described his children's ability to learn both languages as his ambition:

Excerpt 2 (Interview, September 17, 2014)

> Starting from now and throughout their lives I want them to be fluent in both languages. Maybe it's my ambition but I think that's important for them to know their roots, their heritage, and their identity as well.

Another parent, Bomi, mother of Karis and Ariel, discussed how speaking both Korean and English would identify her child as a bilingual and bicultural Korean American. For Bomi, speaking both languages in the home was an important decision for her family:

Excerpt 3 (Interview, December 14, 2014)

> I try to mix languages, Korean and English as much as possible. I want it to be a
> natural process for her to get Korean and English so umm she's not she doesn't
> think we're just an English speaking household or just a Korean speaking
> household but that we're a bilingual household so that you know if in the future if
> she decides to learn Korean more traditionally then it's not gonna be so foreign to
> her. It's gonna be a conversational thing. She'll have at least the basic
> conversational skills.

Speaking in both languages at home was Bomi's way of preparing her daughter for a

future of bilingualism. Bomi believed that raising her daughter in a bilingual home would

cause the Korean language to be a familiar language, not a foreign one, even though they

were removed from the country of South Korea. For Bomi, the Korean language was a

connection to South Korea and it possessed intimate ties to her identity:

Excerpt 4 (December 14, 2014)

> I don't want her to lose our mother tongue. I think that's important for me.
> Because then it's tied in with our identity. I don't want her to lose that. It's
> important because there are just some expressions in Korean that you can't
> express in English, not just conversationally but also poetically. Korean's so
> poetic and if she loses the ability to speak Korean entirely she's gonna lose those
> nuances in language when she talks with other people, when she hears like. I don't
> want her struggling when she speaks with other Korean speakers umm and just
> like she's only like when someone translates you can only translate the bare
> minimum you know like when you communicate, but you lose a lot of the depth
> of the language. I don't want her to lose that. I think that's really important for me
> because for me, even though my Korean is not perfect I still have a foundation so
> when I hear for example, a Korean phrase or Korean hymns or worship songs
> there's something that really triggers my heart, it really resonates with me.

As evident in this excerpt, Bomi had an intimate connection with the Korean language

that was tied in, as she noted, with her identity and helped her to plumb deep emotional

responses and form expressions that were difficult to understand and translate in the

English language. As a mother, she desired to share this linguistic identity with her children.

Language maintenance and community

For the purpose of maintaining the native language, families pursued and strengthened relationships with other family and community members who spoke Korean. When I asked Somi about Korean speakers in their families and community members, Somi responded:

Excerpt 5 (September 17, 2014)

> The grandparents speak in Korean. Some of my church members. When we go to church. I go to a Korean church. Korean ministry. I go to a Korean ministry church and we speak in Korean and we communicate in Korean.

For Somi, her Korean speaking church members were an integral part of the Korean speaking community of her family members. For Sarah's child, Timothy, friends and grandparents who spoke Korean encouraged Timothy to speak Korean:

Excerpt 6 (February 20, 2015)

> I think he (Timothy) leans towards English but right now it's changing because like he wants both. Because he knows that his friends speak more Korean. So I think he's trying. He noticed that his friend would ignore him when he said something in English. And I said she's not ignoring you use cause she's being mean. She just doesn't understand what you're saying. I think it helps that he knows they (grandparents) can't speak any other language so he's forced to use it. So I kinda like that aspect.

For Timothy, English was his dominant language but, as Sarah discussed, Timothy began to become interested in learning Korean because of his exposure to Korean-speaking friends. He desire to communicate with his friends and his grandparents was a major factor in contributing to the development of his bilingualism.

In addition, Korean language schools or classes were another way in which the parents pursued maintenance of the Korean language. Somi shared that she wanted to

look for a Korean school because she believed that the age of four or five was an

appropriate time to send Juri (Interview, September 17, 2014). Sarah also shared that her

in-laws were Korean teachers:

Excerpt 7 (February 20, 2015)
> Going forward I was made aware that Ji's parents they are Korean teachers. um elementary. Yeah they're hardcore. They have a whole curriculum set already. They are retired so they are thinking about using that for him when he turns 5. So I was like oh! Okay, like really rigorously.

From this excerpt, we see that Timothy's grandparents were a major resource for

developing Timothy's knowledge of Korean. Timothy's grandparents shared their desire

to communicate with their grandson with Sarah, who agreed with and encouraged their

plan to teach him Korean.

English in social context

The parents of the three families spoke Korean at home, pursued relationships

with Korean speaking family members and communities, and made plans for sending

children to Korean language schools and classes to maintain and teach the native

language of Korean. The parents' efforts to maintain the Korean language, however,

faced many challenges due to the power and legitimacy of the English language. Children

in the study were only three and four years old but they were already beginning to forget

Korean words they had learned from infancy due to their increasing dominance in

English. Bomi discussed her concerns about Karis' diminishing ability to speak Korean:

> Excerpt 8 (September 17, 2014)
> She typically responds in English because that's what's become comfortable for her and if she doesn't know something she'll ask. What does that mean? Sometimes I find myself getting frustrated because I expect her to know because she knew before but she's quickly forgetting. That's why it makes me feel like I have to keep speaking to her and mixing it. I think peers, school, major thing is

school. Because when she was home with us she spoke primarily Korean and now that she's at school and most of her peers are speaking English you know she is just more comfortable in English. And I think the video or the television programs that she watches, most of it is in English now so I think that also is a big factor.

According to Bomi, the major factor for Karis' growing dominance in English was that her school, her teachers and friends, all spoke only in English. In addition, the television programs she watched were primarily in English.

Not only the children's school, but the church Sunday school was also English dominant, as Somi shared during an interview:

Excerpt 9 (Interview, September 17, 2014)

The Sunday school is mixed in both languages. Some songs they have English worship songs and I think most of the teaching is in English towards the kids. They prefer English

Even though Somi attended a Korean speaking church, the church's Sunday school pastor and teachers chose to speak in English because the children spoke to each other in English.

Along with the school and church, a participant's medical practitioner encouraged choosing one language. When Timothy was a baby, Sarah shared that her doctor recommended that she should choose one language and speak to their baby in that language only.

Excerpt 10 (February 20, 2015)

When he was first born we didn't have a set idea like we have to speak in Korean. We have to speak English but I noticed as he progressed, the doctor did notice that his language development was a little behind. Nothing too drastic. So then she suggested stick with one language. And so that's when we decided to just do English. She was checking. I don't remember the age. But she was checking if he was doing phrases. Four words or something like that. It has to be over a year. Um. But yeah, he wasn't speaking as much so then once we did that, within a

month his language just flew, like he was speaking all the time and then we just kinda went with the flow.

As Sarah discussed, Timothy's pediatrician encouraged her and her husband to choose one language. This resulted in the parents' decision to only speak in English. Timothy's drastic improvement in speaking English encouraged Sarah and her husband to continue with this decision and speak only English with him at home until he was older. This decision, however, led to Timothy's estrangement from his grandparents who could not communicate with him, and a disconnect with his Korean identity and name. He did not recognize or respond to his Korean name, *Jesuk*, and Sarah eventually felt guilty for not teaching him Korean:

Excerpt 11 (February 20, 2015)

> My in-laws said "He don't understand me". (Laughs.) So I was like I kind of felt bad because I didn't make a conscious effort. We never used his Korean name. "Who's 제석 (*Jesuk)*?"

Sarah's guilt stemmed from Timothy's inability to communicate with her in-laws. This guilt was compounded by her fear of Timothy's linguistic progress. As evident in Sarah's case, the parents experienced complex and conflicting emotions and thoughts regarding the linguistic preferences and patterns of their children. Daryl, the father of Sangdo and Juri, experienced a desire for his children to maintain their Korean language but faced a reality that his children were already starting to forget Korean words:

Excerpt 12 (February 10, 2015)

> I try to speak Korean to them as much as possible but they're used to speaking English with one another so I try to tell them to speak Korean at least at home. They're free to speak whatever they want outside but at home, I want them to communicate in Korean primarily. Because I don't want them to forget about Korean because they have learned Korean as their first language at home and they're starting to lose it. I want them to retain it.

Daryl acknowledged that his children would speak English outside of the home but he enforced his family members to speak only Korean at home so that his children would maintain their native language.

Similarly, Bomi, Karis's mother, experienced a feeling of hope for her child to become bilingual but she also experienced a fear that the reality of her daughter's context will lead to being more comfortable in the dominant language of English:

Excerpt 13 (September 17, 2015)

> Ten years from now I hope that she's a comfortable bilingual, that she could just speak like I mean by hope, I hope she can speak both languages as well as each other, you know, perfectly. But realistically I think she's gonna be a lot more comfortable in English and then ummm I just hope that her Korean is like that she's not afraid to speak it, like it'll be a foundation that she has. I hope. I hope."

Even as Bomi hoped for her daughter to be bilingual, she faced the realistic future of her daughter becoming more dominant in English. She emphasized her hope in the face of this dim reality by repeating "I hope. I hope."

In summary, while the larger social institutions of the three families, such as the school and church favored English as a dominant language, the parents did not lose hope of raising their children as bilingual speakers. The parents pursued and maintained relationships with Korean speakers in their families and church community. Although Sarah and Jim were advised by their pediatrician to speak one language and chose to speak in English, they made plans to enroll their child in a Korean language school. Most importantly, all of the parents created an environment in which Korean became a familiar and necessary language for children at home.

We may explore how this decision of speaking Korean at home took place in the everyday lives of the family members through the window of directive interactions. Directive interactions in the three homes involved the knowledge and use of both Korean and English by the parents and children.

Directive Interactions

This section addresses the first research question regarding ways in which participants issued and responded to directives in the home. As discussed in the literature review, this study examines directives as interactions, and not merely as speech acts. Research on directives as a speech act is problematic because it limits directives to a single initial utterance, neglects the hearer, and limits cultural differences. Due to these limitations, I analyze the directives as interactions and include an analysis of the gestures and forms of eye contact that participants used during the directive interactions. Furthermore, this section explores how children also actively issue and respond to directives.

As discussed in the literature review, three organizing principles from conversation analysis were used to organize findings because they foregrounded the interactions between the speaker and hearer. To examine the interactions between participants in the data, the chapter l used the following principles from conversation analysis: *sequences*, *preferred responses* and *non-preferred responses*.[4] The terms,

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[4] First, a *sequence* is a term used in conversation analysis to define an interaction from the first turn to the final turn of talk that pertains to the first turn. Second, a *preferred response* is a term used in conversation analysis to define responses that contain an outcome that the speaker prefers. Third, a *dispreferred response* is a term in conversation analysis used to denote responses that are not preferred by the speaker. Finally, there are also sequences with directives that elicit a dispreferred response initially, which change to a preferred response.

"compliance" and "resistance," draw from Kent (2012) whose work was noteworthy for the way she considered the child's response as well as the parent's initial directive. Using these organizing principles from conversation and discourse analysis, the results for both home (Chapter 5) and school (Chapter 6) are divided into these two sections:

1. Compliance: Sequences in which a directive is followed by a preferred response of compliance.

2. Resistance: Sequences in which a directive is followed by a dispreferred response of resistance.

The two sections include in-depth analyses of all three data sets: recordings of naturally occurring speech in the three homes, interviews of families, and my field notes of observations in the three homes, to triangulate data and increase analytical rigor and depth. Data excerpts were organized by themes that linked excerpts together in the analysis. As Rubin and Rubin (1995) advise, when presenting qualitative data, organizing data by themes helps to refine concepts and clearly describe the phenomena in the study. As such, the excerpts were chosen in this study to represent the themes that are discussed in the findings. The themes are:

- Compliance at home
- Command-performance interactions at home
- Modeling-imitation interactions at home
- Explanation-comprehension interactions at home
- Resistance at home
- Resistance and persuasion at home
- Compliance at school
- Modeling-imitation interactions at school
- Signaling-attention interactions at school
- Claiming-concession interactions at school
- Resistance at school

Compliance at Home: Sequences in which a directive is followed by a preferred response.

In this section, I provide in-depth analyses of the findings that pertain to directive interactions that result in compliance. Directives followed by compliance resulted in the hearer's acceptance and performance of the speaker's directive. This section outlines these directive interactions that were followed by compliance:

1. **Command-Performance Interactions**: Interactions consisting of a speaker who issued a command and a hearer who performed the command.

2. **Modeling-Imitation Interactions:** Interactions that included a speaker who modeled a directive and a hearer who imitated the speaker's modeled directive.

3. **Explanation-Comprehension Interactions:** Interactions in which a speaker explained reasons for issuing a directive and a hearer exhibited comprehension of the explanations and performed the directive.

These directive interactions included the speaker's initial directive and the hearer's response to the directive.

Command-Performance Interactions.

This section explores directive interactions in which the speaker issues a command and the hearer performs the command. In addition to issuing a verbal command, the speaker also performed gestures that accompanied and extended commands. To comply, a hearer often aligned his or her verbal utterances and gestures with the speaker's directives.

The first excerpt includes a command issued by Bomi (Karis' mother) to Karis,

who immediately performed Bomi's command. Bomi (B) commanded Karis (K) to take notice of an object in a book they were reading together. The transcript of the excerpt is presented first, followed by screenshots of the interaction that include gestures.

Excerpt 14 (October 30, 2014)

1   B: Woooo Karis 이것봐 look what they found (Pointing to picture in book.)
            I get bwa
            Look here

2   K: Wooo a magic carpet! (Puts fingers on same place of book that Bomi had pointed out.)

3   B: yeah.

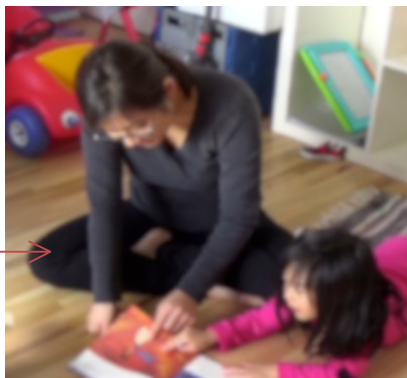**Figure 2. Look**

Line (1)

Bomi gazes at magic carpet in book

Bomi points to book with pointer

Line (2)

Karis looks at magic carpet and also points at book

In this excerpt, Bomi, Karis' mother, issued a direct command to Karis in line (1) and Karis complied and performed the command in line (2). With the purpose of obtaining Karis' compliance, Bomi translanguaged in line (1) to issue her command more effectively. She issued her command first in Korean and then spoke the command again English to ensure that her daughter fully understood. The mother also used a gesture to draw the daughter's attention to the book that the mother wanted the daughter to see, at the same time that she said, "Look". She pointed with her pointer finger at the magic carpet illustrated in the book, as seen in the first still shot in Figure 1. Her daughter immediately complied by looking at the book and also pointing at the magic carpet in the book (see second image of Figure 1).

The next excerpt is another example of a directive interaction in which a command was followed by compliance and performance of the command. This excerpt was extracted from a child interview. In the interview two children, Juri (J) and Karis (K), were given a puppet each and were asked to pretend that one puppet was the parent while the other puppet was a child. The participants were prompted to pretend that they were eating dinner. The transcript of the excerpt is introduced along with one screenshot of the gestures used during the interaction.

Excerpt 15 (November 7, 2014)

1   K: Eat it baby!

2   J: (Eats by moving head up and down above food.)

3   J: I'm <u>done</u>!

Figure 3. Eat it baby

Line (2)

Juri
moves puppet's
head above food.

During the interview, Juri wished to play the part of the child while Karis chose the part

of the mother. As soon as the children received the prompt to pretend they were at the

dinner table, Karis shouted a command, "Eat it baby!" in line (1). Juri immediately

complied by moving her puppet to the yellow piece of paper that was designated as their

food (see Figure 2). Juri pretended that her puppet obeyed the command to eat by moving

her head up and down from her food.

As an observer during this interview, I noticed that Karis issued several

commands that Juri immediately obeyed and performed. Additional data from field notes

highlight my observations of the commands that were issued by the children during the

interview:

Excerpt 16 (November 7, 2014)

> Upon giving the girls their prompt for the interview, the two girls quickly adopted
> their roles. Karis became the mother who shouted commands at the child,
> shouting "Eat!" and "Hurry!" as she stood over Juri's puppet. Karis raised her
> voice for every command she issued and her puppet jumped up and down as she,
> the mother, issued the commands. Juri's puppet, the child, immediately performed
> the commands that her mother (Karis' puppet) shouted at her. Juri rushed her
> puppet over to the 'food' (a piece of paper) that we had laid out before the
> prompt. The girls continued with this pretend play for approximately four minutes
> and Karis issued seven commands during the interaction: eat (three times), sleep,
> get ready for bed, pretend, don't cry. For each command Karis' issued, Juri's

puppet immediately obeyed without hesitation. Both girls were vivacious and very lively. Karis' puppet jumped up and down, up and down as she shouted command after command. Juri frantically obeyed each command, rushing to the food to eat, rushing to sleep, and rushing to eat again.

Drawing from the excerpt and the field notes during the children's interview, we may conclude that children possessed the capability of issuing commands and performing those commands. Both Karis and Juri easily adopted the roles of mother and daughter and produced a rich interaction of commands and compliance. While this directive interaction involved a complex series of commands, gestures, and compliance, the two children spoke only English and did not utilize their second language as a resource to issue or respond to directives.

In summary, the parents and children performed directive interactions that resulted in compliance. The data revealed that both parents and children were capable of issuing direct commands, while children were adept at complying with and performing the commands. Furthermore, the parents in the study drew from linguistic resources of translanguaging, gesturing, and forms of eye gaze to make their commands more effective. Children performed commands through verbal and gestural responses.

Finally, according to the interview data provided in the analysis, the parents in the study viewed giving commands as a way of socializing children into appropriate forms of compliance. The parents in the study shared during interviews that children needed to learn how to comply with their parents appropriately through these directive interactions. In an interview, Somi, Juri's mother, was asked the following question, "Are there any specific words, gestures, or patterns that you use to direct children?" (Appendix C: Interview of Parents). Somi responded in the following excerpt from an interview:

Excerpt 17 (September 17, 2014)

> "Children should obey their parents more than I think because not only are we biological parents but I want them to really know what we are trying to teach through our experience and our belief, so to us obedience is the most important element that I ask my child to listen so that in the future when it comes to their choice, it should be in their nature and in their system and in their knowledge."

Somi shared that compliance was of utmost importance to her as a mother. If her children learned how to comply, Somi stated that her children would be socialized to make appropriate decisions. Compliance with parents' directives would eventually lead to socialization that instilled appropriate behavior. The socialization process would be so thorough, Somi stated, that it would be ingrained in their nature, system, and knowledge. Complying with commands was a means for children to be socialized into a habit of compliance.

Modeling-Imitation Interactions

In this section, I will discuss directive interactions that contain speakers who are modeling speech or behavior for the hearer to follow. Two excerpts that include examples of modeling and imitating and an interview segment are included in this section. The first excerpt presents a father modeling the appropriate way for his daughter to make a request at the dinner table. Ari (A) requested that Bumjoo (B) would give her a piece of *kimchi*, a Korean pickled side dish. Bumjoo (B) modeled the appropriate way that Ari (A) ought to request something from an elder.

Excerpt 18 (March 4, 2015)

1   A: 아빠 김치?
     appa kimchi
     daddy *kimchi*?

2   B: 김치　주세::요 (Places chopsticks in *kimchi* bowl.)
           kimchi cuseyyo::o
          kimchi give (+honorific verb ending)

3   A: 김치 주세:요
           kimchi cuseyyo:o
          kimchi give (+honorific verb ending)

4   B: (Places *kimchi* in Ari's bowl with his chopsticks.)

5   A: Mmm (Shakes spoon and nods head up and down and smiles.)

6   B: (Chuckles.)

In Excerpt (16), the father socialized his daughter into the appropriate way of issuing a directive in Korean by modeling the directive appropriately with the use of the Korean honorific verb ending, '*yo*'. In line (1) the daughter asked for *kimchi* with a question, "daddy kimchi?" The father refused her request by not giving her *kimchi* and by putting his chopsticks into his bowl. Instead he issued another directive in Korean in the polite style and reformulated the appropriate directive in the Korean polite style.

The daughter immediately acknowledged the father's performance, which he had modeled for her. She saw that he meant for her to repeat his reformulated and appropriate directive from line (2) and she repeated his directive in line (3). In addition to repeating his words, she also mirrored the intonation and prolonged the last '*yo*' at the end of the directive. In the visualization of the audio recording below, which graphed the volume, intonation, and pitch of the voices, we can see how closely the daughter mimicked her father's directive. In the figure below, the first utterance is the father's modeled request followed by the second utterance, which is the daughter's repetition of the request. See Figure 1 below.

Figure 5. Kimchi

kimchi   cu se yyo::o   *kimci cu se   yyo:o*
(Father, Bumjoo)   (Daughter, Ariel)
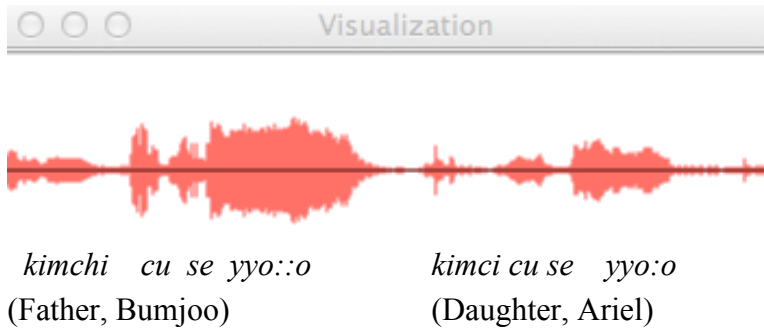
In the visualization of their speech, the height of the waves depicts the volume of the speech while the length of the wave depicts the timed length of the recorded speech. In the figure, it is apparent that the volume and length of the father's directive was imitated by the daughter. Specifically, the honorific verb ending, '*yo*', is extended to a greater length and spoken with a higher volume by first the father and then his daughter. Once the daughter produced the socially appropriate directive in line (3), the father responded with a preferred response to her request for *kimchi* and placed a piece of *kimchi* onto her plate in line (5).

The first excerpt highlighted the way in which Sarah used directives to model appropriate forms of speech. As evidenced in the excerpt, the child, Timothy, complied with and imitated his mother's modeled request for food. In this way, Sarah modeled appropriate forms of speech and gestures for children.

In the next excerpt, Sarah, Timothy's mother, modeled appropriate gestures used for prayer by using directives that were gestural and silent. In this excerpt, Sarah (S) modeled appropriate forms of prayer for Timothy (T). The transcription of the excerpt is first presented, followed by screenshots from the video recording of the interaction and an analysis of the interaction.

Excerpt 19 (December 17, 2014)

1   S: Okay <u>now</u> I'm gonna show you how to peel it if you don't know how to peel it. It's kiinda tricky so watch. (Holds up a clementine in her hand.)

2   S: Let's pray first. (Puts clementine down and claps two hands together to pray.)

3   S: (Purses lips, presses hands against each other, and looks at T.)

4   S: (.1) Okay?

5   T: (Picks up clementine and puts it down on plate again.)

6   T: (Presses hands together and closes eyes.)

7   S: God we thank you for this snack.

The figure below exhibits three screenshots from the video-recording of the interaction in Excerpt (5). The three screenshots correspond with Lines 3, 5, and 6 from the interaction. Arrows and notes are inserted in the margins for details regarding gestures in the shots.

Figure 6. Prayer

Line (3)

Eye contact, pursed lips

Pressed hands

Eye contact

Line (6)

Eyes closed, pressed hands
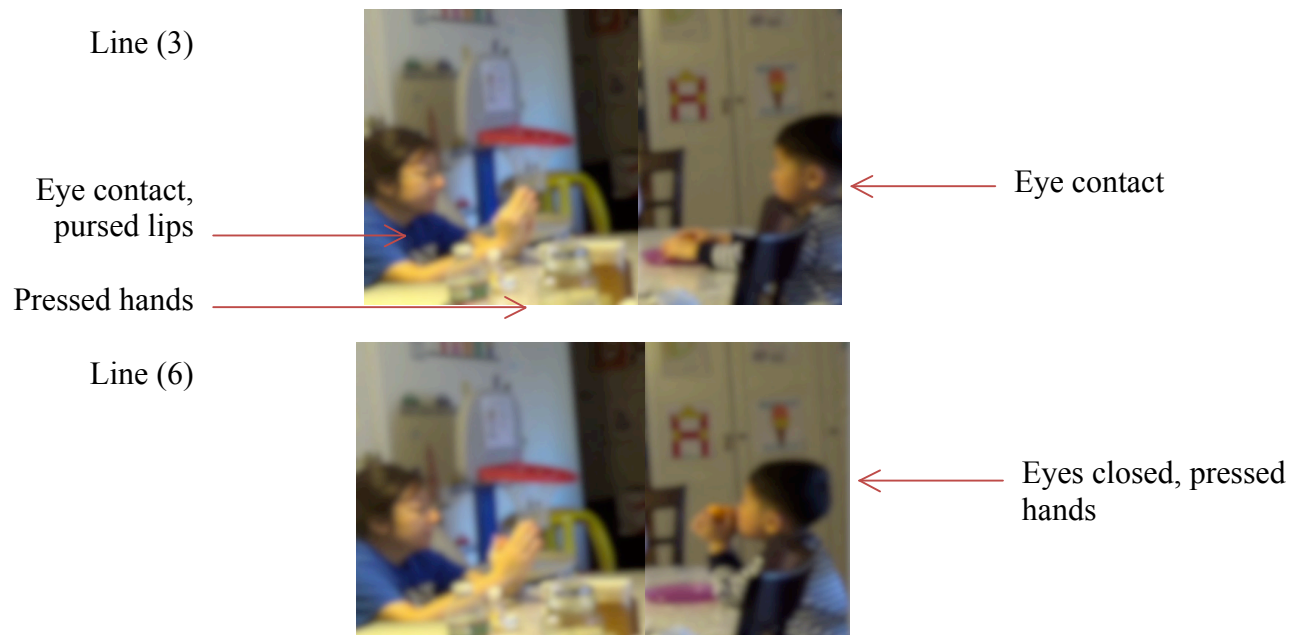
In this excerpt, Sarah modeled appropriate gestures required for prayer for her son to imitate. In lines (2) to (4), the mother modeled gestures by pressing her hands together and holding them up with fingertips upwards. To engage and prolong Timothy's attention, she made eye contact with her son until the son complied in line (6). In line (6), the mother closed her eyes to demonstrate to her son that praying appropriately meant closing ones eyes. The son complied with his mother's modeled forms of prayer by closing his eyes and pressing his hands together. In this excerpt, the mother issued a verbal directive in line (2) to pray together and followed up with gestural directives that she modeled for her son to imitate. He complied with her gestural directives by imitating them.

These two excerpts were examples of directive interactions resulting in compliance that contained modeling and imitating. The parents in the study modeled appropriate forms of speech and gestures for children to imitate and perform. Children, especially older siblings, participated in this type of directive interaction. Older siblings often used directives to model appropriate behaviors and utterances for younger siblings. In the following excerpt, Karis (K), the older daughter, modeled appropriate behavior and speech for her younger sister, Ari (A), during a birthday party. Their mother, Bomi (B), brought a birthday cake out for Karis and Ari.

Excerpt 20 (January 30, 2015)

1   Children: Happy birthday to you! (Singing.)

2   Bomi: (Carries birthday cake on both hands and places cake in front of K and A.)

3   K: (Blows candles.)

4 K: 아리도! (K leans over and puts hand on Ari's shoulder.) 후 후 (K puts hands
     Arito!   *Huhu*
     Ari too!   Hoo hoo

    on Ari's cheeks and presses them.) This is Ari's! (points to candle). 불어봐
                            bulebwa
                            Try to blow

5 A: (Tries to blow on candles.)

In this excerpt, Karis used directives to model the appropriate way to blow out a birthday candle for her younger sister, Ari. In line (3), Karis first modeled how to blow out a birthday candle for her younger sister. In line (4), Karis shouted a verbal directive for Ari to blow out the candle. Her gestures of putting a hand on Ari's shoulder and pressing Ari's cheeks guided Ari in blowing out the birthday candle in the appropriate way. Karis also changed registers in line (4) to linguistically mark and emphasize her directives to Ari. As evident in this excerpt, children used directives to model appropriate ways of behavior for other children.

In summary, the excerpt and interview excerpt exemplified how speakers in the study used directives to model appropriate behaviors and forms of speech for the hearer. The hearer complied by imitating the forms of speech or behavior. Both the parents and children modeled styles of speech, gestures, and forms of eye contact. Children in the study complied with their parent's and sibling's modeled directives by imitating their modeled utterances, gestures, and forms of eye contact. As such, children and parents employed translanguaging as a strategic bilingual resource to emphasize directives and communicate in two languages.

Finally, all of the parents and children believed that modeling through directives socialized children into appropriate forms of speech and behavior. In other words,

children learned appropriate forms of address and speech in the Korean language through modeling with directives.

In an interview, Daryl, Juri and Sangdo's father, was asked the following question (Appendix C: Interview of Parents):

- Are there any specific words, gestures, or patterns that you use to direct children? What language have you found to be successful in clearly communicating directives to children?

Daryl responded with the following statement:

Excerpt 21 (February 10, 2014)

> In the Korean language there's a respectful way to ask questions right? So I try to use that. Let's say ummm when we come back home from outside right, I ask them, Can you wash your hands please? in a respectful way. like 손 시스세요. (*son siseuseh yo*) Just like that. And I expect them to say it in the same way.

When asked about the language, words, gestures, and patterns he used to give directives, Daryl explained that there is a polite style of speaking, which included honorific endings and proper titles for elders. For example, he added the honorific verb ending, *'yo'*, to the verb for washing ones hands, and issued a directive in English first and then in Korean. Although his children are younger than him and obviously not appropriate recipients of a polite style from their father, the father used the polite style with their children so that the children could imitate and learn this style of speaking. In this way, the parents and children modeled their directives for children to also use the polite style when speaking in Korean.

Explanation-Comprehension Interactions.

This section analyzes directive interactions in which a speaker explained reasons for why directives needed to be complied with and a hearer who exhibited comprehension of the explanation and complied with the directive. This section provides excerpts from recordings of naturally occurring speech and an interview excerpt to triangulate and analyze data. In the following excerpt, Sarah (S) explained the reason for why her son, Timothy (T) ought to obey her directive. The transcription of the excerpt is presented and followed by screenshots of gestures used by both Sarah and Timothy from the video recording.

Excerpt 22 (December 17, 2014)

1   S: (Places hand sanitizer on T's hand.)

2   T: (Looks at his hand in front of him.)

3   S: Rub rub. It gets the germs away. It kills the germs. (Looks at T.)

4   T: (Starts rubbing hands)
                                        (Looks at his mother)

5   T: (Rubbing hands) Kill kill kill.

Figure 7. Antibacterial

Line (3)

Sarah attempts to make
eye contact with
Timothy as she explains
directive.
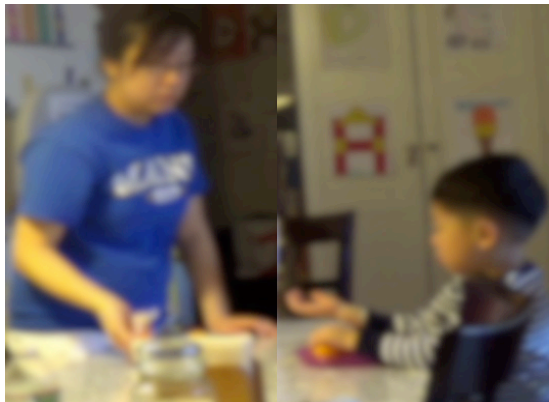
"Rub rub. It gets the
germs away. It kills the
germs."

Line (4)

Timothy attempts to
make eye contact with
Sarah as he obeys
directive.

In Excerpt (20), Sarah explained why Timothy ought to obey her directive in line (3). Her directive to rub his hands in line 3, "Rub rub," was followed by the explanation that hand sanitizer "gets the germs away" and "kills the germs". As Sarah explained why Timothy ought to obey the directive, she attempted to make eye contact with Timothy to ensure that he understood (See Figure 3). After hearing the explanation, Timothy demonstrated comprehension by rubbing his hands together in line (4), looking at Sarah in line (4), and saying, "kill kill kill," in line (5). After comprehension of the directive, Timothy obeyed and performed the directive.

Children offered explanations for directives that they issued. In the next excerpt,

Karis (K) issued a directive to her father, Bumjoo (B) and offered an explanation for her directive. The transcript of the excerpt is presented followed by still shots of gestures from the audio-video recording.

Excerpt 23 (March 2, 2015)

1   K: *Abba* Eat your <u>own</u> *kimchi* (Pouts and puts spoon in her bowl). I don't like you taking my *kimchi* (Looks up at father).

2   B: (Continues eating.)

Figure 8. Eat your own kimchi

Line (1)

Pouting child

Line (2)

Looks up at father, pouting

In line (1), Karis issued a directive to her father, Bumjoo: "Eat your own *kimchi*" and emphasized the word "own" by speaking the word in a higher volume and pitch. She further accented her directive by pouting (See Figure 4). To ensure that Bumjoo complied with her directive, Karis explained why she issued the command: "I don't like you taking my *kimchi*" (line 2). As she uttered this statement, she looked up at her father and made eye contact. Karis made sure to elicit compliance from Bumjoo by making eye contact with her father and offering the explanation for her directive.

In summary, this section discussed directive interactions that resulted in compliance. Specifically, there were three directive interactions that resulted in compliance. First, directive interactions were initiated by speakers who issued a direct command followed by the hearers' compliance through performance of the command. A second directive interaction began with a speaker who used directives to model appropriate behavior or speech, followed by the hearer's imitation of the appropriate behavior or speech. A third directive interaction began with a speaker who issued a directive and explained why the directive needed to be obeyed, followed by a hearer who complied by displaying comprehension and performance of the directive. The analysis of data in this section reported that both parents and children issued initial directives and emphasized or extended their directives with gestures, eye contact, and translanguaging, and aligned verbal responses and gestures to comply.

Finally, the parents explained reasons for directives to children to socialize children into appropriate forms of decision-making. The parents often explained the reasons for why children ought to obey their directives to gain compliance but also to teach children how to make appropriate decisions. During an interview, Sarah, Timothy's

mother, discussed how she issued directives with explanations. During the interview, she

was asked this question from the protocol (Appendix C: Interview of Parents):

- Do you use any rewards, punishments, or incentives for children following

   directives? And in what language do you incentivize or reward or punish the

   child?

In response to the interview question, Sarah answered:

Excerpt 24 (February 20, 2015)

   "So first I explain what's going to happen or what needs to happen, my expectations.
   And then I see that he understands that and then I tell him if he understands we'll go
   forward. Or if he hesitates or if he doesn't want to do it that's when I tell him that if
   you do this then you'll be able to say learn this, kind of tell the result of what that
   thing is or if it's something really bad, like getting a shot, like then I'll explain why
   you need to get it."

In this excerpt, Sarah discussed how she offered explanations to her son to elicit his

compliance. Interestingly, she offered explanations not only when she initially issued

directives but also when her son hesitated in complying with her directive. If her son

hesitated, she offered further explanations of the benefits that her son will receive by

complying with her initial directive. For example, he may learn a lesson from obeying or

he may gain health benefits from getting a shot at the doctor's office. By offering

explanations, Sarah persuaded her son to comply with her directives and to perform them.

Furthermore, Sarah added, "Obviously that's our key as parents and teachers. You want

them to self-motivate rather than forcing them to do it." By teaching children the reasons

for why they ought to obey their parents' directives, Sarah believed that children would

eventually learn to motivate themselves. Through the process of explaining directives, the

parents not only elicited compliance they also socialized children into learning how to

reason, think, and motivate themselves to make appropriate decisions.

To summarize, the parents used this linguistic routine of giving and explaining directives to socialize children into appropriate forms of thinking and behavior. We will now turn to findings that included directives that resulted in resistance.

Resistance: Sequences in which a directive is followed by a dispreferred response.
In this section, I provide in-depth analyses of the data that pertain to directive interactions that resulted in resistance. Directives followed by resistance resulted in the hearer's refusal of the speaker's directive. In all of the directive interactions with resistance, the speaker who issued the initial directive attempted to change the hearer's position. I describe the strategies speakers used to persuade the hearer to obey their directive and examine the strategies hearers used to resist the speaker's directive.

Persuasion and resistance.
In all three homes, I attested to how children resisted the directives of the parents and siblings. From the recordings of naturally occurring interactions and my field notes, I observed that children resisted directives to complete a wide range of tasks. In a field note during a home observation, I noted:

Excerpt 25 (January 15, 2015)

> "Children resisted the directives to clean ones toys, stop playing with toys, come into the home, share, pray before eating, eat with a fork, finish eating, stop eating a certain food, sit while eating, not play while eating, walk quietly in the home, wear a certain t-shirt, not spit on the couch, take off a pair of shoes, wash hands, among many others. Children spent much of their time at home resisting, negotiating, weighing options, and attempting to wield power even at the young age of three and four."

As illustrated in the field note, children often resisted and fought to stand their ground in resisting a directive. In these interactions that resulted in resistance, both the parent and

the child employed several strategies to have the interaction result in their preferred outcome. After an initial resistance, the parent or child employed several verbal and gestural strategies to persuade the parent or child.

Verbal strategies that were coded in the data included:

- issuing a threat
- providing another option
- repeating the directive
- changing the subject before returning to the initial directive
- asking a question
- offering an explanation for why the directive needs to be obeyed
- codeswitching to another language
- crying
- whining
- laughing

Gestural strategies included:

- pointing
- making eye contact
- widening eyes
- raising eyebrows
- touching child
- walking towards child
- forcefully removing child from room
- the parent or child who resisted the initial directive employed several verbal and gestural moves to continue resisting

Verbal strategies used to resist directives were:

- remaining silent
- repeating a verbal remark of resistance
- asking a question
- stating dispreference
- claiming to comply at a later time
- claiming that the directive was unfair
- crying
- whining
- shouting

Gestural strategies used to resist were:

- avoiding eye contact
- looking down or to the side
- turning around
- smiling
- walking
- running away

Interactions that resulted in resistance were seldom brief because the parent or the child often pursued the hearer with attempts at persuasion. In the following excerpt, Jim, the father of Timothy, attempted to persuade his son to finish eating a banana. The father used several strategies of persuasion, including a question, a threat, and an explanation for why the directive needs to be obeyed. The son, however, continued to resist all of the father's attempts at persuading him to finish the banana. The transcript of the interaction is introduced along with screenshots from the video-re-cording of this interaction.

Excerpt 26 (January 27, 2015)

1   J: Eat your banana.
2   T: I don't want to eat anymore. (Quieter tone) (Looks down and rests head on
     right hand.)
3   J: You don't want to eat anymore? (Turns to Timothy.)
4   T: No mm mm. (Shakes head and looks down.)
5   T: (Laughs and looks at Jim.)
6   J: I'm gonna eat it then. (Playful tone, peels the banana.)
7   T: Eat it.
8   J: You're gonna waste.
9   T: No I'm not. I will…
10   J: Okay You're
11   T: Waste. (Shakes head and looks down.)
12   J: 알았어. Okay. Then you can go. Go down. Okay go.
13   T: Bye bye 아빠 Banana banana (Gets down from chair and walks away.)
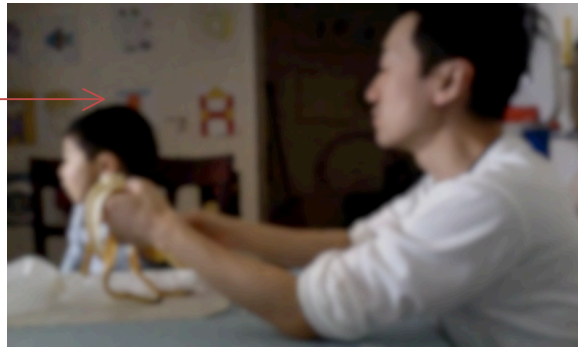
Figure 9. Eat your banana

Line (2)

Looks down and rests head on hand.
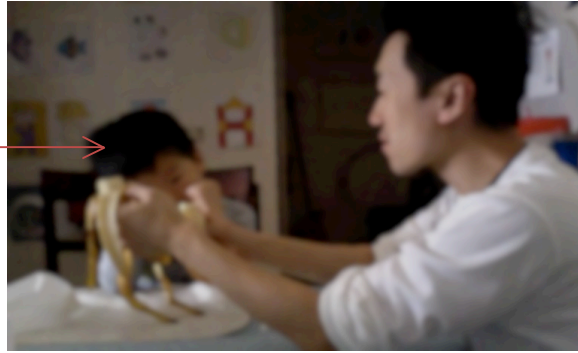
Line (4)

Shakes head

In this excerpt, Jim, the father, gave an initial directive in line (1) to Timothy for him to eat his banana. To resist, Timothy verbally resisted in line (2) in a quieter tone and avoided eye contact with his father by looking down and resting his head on his right hand (See Figure 7). Jim attempted to persuade Timothy by asking a question in line (3) and gesturally turning to Timothy, who resisted in another turn by stating his resistance verbally in line (3), shaking his head as a gestural dispreference marker, avoiding Jim's eyes in line (3). In line (4), Timothy attempted to take another approach of resistance by laughing and playfully looking at his father. Jim, in line (5) responded by playfully threatening that he would eat the banana and by peeling the banana. Timothy continued to resist his father's attempts at persuasion by turning the directive on his father and saying, "Eat it" in line (6). Finally, the father made his last attempt by explaining to

Timothy that if he does not eat the banana, Timothy will be wasting food in line (7).

After three attempts to persuade Timothy by asking a question, threatening, and

explaining the directive, Jim conceded and marked his surrender by changing his

language in line (11). Timothy successfully maneuvered his resistance both verbally and

gesturally and succeeded in resisting Jim's directive without any negative consequences.

The interaction between Jim and Timothy resulted in the speaker's surrender to

the hearer's resistance. However, in all three homes I observed interactions in which the

hearer's resistance resulted in a breakdown in communication and punishment or forceful

removal of the child took place, which will be presented in the next two excerpts. During

interviews of parents, when I asked parents how they responded to resistance, three of the

parents responded in this way:

Excerpt 27 (March 10, 2015)

> Daryl—Normally you know they don't listen right away. If they don't I repeat up to three times.   And they have seen my anger before. So I tell them if you don't listen to me after this then I'm going to get angry and they know what's going to happen afterwards like they know. Mehmeh (physical punishment)…I'm gonna do meh meh if you don't understand human language then I must use another language which will involve physical motions.   And after that most of the time they listen.

> Somi - For punishment, the first stage is I try to use word and then try to teach them giving them examples of why it's bad and using my experience and Bible verses and Bible stories within their limitation and then try to get their understanding and if that's not working I give them time-out and then I use a way that uh....meh meh. I meh meh. Yeah...

> Sarah - To grab his attention I give him a look. It's almost like a warning. I'm looking at you. I see you. I don't want you to do that. But then I guess the next thing is I would point that out and say no. But sometimes that doesn't work either. And then I would physically pull him out and then speak to him. I guess that would be the physical gesture. A lot of it is through look. Silence. The big eyes.

In all three homes, the parents used a systematic approach to respond to a child's

resistance to a parent's directives. The first turn consisted of verbal persuasion. For

instance, Daryl, the father of Juri and Sangdo, repeated his directive three times, Somi,

the mother of Juri and Sangdo, explained the directive through Bible stories the children

knew, and Sarah, the mother of Timothy, issued warnings and dispreference markers. If

this instance of persuasion failed, the parents escalated their attempt to have children

comply with directives by using physical force, which consisted of forcibly removing the

child or physical punishments.

In the following excerpt, Timothy resisted his mother's directive to clean his toys,

which resulted in a few turns of Sarah's (S) unsuccessful attempts to persuade and finally

her forcible removal of Timothy (T) from the room. The transcript for the excerpt is

provided along with screenshots from the video recording of the interaction.

Excerpt 28 (October 27, 2014)

1   S: Finish your job cleaning up Timothy. (Points to toys.)
2   T: (Jumps around, flailing arms and legs.)
3   S: (Leaves room with stack of books.)
4   T: (Keeps dancing, waving hands in air.)
5   S: Timothy you want to go *umma*'s (mom's) room and you wanna talk a little <u>bit</u>?
6   T: No. (Stands up and faces his mom and makes eye contact.)
7   S: I asked you to do something <u>three times now</u>**.**
8   T: I don't want to. I have to dance don't wanna clean up. (Sits on the floor faces
       away from mom and folds his arms.)
9   S: 이리와
          I ri wa
          'Come here'
10   T: I don't want to by myself.
11   S: 이리와
          I ri wa
          'Come here'
12   T: I don't want to by myself. (Stands up and jumps facing mother.)

13   S: (Starts walking toward T.)

14   T: I don't want tooo! (Runs away in the other direction.)

15   S: (Walks toward T.)

16   T: Nooo 엄마!!

17   S: (Carries T to her room.)

18   T: No umma! (Whimpers.) I don't want to!

Figure 10. I have to dance

Line (1)

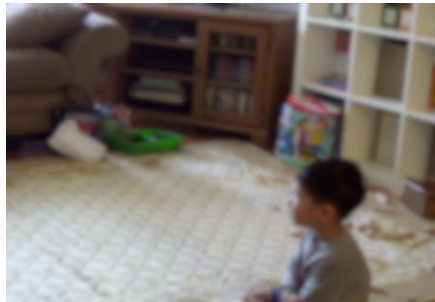Points to toys
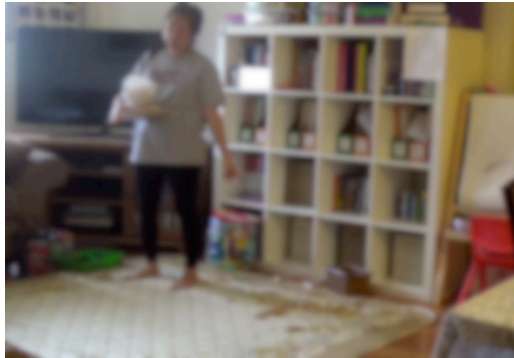
Line (2)

Child dancing

Line (6)

Child faces mom
and resists
directive to clean.

Line (8)

Sits with back towards mother, arms crossed.

Line (14)
Child runs away.

Line (15)
Mother walks toward son.

Line (17)
Mother carries son to her room.

During this interaction, the mother and son both employed several verbal and gestural approaches to either persuade the hearer or resist a directive. The mother issued the initial directive to clean in line (1). She attempted to persuade her son, Timothy, to clean by asking a question that threatened Timothy (line 5), repeating the directive (line 7), and translanguaging (lines 9, 11). By speaking in Korean in lines (9) and (11) to issue an explicit command, "Come here", Sarah emphasizes the urgency and severity of her

command. Here, Sarah employs translanguaging as a bilingual resource to emphasize and mark her commands to Timothy. When verbal persuasion failed, the mother, Sarah, started walking toward Timothy (lines 13, 15), and she finally carried him forcibly to her room in line (17). Timothy resisted his mother's directive to the end of the interaction despite her attempts to persuade him. Verbally, he resisted with a dispreference marker, "No", (line 6), stated his dispreference and desire to dance (line 8), stated his dispreference of cleaning by himself (lines 10 and 12), and a strong dispreference marker shouted as a plea to not clean (lines 16, 18). Gesturally, Timothy did not clean but danced (lines 2, 4), faced his mother when resisting (line 6), turned away and folded his arms to show that he will not clean (line 8), and finally stood up and ran away from his mom (line 14).

As evident in this excerpt, the parents drew from verbal and gestural tools to elicit compliance after issuing a directive to their children. Children used verbal and gestural tools to resist the parent's directive. There were reported instances of children issuing directives that were resisted by their parents or siblings. When children issued directives that resulted in resistance, the parents and other children drew from the following verbal resources to resist:

- laughter
- changing the subject
- issuing another directive
- offering an explanation for resistance
- codeswitching languages
- shouting
- appeasing

Gestural resources of resistance included:
- avoiding eye contact
- moving away

- appeasing with a gesture
- hitting
- shaking ones head
- wagging a finger.

The next two excerpts provide examples of a child's directives resisted by a sibling in the first excerpt and a mother in the next. The first excerpt includes a child, Sangdo (S) who issued a directive for more juice from his sister, Juri (J). Their mother, Somi (S) mediated between the children during the interaction.

Excerpt 29 (October 29, 2014)

1   S: 이거! 이거! (Points to Juri's cup and grabs Juri's arm.)
      ige! Ige!
      This! This!

2   J: <u>STOP</u>! (Juri grabs Sangdo's hand.)

3   S: 아!! 너!! (in a lower intonation)
      ah!! Ne!!
      Ah!! You!!

4   So: Stop. (Stands up, reaches hand out. Speaks in a level, calm intonation.)

5   S: <u>이거</u>!!! (Points to Juri's cup.)
      ige!
      This!

6   J: 이거 누나꺼야! (Looks directly at Sangdo.)
      Ige nunwaggeya!
      This is older sister's!

7   S: Ahhh!! (Raises hand and hits Juri.)

8   So: Uh! (Keeps hand outstretched towards Sangdo.)

Figure 11. This juice!
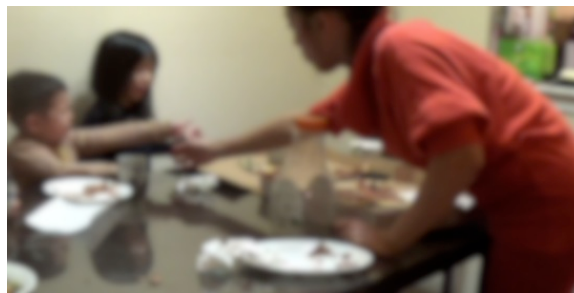
Line (1)

S grabs J's arm
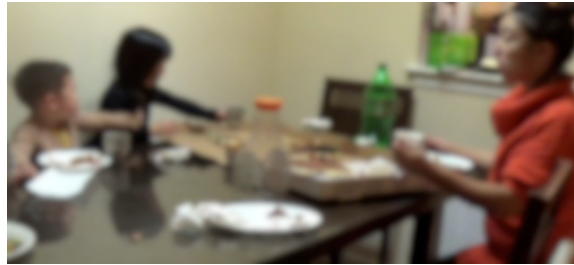
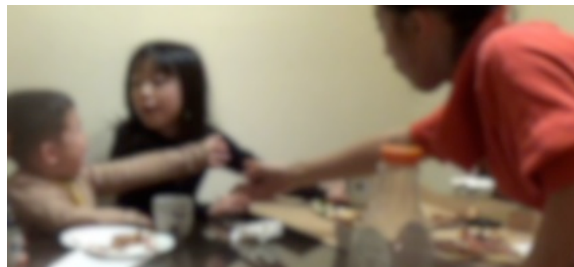

Line (2)

J grabs S' hand

Line (4)

Mother
stands up and reaches
hand out

Line (6)

J fixes eye contact
directly on S

Line (7)

S hits J with hand

The initial directive in this excerpt is in line (1) when Sangdo asked for "This! This!" and pointed to his sister's cup. To resist Sangdo, Juri took several turns with verbal and gestural forms of resistance. Juri shouted loudly and screamed, "Stop!" in line (2), she made the claim that the cup was indeed hers in line (6) and she shouted in every utterance. Juri also codeswitched in line (6) to emphasize her resistance. For gestures, to persuade his sister, Sangdo screamed in lines (1), (2), (3), (5), and (7), threatened his sister in line (3), and shouted in line (7). For gestures, Sangdo grabbed Juri's arm in line (1) and hit Juri with his hand (line 7).

Finally, there were directive interactions in which resistance switched to compliance. Excerpt (4) takes place during a meal with Somi, the mother, and her children, Juri and Sangdo. Sangdo, the younger son, stands up in his chair during the meal. Somi, the mother issues a directive for him to sit down and continue eating.

Excerpt 30 (October 29, 2014)

1   Sa: (Stomps on chair.)
2   So: 상도 앉아서 먹자. 너무 위험한것 같에서 엄마가 마마를 못먹겠어.
          sangto ancase mekca. Nemu wihemhaske katheyse emmaka mamalul
       mosmekkeysse.
          Sangdo let's sit and eat. It's too dangerous (to stand) Mom can't eat her food.

3   Sa: (Places foot on table and looks at
                                                                          So.)

4   So: (Nods.) <앉아↓요>
                ancayo
                Sit please. (honorific verb ending)

5   Sa: 네: 방구   뿡: 께
              NE:EY pangku ppuu:uung kkey
              YE:ES farting ppuu:uung kkey
                        (Sits down.)

6   So: (Sighs.)

In Excerpt (28), when Sangdo started to stand up in his seat and stomp on his chair, his mother issued a directive in Korean for Sangdo to sit down in his chair. In her directive, she explained that it was dangerous for him to stand and issued an explicit directive for him to sit down. In line (3), Sangdo responded with a strong gestural refusal by placing his foot on the table in front of Somi and looking squarely at Somi who was in front of him. See the figure below for Sangdo's strong gestural refusal.

Figure 12. Sangdo with foot on table

The son's strong negative response triggered the mother's second attempt in line (4). Rather than escalating the conflict, Somi lowered her voice and issued a second directive in Korean using the honorific ending '*yo*' to deflate the son's defiance and elicit a preferred response. By using the polite style and addressing her son with the honorific verb ending, '*yo*', the mother succeeded in obtaining a preferred response.

The preferred response occurred in line (5) when Sangdo sat down in his chair. Sangdo performed gestural and verbal compliance. Gesturally, he sat down and verbally, he responded to his mother's honorific verb ending with the proper response: 'neey', the appropriate way to say 'yes' in the polite and formal styles. While the son produced gestural and verbal compliance and conceded to his mother's directive to sit, he also retained partial autonomy and power by finishing his sentence with "farting ppuu:uung kkey" and making inappropriate farting noises, which were prohibited by his parents during family meals. The mother's discontent with the son's farting noises was shown in her sigh in line (6), which immediately followed the son's noises. In this excerpt, it is apparent that the children have learned to use jest and verbal play to wield partial power and autonomy in their relationship with parents. In sum, the parents and children both utilized various verbal and gestural resources to either issue or resist directives.

Chapter Summary

Directive interactions in the three families provided a window into the language socialization processes of the family members. Through observations in the three homes, this study revealed that the parents and older siblings socialized children into appropriate use of the Korean language as evidenced in their modeling of Korean directives and Korean honorifics. Furthermore, children were socialized into appropriate forms of compliance through directive interactions in which the parents and older siblings issued explicit and direct commands.

In the analysis of the directive interactions, the parents and children utilized various linguistic and gestural resources to effectively issue, comply with or resist directives. One notable resource was the act of translanguaging, which was performed by

the parents and children. Through translanguaging with Korean and English, family members were able to emphasize and mark directives by issuing the directive in both languages. Also, the parents and children used gestures and forms of eye contact to emphasize and highlight their directives, to comply with a directive, and to resist a directive. As such, gestures and forms of eye contact became a rich resource for the parents and children during directive interactions.

Through the observations of the three families, it became evident that multidirectional language socialization took place between the parents, older siblings, and younger siblings. That is, the parents and the older siblings socialized younger siblings into appropriate forms of speech and behavior. Children socialized their parents into appropriate forms of conduct and speech through directives as well. Even though children were only three or four at the time of the study, they were active participants in directive interactions and in their socialization processes.

Finally, reviewing the interviews of parents revealed the parents' desires for their children to maintain the Korean language. The Korean language was a marker of their bilingual and bicultural identity and heritage. The parents expressed an intimate connection with the Korean language, which they desired to share with their children. At the same time, families faced challenges of the dominance of English and the imbalance of power in public institutional spaces, such as the school and church. The parents countered this imbalance by setting language policies at home that favored bilingualism and connecting their children with other Korean speakers in their social networks. The directive interactions in this chapter highlighted and presented the families' bilingual

language policies and the families' goals of maintaining both languages across

generations.

The next chapter will discuss the children's lives at school through the lens of

directive interactions, which will be followed by a discussion and conclusion of the study.

Chapter 5. Results of Directive interactions in school

This chapter focuses on the findings regarding directive interactions of three children and their teachers in a preschool class. Data were collected through three protocols: audio-video recordings of naturally occurring speech in the classroom, field observations in the classroom, and interviews of teachers in the classroom. This chapter draws from data collected through the three protocols in the classroom to show the directive interactions that took place at school and it is organized in two sections. In the first section, I examine the directive interactions in the classroom and attend to the following research questions:

(9)   How do participants issue and respond to directives? What kinds of utterances, gestures, and forms of eye contact emerge when participants issue, or respond to directives?

(10)   How are directives used to socialize participants into appropriate ways of behaving, thinking, and interacting?

In the second section of this chapter, I address the intersections between the children's homes and their preschool classroom with a focus on the directive interactions of the participants. The second section addresses the following research question:

(11)   How do the multiple directive interactions of the children, parents, and teachers develop, converge and intersect in the multiple and interrelated contexts of home, community, and school?

As a reminder to the reader, the three children who participated in the study were Karis, Juri, and Timothy (ages 4.7, 4.5, and 3.9 at the time of the study). In the preschool class they attended, there was one lead teacher, Miss Marge, and two assistant teachers, Miss Euri and Miss Denise. Data excerpts were organized by themes that linked excerpts together in the analysis. Excerpts were chosen in this study to represent the themes that are discussed in the findings.

Directive interactions

This section addresses the first research question regarding ways in which participants issued and responded to directives in the classroom. As discussed in the literature review, this study examines directives as interactions and includes an analysis of the gestures and forms of eye contact that participants used during the directive interactions. The previous chapter (Chapter 5) discussed Conversation Analysis principles, such as sequences, preferred responses and non-preferred responses, which are used to analyze excerpts. As noted earlier, the terms, "compliance" and "resistance," draw from Kent (2012) whose work was noteworthy for the way she considered the child's response as well as the parent's initial directive. Using these organizing principles from conversation and discourse analysis, the directive interactions are defined by compliance and resistance:

3. Compliance: Sequences in which a directive is followed by a preferred response of compliance.

4. Resistance: Sequences in which a directive is followed by a dispreferred response of resistance.

The two sections include in-depth analyses of all data: recordings of naturally occurring speech in the classroom, interviews of teachers, and my field notes of observations in the three homes and classroom, to triangulate data.

Compliance at school.

This section outlines the following directive interactions that resulted in compliance:

1. **Modeling-Imitation Interactions:** Interactions in which a speaker modeled a directive followed by a hearer who imitated the speaker's modeled directive.

2. **Signaling-Attention Interactions:** Interactions in which a speaker signaled attention to a directive followed by a hearer who displayed attentiveness.

3. **Claim-Concession:** Interactions in which a speaker claimed something from a hearer through the use of directives followed by a hearer who conceded to the claim of ownership.

Modeling-Imitation Interactions.

This section explores directive interactions in which a speaker modeled a directive followed by a hearer's imitation of the modeled directive. During class, the head teacher (Miss Marge) and assistant teachers (Miss Euri and Miss Denise) modeled the appropriate ways in which they expected students to behave and speak. During an interview, Miss Marge, the head teacher, was asked the following interview question:

What words, gestures, or methods have you found to be successful in clearly communicating directives to children? (Appendix D, Question 6)

In response Miss Marge explained that when she taught class, she modeled appropriate behaviors and forms of speech.

Excerpt 31 (November 20, 2014)

"So um you know if I'm quiet they have to be quiet to hear me. It's about modeling. It's about explaining in a way they can understand."

By modeling the appropriate way to behave and speak for the children, Miss Marge presented her directives to children in a "way they can understand". When Miss Marge expected her children to be quiet, she modeled how to be quiet for her children first. When Miss Marge expected her children to speak or behave in a certain way, she first modeled the appropriate behavior or speech for her children. In the following excerpt, which occurred during morning circle time, Miss Marge modeled the appropriate way to worship in the classroom through her modeled gestures and words.

The following excerpt includes Miss Marge (M), the head teacher, and the children of the class (C). The figure that follows includes screenshots of gestures recorded during the interaction. The screenshots include Miss Marge (M) and Karis (K) who sat in the circle with the rest of the children.

Excerpt 32 (October 25, 2014)

1   M: Can I hear you say that like you reall::y mean it? (M cringes face.) You were saying I'm↓ gonna sing ↓ I'm gonna shout ↓ (M droops shoulders, brings head down, and slowly moves head from side to side.)

2   C: (laugh)

3   M: I'm gonna SING! (M raises fists into the air.)

4   C: I'm gonna SING! (C raise hands into air.)

5   M: I'm gonna SHOUT! (M raises fists).

6   C: I'm gonna SHOUT! (C raise fists.)

7   M: I'm gonna PRAISE the Lord! (M raises hands in air.)

8   C: PRAISE the Lord! (C raise hands in air.)

Figure 13. Praise the Lord!
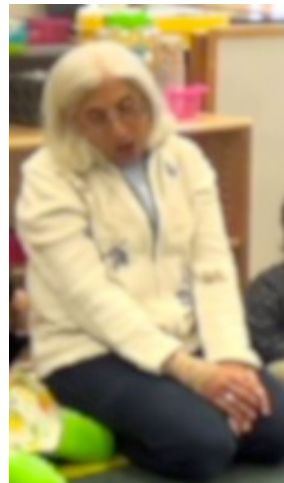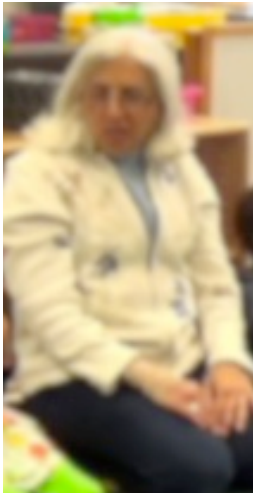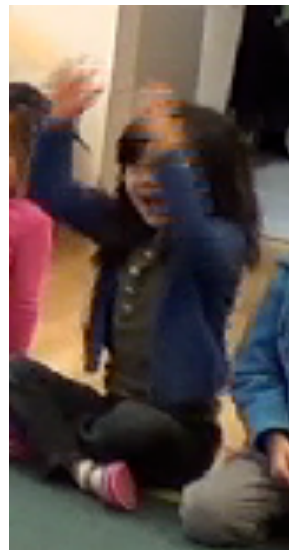
In this excerpt, Miss Marge directed children to sing worship songs appropriately by first modeling the inappropriate way to sing and then the appropriate way to sing for the children. In line (1), Miss Marge modeled the inappropriate stance of singing by speaking in a lower volume and longer, drawn out syllables, while drooping her shoulders and lowering her head. In lines (3), (5), and (7), Miss Marge modeled the appropriate form of singing by shouting and raising her fists into the air. Children received and obeyed her

directive to sing appropriately by immediately imitating her gestures and words in lines

(4), (6), and (8). The visual shot of Karis presents Karis' imitation of Miss Marge's

modeled gestures. Immediately after Miss Marge raised her fists in the air, Karis raised

her fists in the air. When Miss Marge raised her hands with open palms in the air, Karis

raised her hands with open palms in the air. Thus, through her verbal and gestural

directives, Miss Marge modeled the appropriate form of singing worship songs for the

children and the children complied with her directives by imitating Miss Marge.

Teachers also modeled academic lessons for children during the morning circle

time. For instance, before children began working on academic lessons, teachers used the

morning circle time to demonstrate how to appropriately work on a lesson so that

children were able to appropriately work on the lesson independently during the day.

During modeling of lessons, teachers gave children directives on each step of the lesson

in a slow and deliberate manner so that children were able to observe and imitate when

they worked on the lesson. In the following excerpt from a field note, I describe the

teachers' system of modeling lessons:

Excerpt 33 (November 13, 2014)

Miss Marge explained during a conversation we had today that Montessori
teachers demonstrate lessons for children from beginning to end without any interruption
so that the children are able to pick out the work from the shelf during work time and
complete it from beginning to end on their own. The Montessori philosophy encourages
children to work independently and to initiate and complete lessons on their own and at
their pace during work time. The teachers take great care to model these lessons slowly
and carefully because the more successful the teachers are in modeling the lesson in the
morning, the more accurately the children imitate it during their work time.

In this Montessori preschool class, teachers modeled directives to teach children the

lessons in the classroom. Since the Montessori philosophy encouraged children's

independence in choosing, initiating, and completing work, it was critical for teachers to model how children were to choose and complete their lessons. During morning circle time before children began working on their own, teachers presented a lesson for children to follow. Teachers modeled how to pick the work, carry the tray to a rug or table, complete the work, and clean the work up afterwards. During these modeled lessons, teachers used minimal verbal communication to have children focus on their gestures. As a result, most of the modeled directives during demonstrations were gestural.

In the following excerpt, Miss Euri modeled a new lesson for children to learn and imitate on their own during work time. The assistant teacher, Miss Euri (E), demonstrated a lesson on tweezing pine needles for the children (C).

Excerpt 34 (December 11, 2014)

1   E: This is our new work. It is called pine tree.

2   C: pine tree

3   E: (Performs the lesson of tweezing out needles of pine leaf.)

4   C: (Watch.)

5   E: When you're done, put it in this container. (Opens plastic container.) So this is
        going to be full so we're going to do something.

Figure 14. New work

When modeling lessons for children, teachers sat front and center of the circle. Here in this excerpt, Miss Euri demonstrated her lesson on a lap table to direct children to also work on the lesson on a table rather than a rug. Miss Euri brought the tray of the pine needle work to the table to direct children to bring the tray to the table when they choose this work. Miss Euri's gestural directives were modeled for children in a slow and careful manner for children to imitate and follow when they performed the lesson. She only spoke in line (2) to introduce the work and to explain how to clean the work up in line (5). As a result, most of her directives in this interaction were gestural so that children were able to focus on her gestures as she worked on the lesson.

Teachers also modeled lessons for children during independent work time, when children worked on academic lessons alone or with a teacher. In the following excerpt, Miss Denise (D) modeled how to write the letter 'p' for Timothy (T).

Excerpt 35 (February 11, 2015)

1   D: P (Drawing the letter p.)

2   T: (Stands and observes.)

3   D: (Stops and looks at T.)

4   T: (Draws a p.)

Figure 15. Letter P

As Miss Denise modeled writing the letter 'p' for Timothy, Timothy stood beside her with a smile and open eyes as he eagerly watched her writing. After Miss Denise finished writing her 'p', Miss Denise stopped and looked at Timothy to give the gestural directive for him to imitate her writing. He received and complied with her directive by drawing his own 'p' next to her writing.

In addition to modeling work time, teachers also modeled appropriate forms of prayer for children before lunch. In the following excerpt, Miss Marge (M) modeled appropriate forms of prayer and recites a prayer that the children recited on a daily basis. Excerpt 6 includes Juri (J) and her response to Miss Marge's modeled directives to pray.

Excerpt 36 (December 11, 2014)

1	M: (Walks around with folded hands looking around.)

2	M: Alright let's see. This table is ready. This table is ready. This table is ready. I'm still waiting for one more table. Alright that's much better. Remember we have ten minutes of silent eating time. Ten minutes.

3	M: Thank you heavenly father for giving us this food, for fruits and grains vegetables and everything that's good. We also thank you Lord for our family and friends and for your very special love that never ever ends. Amen.

4	J: (Folds hands and looks at food as she recites.)

Figure 16. This table is ready

In this excerpt, Miss Marge (M) modeled the appropriate form of prayer by pressing her hands together. As she recited the prayer, she walked around the room to

ensure that all the children could see and imitate her posture for prayer. The recitation of

the prayer was paced slowly and carefully so that all of the children were able to follow,

imitate, and recite along with the teacher. In the last screenshot, we see Juri's response of

accepting and imitating Miss Marge's modeled prayer. Her hands were folded and

pressed together in front of her and she recited the prayer with Miss Marge.

Said differently, Miss Marge issued gestural directives through her hands folded

for prayer and verbal directives through her request for children to get "ready" to pray.

Her recitation of prayer also acted as a verbal directive because it requested children to

follow along and imitate her words. Children complied with Miss Marge's gestural

directives by imitating her hands for prayer and her verbal directives by imitating her

recitation of prayer. Through this interaction, children were socialized into the

appropriate way to pray in class.

Teachers also incorporated children to model appropriate behavior and speech for

other children in the class. In the following field note, I observed how teachers

incorporated children into their modeled directives.

Excerpt 37 (January 15, 2015)

Today, Miss Marge explained why the Montessori class is a mixed-age class. All
Montessori classes are composed of children from ages three to six, which is different
from traditional preschool classes, which divide classes by ages of children. In this multi-
age class, the teachers foster relationships between the older and younger children. Older
children are held up as models for the younger children and at times, older children even
teach younger children how to work on their lessons correctly. Younger children rely on
the older children for learning socially appropriate behaviors in the class. During class
today, an older child around the age of five worked with a younger child who was four on
a math lesson which required sorting numbers into the right order. The older child guided
the younger child patiently and waited for the younger child to sort the numbers first.
When the younger child was incorrect, the older child sorted the numbers for the younger
child.

As evident from the field note, this preschool class was composed of a mixed-age group so that the younger children could learn from the older children while older children nurtured a sense of leadership and responsibility. The teachers took an active role in setting the older children up as models for the younger children. For example, in the following excerpt, Miss Denise asked the older girl students in class to demonstrate the appropriate way to prepare for lunch. Before eating lunch, Miss Denise (D) asked a group of four older girls (G) who sat together at a table to be quiet and demonstrated to the younger children table manners appropriate to the classroom.

Excerpt 38 (November 6, 2014)

1   D: Alright ladies can you show us you're big kids? Can you show us?

2   G: (The girls become quiet.)

In this excerpt, Miss Denise's question to the older girls, "Alright ladies can you show us you're big kids?" had two purposes. First, her question was an indirect directive for the older girls to be quiet. Second, it used the girls as a model for younger children to observe that the appropriate form of behavior before eating was to be quiet. To position the girls in a stance of modeling and leadership, the teacher called them "ladies" (line 1) and granted authority to the other children through this title. Older children were asked to behave appropriately so that they could set an appropriate example for younger children to follow.

At other times, the teacher asked children to model appropriate behavior for other children regardless of their age. That is, teachers used children who were behaving in the expected manner as models for other children, whether they were younger or older. In the

following excerpt, Miss Marge (M) used Karis (K) who was four at the time and another

four-year-old friend, Jane, to model their behavior for other children.

Excerpt 39 (December 18, 2014)

1 I'm waiting for a quiet hand. This is how we do it. You're talking (0.1) (puts finger to mouth) I want you to look at Jane. You see what Jane is doing? (points at Jane) (0.1) Do you see what Karis is doing? (motions to Karis with hand)

2 M: That's all you have to do. (M holds her hand up.)

3 K: (Continues to hold hand up and looks at M.)

4 M: Karis would you do it? (Looks at K.)

5 K: (Gets up and walks to rug.)

Figure 17. Waiting for a quiet hand

In this excerpt, Miss Marge asked a child to volunteer to stand. While some children responded by verbally asking to be chosen, Karis sat quietly and raised her hand to be chosen. Miss Marge issued gestural and verbal directives for children to follow Karis' example in line (1). She issued a verbal directive by asking, "Do you see what Karis is doing", while issuing a gestural directive by motioning to Karis with her hand. In response, Karis continued to raise her hand up and look quietly at Miss Marge. Finally, as a reward for her compliance, Miss Marge chose Karis to complete the task at hand and to further reinforce her directive to other children to raise hands quietly in class.

As evident in the excerpt, Miss Marge utilized Karis' compliance to her directive as a model for other children in the class. Her verbal and gestural directives focused the children's attention on Karis. Furthermore, Karis' compliance became a directive for other children as her raised hand and quiet stance modeled for other children the appropriate way to volunteer in class. As such, Miss Marge and Karis collaborated in this instance to socialize other children into appropriate behavior in the classroom.

Children also socialized one another into appropriate behaviors and forms of speech through modeling directives. For example, in the following excerpt from an interview of the three children at school, children spoke to one another during a meal. The children, Karis (K), Juri (J), and Timothy (T) began their interactions with a directive to pray.

Excerpt 40 (January 15, 2015)

1   K: Okay let's eat!

2   K: We have to pray first (folds hands and closes eyes)

3   J: (folds hands and closes eyes)

4   T: (looks at J and K)

Figure 18. We have to pray first

In line (1) of this excerpt, Karis initiated the conversation with the directive, "Okay let's

eat!" Following her verbal directive, she modeled the appropriate gestures for prayer by

folding her hands and closing her eyes. She issued gestural directives to the two other

children by exaggerating her gestures. She folded her hands and brought them high up to

her chin and tightly shut her eyes. In line (3), Juri received Karis' verbal and gestural

directives modeling the appropriate stance for prayer and imitated Karis by also

exaggerating her movements and holding her folded hands high up and pressing her eyes

shut. Even though Timothy only looked on, he attentively looked at both children and

observed before eating. Through verbal and gestural directives, children modeled and

socialized appropriate behaviors and speech in the classroom for one another.

In summary, teachers and children used gestural and verbal directives to model

socially appropriate behavior in the class. More specifically, teachers and children

modeled socially appropriate behavior in the following ways:

- Directives were modeled by teachers for children to socialize children into appropriate behaviors in the classroom, such as raising a quiet hand or praying with hands pressed together.
- Teachers also modeled directives for children to learn academic lessons during circle time and work time.
- Teachers modeled lessons with verbal and gestural directives during circle time to socialize children into learning independently during work time.
- Teachers held children up as models for other children to socialize them into appropriate behaviors and forms of speech.
- Children socialized other children into appropriate behaviors and forms of speech by modeling the appropriate behavior and speech using verbal and gestural directives. For example, children modeled appropriate form of prayer through gestural and verbal directives.

Signaling-Attention Interactions.

In this section, I discuss how gestural and verbal directives were used to signal

attention to a particular person or object. Children or teachers complied with these

directives by demonstrating attentiveness. During an interview, I asked Miss Marge the

following question:

Are there any specific words, gestures, or patterns that you use to get children to

do something? (Appendix D, Question 5).

In response, Miss Marge explained that she discussed the theme of attentiveness with

children to encourage children to listen and focus:

Excerpt 41 (November 20, 2014)

We talk a lot about being attentive. We talk a lot about attentiveness. You know we have the song that we play. We talk about that a lot. Show me attentiveness. You know, just things like that to remind them. And then you know, they kind of just

especially the new kids, they say oh that's how school is. You sit quietly. They don't
know any other way to be in school except the way you teach them. So when they
come back the second year they know. It's a matter of um I don't know. I have to
think about what I do. I use a lot of eye contact. We have a lot of hand signals.

For children to focus and listen, Miss Marge taught the children the theme of

attentiveness. To teach children attentiveness, she used several different directives to

signal children's attention. Miss Marge taught children a song about attentiveness. The

lyrics to the song are recorded in the following field note:

Excerpt 42 (October 25, 2014)

When there's someone else who's saying something
that I need to hear,
If I'm easily distracted, it will not be very clear.
I must listen very closely to the things they have to say;
I will choose to be attentive ev'ry hour, of ev'ry day!

I'll be attentive, so very attentive!
I will show the worth of what they have to say!
And when I am tempted to not be attentive,
I will choose to be attentive anyway!

The lyrics of the song taught children the social value of being attentive to another person

"who's saying something that I need to hear". Through these lyrics, children were taught

the social value of listening to others in conversation. Along with Miss Marge's verbal

directives and the lyrics of this song, Miss Marge also used eye contact and hand signals

to gesturally direct children to be attentive. When Miss Marge was asked about the hand

gestures she used for signaling attention, she responded:

Excerpt 43 (November 20, 2014)

M: (holds up one finger) So you know (0.1) One. Quiet. Two. Sit up straight (stern eyes. two fingers up). Three. Smile (smiles) So you know. They know that. Attentiveness kind of things.

*Figure 19. One Two Three*
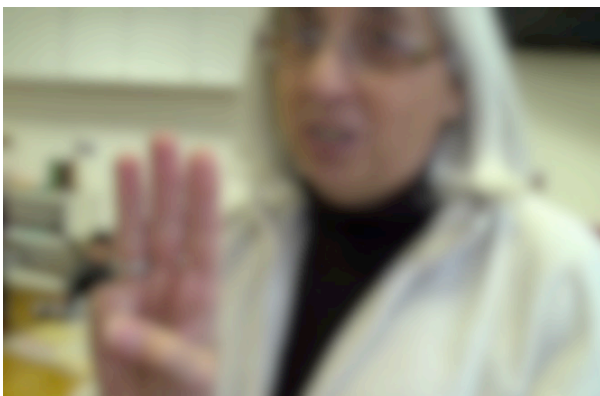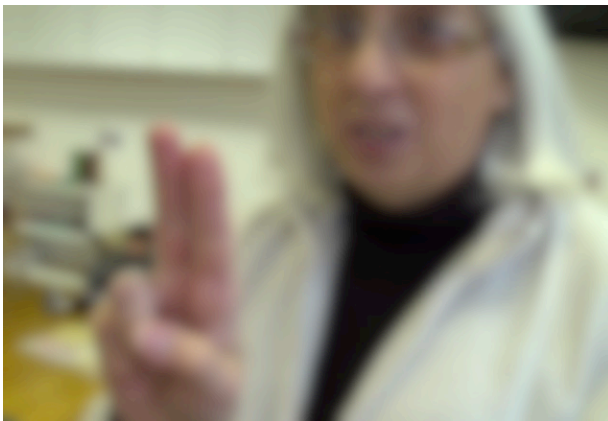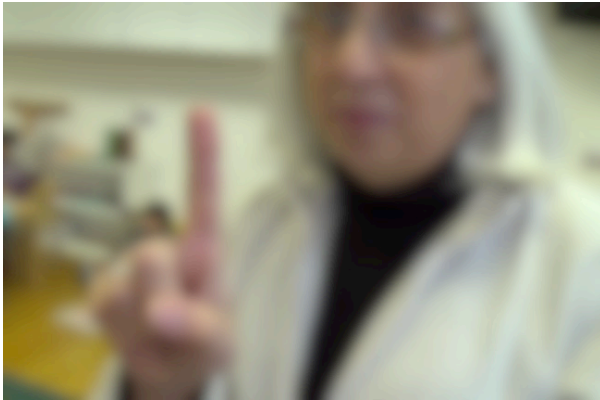
Miss Marge used a system of three hand signals to teach children the proper physical stance to demonstrate attentiveness. When she raised one finger, this prompted children to be quiet. When she raised two fingers, this prompted children to sit up straight. When she raised three fingers, this prompted children to smile. When using this system of gestural directives, Miss Marge made eye contact with children to ensure that they saw her fingers. As seen in Figure 7, Miss Marge established eye contact with me as she demonstrated her system of gestural directives. In the following excerpt during circle time, Miss Marge (M) used this system to quiet her children (C) down before lunch.

Excerpt 44 (October 25, 2014)

1   M: Shhh (Holds up one finger and looks at children.)

2   C: (Quiet down.)

3   M: (Silently holds up two fingers and looks at children.)

4   M: (Silently holds up three fingers and looks at children.)

5   M: (Silently holds up one finger in front of her lips.) Shhh.

6   M: ° When I hold up your name card you're going to get your lunch box. °

Figure 20. Shhh

.
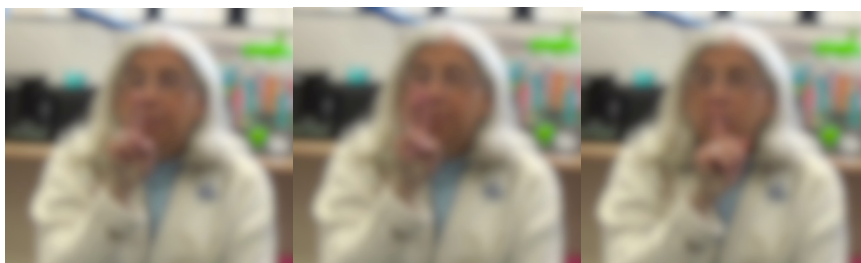
During this excerpt, Miss Marge was silent for all of the turns except lines (1) and (6). Her silence accentuated her gestural directives issued to the children during circle time. Her directives elicited compliance and the children quieted down when she put her first finger up and said, "Shhh" (line 1). She rapidly and quietly issued gestural directives with her fingers and made eye contact with the children in front of her. Her lips were pressed shut to demonstrate her silence. By line (6), the class was completely quiet and she was able to whisper her next verbal directive in line (6) for the children to watch for their name card to be held up for dismissal to lunch. Miss Marge elicited attentiveness from her children through the use of her system of gestural directives. Children showed their compliance by demonstrating attentiveness immediately after Miss Marge issued her first gestural directive.

Miss Marge also invited children to collaboratively issue directives with her. Children were called on to explain the meaning of attentiveness, to demonstrate proper attentiveness, and to answer questions about attentiveness for other children. In the following excerpt, Miss Marge (M) asked children to assist her with explaining attentiveness for other children. A kindergartener, Donald (D), answered Miss Marge's questions about attentiveness in this excerpt for other children (C):

Excerpt 45 (October 25, 2014)

1   M: Alright is everybody ready to listen? Attentively? (Looking around at children.)

2   C: Yes.

3   M: Okay. What does it mean to be attentive? (Looking around.)

4   D: Look at someone speaking.

5   M: (Points at Donald) You're going to look at teacher because teacher's speaking right now. (Points to eyes.)

6   M: And you're going to? (Puts both hands behind ears.)

7   D: Listen.

8   C: Listen.

9   M: Yes you're going to listen.

10   M: And? (Straightens back and puts hands in lap in front)

11   M: What else are you going to do? (Sits with straight back and hands in front to show children.)

12   D: Sit properly (Straighten backs and sits properly.)

13   M: (Nods.)

14   M: Okay sit up straight. (0.1) Are you going to start playing or something? (waves her hands around in mock play)

15   C: NOOO!

16   M: and if somebody else is doing something are you gonna look at them? (Points her finger around at children in group.)

17   C: NO!

18   M: Or look at teacher? (Straightens back and sits up.)

19   K: Look at teacher (Straightens back sits up and looks at M.)

20   M: Wonderful. Then you (Points around at children) will be attentive 'cause you will be able to see and look. And if you don't understand you can ask a question because you're being attentive.

Figure 21. Look at teacher

In this excerpt, Miss Marge (M) interacted with Donald (D), a kindergartner and an older child in the class, to direct children to be attentive. In line (3), Miss Marge asked children the question, "What does it mean to be attentive", and Donald answered "Look at someone speaking" in line (4). Donald's response was an answer to Miss Marge's question and a verbal directive for other children to look at the teacher while she spoke. Miss Marge continued her question in line (6) with a gestural directive of putting both hand behind her ears as a gestural directive for children to listen. Donald's response in line (7), "listen", was again a response to Miss Marge's question and also a verbal

directive for children to listen. Miss Marge's question in line (11) regarding what else attentiveness looked like, acted as a verbal directive coupled with her gestural directive of straightening her back for children to sit with backs straight. In line (12), Donald's response that children ought to sit "properly" was a verbal directive to socialize children into the proper form of sitting during circle time when children needed to be attentive. Finally, to ensure that children understood her directives for attentiveness, Miss Marge asked children if being attentive meant playing or looking at other children. Her question directed children to be attentive to only the teacher. Through her questions, Miss Marge invited another child to issue verbal and gestural directives with her to the other children. Thus, the teacher invited the children in class to model socially appropriate and proper modes of behavior and speech at school for other children.

Furthermore, children also issued gestural directives to receive teachers' attentiveness. When children needed the attentiveness of a teacher, they raised their hands during class. In the following excerpt, Karis (K) receives the attentiveness of her teacher, Miss Marge (M), by raising her hand. Other children (C) also try to receive the attentiveness of Miss Marge by raising their hands.

Excerpt 46 (October 25, 2014)

1 M: Is there anything we should know about? (Looks at children and turns head from one side to the other.)

2 C: (Raise hands.)

3 K: (Karis raises her hand high in the air.)

4 M: Yes Karis? (Leans forward towards Karis.)

5 K: Yesterday I went to the dentist and got my teeth cleaned and I got a flashlight.

Figure 22. Sharing news

This excerpt took place during circle time in the morning. Every morning, Miss Marge asked children to share any important news that they had. As evident in this excerpt, Karis desired Miss Marge to be attentive to her news for the day. She was able to receive Miss Marge's attentiveness by raising her hand in line (3). To exaggerate her gestural directive, Karis raised one hand high into the air while balancing the rest of her body with her other hand on the floor. Her gestural directive requested Miss Marge to call on her and listen to her news of the day.

While Karis issued this gestural directive of raising her hand during circle time, other children issued this gestural directive at other times of the school day as well. For instance, in the following excerpt which took place during a child's birthday party in class, Juri (J) raised her hand to issue a gestural directive for more birthday cake. Through her gestural directive, Juri asked Miss Denise (D) for more cake.

Excerpt 47 (November 6, 2014)

1   J: (Picks plate up and puts it back on table.) I want more cake. (Looking up at teacher with fork in hand.)

2   D: Bring your plate to the front.

3   J and K: (Stand and bring plate to front.)

4   J and K: (Come back to table with second piece of cake.)

Figure 23. I want more cake
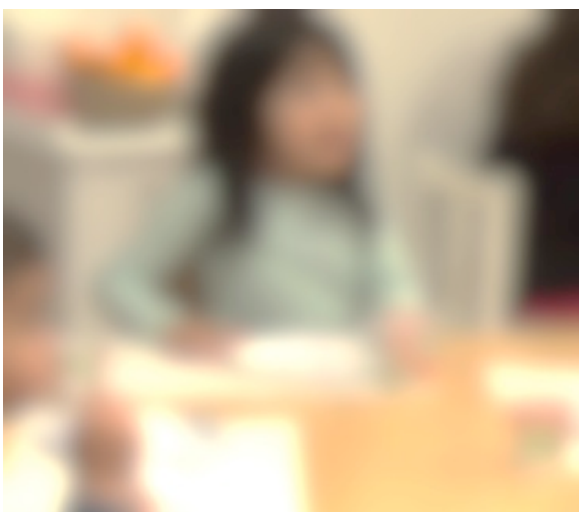
In line (1) of this excerpt, Juri issued a verbal directive, "I want more cake", and a

gestural directive by raising her hand. When Miss Denise saw Juri's raised hand, which

was the appropriate way to ask a teacher for help, Miss Denise granted Juri's request and

issued a verbal directive for her to get another piece of cake. Juri discerned the socially

appropriate gestures to use, such as raising her hand and waiting for a teacher to respond,

to receive the teacher's compliance with her request. Even though she was a child (age 3.7), she demonstrated agency in issuing verbal and gestural directives in the classroom.

In summary, children in the classroom were socialized into a socially appropriate demonstration of attentiveness. Miss Marge socialized children into understanding attentiveness as being quiet, sitting properly, smiling, and listening to others when they are speaking to them. Miss Marge used songs, discussions during circle time, gestures, eye contact, and children as models to issue verbal and gestural directives for children to be attentive. Children also socialized other children into attentiveness during circle time. Finally, children requested the attentiveness of their teachers through the gestural directive of raising ones hand. By raising a hand, a child was able to elicit the teacher's attention and to receive the teacher's compliance.

Claim-Concession Interactions.

This section presents examples of children using directives to claim ownership of objects and space. During daily work sessions that followed circle time, children were able to walk around and choose lessons from shelves that lined the perimeter of the classroom. Since children were given the opportunity to choose work, or to choose their seats during circle time or work time, children often competed with one another for a lesson or a space they wanted. During times of competition, children used directives to claim ownership over objects and space.

The teachers posted an illustration on the classroom wall that exhibited ways in which children were expected to behave with one another. On the bottom of the poster, an inscription from the Bible read: "Be ye kind to one another. Ephesians 4:32" In the poster, a group of children shared sand toys at the beach. Another group of children

cooperatively looked at a book that one child is holding. Another picture had a boy

helping a girl who had fallen off her bike. Although the illustrations were not all

classroom examples, they exhibited ways in which the teachers expected children to

behave towards one another.

Figure 24. Helping

In the daily routines of the classroom, however, sharing time, space, and objects

became a task more complex than the ones shown in the illustration. In my research, I

found that children argued, debated, fought, and physically and verbally pushed each

other as they competed for objects in the classroom. During this competition, directives

became a crucial way of claiming ownership over desired things. In the following

example, Karis (K) and Juri (J) competed for a lesson that Timothy (T) was working on.

Excerpt 48 (December 11, 2014)

1   J: (waits at a table for T to finish a lesson)

2   K: (walks over and stands next to J)

3   T: (finishes lesson and returns it to shelf)

4   J: Now it's my turn. (walks around K and picks up lesson from shelf)

5   K: (follows J)

6   J: (brings lesson to the table and sits)

7   K: I'm gonna eat snack. (walks away)

Figure 25. My turn

At the beginning of this interaction, Juri waited for Timothy to complete a lesson so that she could begin it (line 1). When Kara walked over and stood next to her, she felt threatened by Karis's act of waiting next to her. In line (4), she issued a verbal directive as a hint, "Now it's my turn", insinuating that it was not Karis's turn and claiming ownership over the work. Along with this verbal directive, Juri walked around Karis to avoid any conflict with her. Although Karis followed her in line (5), Juri did not acknowledge her presence verbally or gesturally and sat at the table alone to work on the lesson. Karis conceded in line (7) by walking away to eat a snack.

As a consequence of Juri's verbal directive in line (4) and gestural directives of walking around Karis and towards the lesson and picking up the lesson in line (4), Juri was able to claim ownership over the lesson she desired. In response to Juri's claim, Karis surrendered and walked away to the snack area of the room.

There were instances in which children claimed ownership of objects in the classroom. For example, in the next excerpt, Karis (K) claimed ownership of a smock worn during art activities.

Excerpt 49 (January 8, 2014)

1   K: (Leans into child, puts hands on hips.) This one is for girls.

2   C: Okay (Takes off smock.)

3   K: You can do this one. (Puts smock on another girl. Touches another smock.)

That's for boys.

Figure 26. Smock

When Karis saw that a boy wore a pink smock with white polka dots, she issued a directive for him to take it off through a hint that this smock was only for girls in line (1). Along with her verbal directive, she gesturally pressured him to take it off by leaning in towards the boy and putting her hands on her hips to assert her position. By issuing this directive, Karis claimed this object for the girls in the classroom and attempted to take it away from the boy. In response, the boy verbally and gesturally conceded by taking off the pink smock (line 2). Afterwards, Karis placed the pink smock on another girl and offered a different colored smock to the boy.

Even though rules for ownership of the smocks were not explicit, Karis claimed ownership of the pink smock for her girl friend through the use of a verbal and gestural

directive. Karis' directives were successful, which resulted in the boy's surrender of the pink smock and her ownership of the object.

During circle time, children were allowed to choose their seats, which resulted in competitions over spaces to sit. In the following example, Karis (K) competed with another girl (G) over a space to sit. While the other girl attempted to sit in the space next to Karis, Karis tried to push the other girl away and claim the empty space between them as her space.

Excerpt 50 (December 11, 2014)

1   K: No no no (Pushes girl away from her with both hands.)

2   G: No.

3   K: No you have to. I'm squished. No::o. (Pushes girl away with hands.)

4   G: No.

5   K: Move. I'm squished. (Pushes girl away with hands.)

6   G: (Stays still.)

7   K: (Pushes girl with body.)

8   G: (Stays still.)

9   K: (Pushes girl by pressing feet into her legs.)

10   G: Stop!

11   K: You stop!

12   G: (Moves over.)

Figure 27. Move over

As evident in this excerpt, Karis employed several verbal and gestural directives to claim

ownership of sitting space. In lines (1), (3), (5), and (11), Karis issued several verbal

directives to push the girl out of what she claimed as her space. Furthermore, Karis'

gestural directives physically pushed the girl out of the space she claimed to own. Her

gestures escalated from pushing the girl with her hands (line 1), to her body (line 7), and finally to her feet (line 9). As a result of the verbal and gestural directives, the girl finally moved over in line (12).

Through the use of escalated verbal and gestural directives, Karis claimed ownership over a space that another girl desired to have. Although Karis met resistance, she repeated her verbal directives and increased the force of her gestural directives to push the other girl into compliance.

In summary, children used verbal and gestural directives to claim ownership over objects and space in the classroom. Through directives that were repeated and escalated, children were able to gain power over other children and claim ownership of lessons, objects, and spaces to sit and work.

Resistance at school

In this section, I provide analyses of the findings that pertain to directive interactions that resulted in resistance at school. Directives that resulted in resistance consisted of a directive issued by a speaker and a hearer's resistance and refusal to comply with the speaker's directive.

In the classroom, there were only a few instances of a child's resistance to a teacher and most of the instances eventually led to the child's compliance with the teacher's directive. The head teacher, Miss Marge, explained that she had a zero tolerance policy for resistance. During an interview, I asked Miss Marge the following question:

> Has there been a time that you met resistance from a child? How did the child
>
> show his or her resistance? How do you respond to resistance? (Appendix D,
>
> Question 7)

In response, Miss Marge explained her perspective on resistance:

Excerpt 51 (December 18, 2014)

> If you say "sit" and a child keeps standing, just quietly go over and say 'did you hear what I said'? (holds hands up and motions sitting) In your seat. And if they refuse. I would actually physically make them sit. (motions for forcing child to sit) (nodding) Because you *have* to obey. It's not an option. If it's time to stand up you can stand up. If you have to sit it's okay. You have to do what I say.

In her classroom, Miss Marge did not tolerate resistance. If a child resisted a teacher's directive, her response was to place her hands on the child's shoulders or back to "actually physically make them sit" after she commanded them to sit. She believed that children had to comply in her class without options for resistance. For this reason, there were few instances of resistance from a child in the classroom.

The assistant teachers adopted the same approach to resistance in the classroom. In the following excerpt, Karis (K) resisted Miss Euri's (E) request to move to another station in the room. Miss Euri overturned Karis' resistance with verbal and gestural force.

Excerpt 52 (December 11, 2014)

1   K: I wanna do one more thi::ing (whines and lifts hands)

2   E: Okay (holds both of K's hands and physically pulls her to the other station). Come over here. You didn't do your work.

Figure 28. Pulling hands

When Karis demonstrated resistance in this excerpt by whining and lifting her hands, Miss Euri responded by physically pulling Karis to where she wanted Karis to be and by verbally explaining why Karis needed to comply with her request to move. As evident in this excerpt, Miss Euri used physical gestures to enforce the child's compliance when verbal directives failed to elicit the child's compliance.

In this classroom, teachers expected children to comply with their directives. Miss Marge explained her reasons for why teachers needed to expect compliance in the classroom:

Excerpt 53 (December 18, 2014)

> I mean, I don't have a problem getting kids to do things I ask them to do. Because I believe in the depths of my heart that I am their authority. Kids know. They have that radar. They know it. They know who's in charge. If you're not sure about it, then they're going to say they're in charge. So that's something you have to you know don't let them get away with anything. So you can't pull the reins back in if you start that way but if you're really firm in the beginning then they know this is how it is.

For Miss Marge, ensuring that children complied with her directives was an important way of socializing children into viewing the teacher as their authority. She believed that she was "their authority" and she did everything in her power to make sure children also saw this. In the following excerpt, Miss Marge addressed resistance from children to ensure that they complied with her directives. In this excerpt, children pushed against the teacher's directive to remain silent during the first ten minutes of lunch. As a response, Miss Marge (M) used gestures and directives to fortify the ten minutes rule with Karis (K) and Juri (J).

Excerpt 54 (December 11, 2014)

1   M: Remember. Time (holds ten fingers up). Ten minutes. I'm so sorry. (gives stern look to child)

2   M: Remember ten minutes quiet eating time.

3   K and J: (smile at each other. J talks, J covers her mouth).

4   J: I just bit my tongue.

5   M: Oh I'm sorry. There should not be a sound. Ten minutes. Ten minutes quiet eating time.

6   J: (mumbles inaudibly)

7   M: I am so sorry. I'm gonna change your space.

8   J: (looks at M. Keeps eating)

9   M: (walks over to J)

10   J: (Smiles and eats)

11   J: (whispers to classmate)

12   M: Nobody talking here.

13   J: (continues whispering)

14   M: Oh I'm sorry. It's your second warning. (Looks sternly at children.)

Figure 29. Silent eating

In this excerpt, the children pushed against the rule of silence by smiling and talking (lines 3 and 4), mumbling (line 6), and whispering (lines 11 and 13). In response Miss Marge incorporated gestures, facial expressions, and directives to regain authority over the children. Miss Marge used the gesture of holding ten fingers up (line 1), walking over to talking children (line 9), and giving a stern look with pursed lips and raised

eyebrows to children (lines 1 and 14). Figure 12 depicts the teacher's gesture of raising ten minutes and pressing her lips shut together to model the silence that the children are to honor for ten minutes. Lastly, the teacher incorporated a threat (line 7) and warning (line 14) to remind children to comply with her directive to be silent.

Through the use of directives and gestures, the teacher addressed each act of resistance from the children so that their interactions were limited to silence. With every slight resistance, Miss Marge persisted in issuing gestural and verbal directives to ensure that she had authority over the children. By the end of the interaction, the children ate their lunch in complete silence and in compliance with Miss Marge's directives to eat silently.

Teachers were found to also resist children's directives through the use of verbal and gestural responses. In the following excerpt, which took place during circle time, Miss Marge resisted a gestural directive that Karis (K) issued during a discussion with the class. While Miss Marge responded to other children, she resisted a request from Karis (K) in this interaction.

Excerpt 55 (December 18, 2014)

1   M: I wonder who can tell me. This is really tricky. Today is December 18th and it's a Thursday. I wonder who can look at December 6th and tell me what day it was when it was the 5th day?

2   K: (raises hand)

3   M: What day was it when it was the 14th day??

4   K: (raises hand, raised hand for three previous tries but did not get called)

5   K: (throws hand down and groans)

6   M: Okay.

7   K: (groans and looks at M)

8   M: Uh. (puts pointer away behind her). Grumbling hearts can't be chosen. Only joyful hearts. Cheerful hearts. (folds hands in lap) alright let's see.

9   K: (sits up)

10   M: We are going to go upstairs to practice for our show.

11   K: Yay! (raises hands)

In this excerpt, Karis performed a gestural directive for Miss Marge to call on her and to offer an answer to her question about the day's date. Although Karis performed the socially appropriate gesture of raising her hand, Miss Marge called on other children three separate times. The teacher's resistance caused Karis to groan in lines (5) and (7) and throw her hand down in line (5). Miss Marge then explained her reason for not calling on Karis in line (8) that "grumbling hearts can't be chosen. Only joyful hearts. Cheerful hearts". That is, the preschool teacher employed a proverb in this excerpt about grumbling hearts as a directive for Kara to stop grumbling. Proverbs are sayings tend to have a didactical purpose (Seiler, 1922). The proverb was used with a didactical purpose to teach Karis the appropriate way to raise her hand during circle time, namely, to teach and direct Karis to be cheerful, even when she was not chosen during circle time.

This use of a proverb is a feature of institutional discourse, defined by Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (2005) as talk between an institutional representative and a client, with frameworks and linguistic practices that are specific to the institutional context. The teacher used proverbs as directives during class. Proverbs were unique to the teacher's discourse in her preschool class, and not evidenced in the three homes that were investigated. The child in this excerpt recognized the proverb as a directive and

immediately responded with compliance: As a response to the proverb, Karis shifted her stance in line (11) and shouted "yay!" to exhibit a cheerful heart.

Despite the teachers' expectations for compliance, there was one instance of a child whose resistance caused the teacher to change her directive. In this instance, Miss Denise (D) directed Karis (K) and Juri (J) to work separately on a work that they chose. Karis resisted Miss Denise's directive by stating that the lesson was meant for two people.

Excerpt 56 (December 11, 2014)

D: Okay that's a one person work.

K: No it's a two person work (looks up at D).

D: Alright. I'll let you work. But for the next work, it's separate. (Raises hand above K)

Figure 30. One person work

In this example, Miss Denise accepted Karis' resistance and changed her directive for Karis and Jubi. Rather than working on this lesson alone, Miss Denise directed the two girls to work separately on work after this lesson. Even though Miss Denise changed

her directive and assented to Kara's request to work together on the lesson, she issued another directive that limited the children's ability to work together after this lesson. By offering this revised directive, the teacher ended the directive interaction in a position of power over the children. The children were only allowed to work on this lesson together if they agreed to Miss Denise's directive to work alone for all other work that day.

In summary, due to the teacher's firm authoritarian position and zero tolerance policy of resistance, children did not resist teachers even when they pushed back against directives. When children demonstrated partial resistance to the head teacher's directives, she firmly pushed back and issued more verbal and gestural directive to gain authority over children in the classroom. While children did not show resistance to teachers, there were instances of teachers demonstrating resistance to children's directives in the classroom. Teachers were able to demonstrate resistance due to their position of power in the classroom. The children, however, failed to receive desired results when showing resistance due to their lack of power in the classroom.

Chapter Summary

Through an examination of directive interactions in the classroom, I revealed ways in which children were socialized into modes of behavior and speech appropriate in their preschool classroom. By modeling directives and teaching attentiveness, teachers socialized children into appropriate response of compliance to the teacher and classroom rules. Children also socialized each other into shared ideas regarding ownership of objects and space in the classroom through directive interactions. As such, multidirectional language socialization was present in the classroom as it was in the home.

After reviewing the findings from the three homes in Chapter 5 and the school in this chapter, it became evident that there were a few notable intersections between the children's homes and school. The most obvious intersection was the language policies that were followed by families at home and teachers and children in the school. While the parents pursued language maintenance through bilingual language policies, the school prohibited other languages and adhered to a monolingual English only language policy. The language policies of the two contexts obviously conflicted, yet the position of the parents in the study was in tension. The parents who supported language maintenance at home believed that the school ought to only teach English so that their children would be prepared for mainstream Kindergarten classes without the need of being pulled out for an ESL class. Thus, the language maintenance process of the young preschoolers was challenged by this teacher- and parent-supported dominance of English at school.

The contexts of home and school were widely different but intersected in ways that were crucial to the children's socialization process as bilingual children. The next chapter will discuss these intersections in more detail, along with implications of this study for researchers, educators, and parents of bi- and multi-lingual children.

Chapter 6. Summary of Findings

In this section, I summarize key findings of the study. The first section of the summary will report findings in relation to the first two research questions, and the following section will report findings in relation to the last two research questions. The first research question examined how participants issued and responded to directives, and with what kinds of gestures, forms of eye contact and utterances directives were issued or received. The second research question analyzed ways in which directives were used to socialize participants into appropriate ways of behaving, thinking, and interacting.

Korean American Directive Interactions

The study revealed that there were features of the directives in this study that were unique to the Korean language. Parents and children participated in directive interactions using the polite style of Korean. For example, participants used the honorific ending, 요 '*yo*' which followed the final verb at the end of a sentence. For instance, parents used the honorific ending, 'yo', to socialize children into the appropriate way of issuing a directive in the Korean language.

In another example, older siblings directed younger siblings with Korean directive, that ended with '*bwa*', a Korean verb ending that mitigates an imperative directive (Yeon & Brown, 2011). The children in this study recognized and utilized the '*bwa*' verb ending when addressing other children or younger children but not with adults, since using this verbal ending with adults would be considered rude, inappropriate, and offensive. The children recognized this nuanced social rule and navigated the different styles of the Korean language to issue socially appropriate directives to one another. Through using the polite style of Korean during directive interactions, parents taught children how and

when to use the polite style of Korean. Older siblings also participated in teaching younger children how to use the polite style during directive interactions.

Gestures and Eye Contact in Directive Interactions

Gestures and eye contact were used by all participants—children, parents, and teachers—during directive interactions at home and in school. For example, participants performed hand gestures such as pointing and waving a hand in the direction of an object to emphasize their directives to other participants in the study. Eye contact was used by adults and children to initiate and hold the attention of the interlocutor during directive interactions. Parents at home and teachers in school modeled gestures that were intended as directives for children to imitate. For example, a teacher's gesture of folding ones hands to pray had the double purpose of directing the child to pray and demonstrating the appropriate hand gestures to enact during prayer. Children also used gestures as modeling directives for younger siblings. For instance, older siblings modeled gestures for younger siblings to imitate.

Gestures and eye contact were also crucial ways to resist directives and deny the other person's request. For example, children and parents refused to make eye contact by turning their heads away from the interlocutor when wishing to resist a directive. Also, children physically walked or ran away from parents when resisting directives. For instance, children walked away from the table when resisting parents' directives to finish eating.

Navigating through Directives at Home and School

In this section, I summarize key findings in relation to the third and fourth research questions. The third research question explored the ways in which directive

interactions of the children developed, converged and intersected in their homes and preschool class. The fourth research question examined the language preferences and practices in different contexts, and how these patterns revealed larger social contexts and balances of power in the lives of the participants.

Modeling in Home and School

Modeling directive routines were a crucial part of both the home and school interactions for the children in this study. Parents, older siblings, and teachers used modeled directives to demonstrate contextually appropriate behavior and speech for children in the contexts of home and school. Modeled directives were both linguistic and gestural in that the appropriate words and gestures were shown to children to imitate. In all three homes, parents and older siblings used gestural modeled directives and verbal directives to demonstrate the socially appropriate way to behave and speak at home. For example, parents and older children verbally modeled the polite style of Korean for children to imitate.

In their preschool classroom, modeling directives was an integral way for teachers to present academic lessons and to demonstrate socially appropriate behavior in the classroom. Circle time was a pivotal time in the preschool day during which teachers modeled directives for academic group lessons and for demonstrating socially appropriate ways to sit, stand, dance, speak, and ask questions.

Resistance to Directives

The two contexts of the children's homes and their preschool classroom diverged in their policies and practices of how to respond to resistance from children. In the three homes, there was evidence of resistance from parents and children in directive

interactions. There were instances of children resisting parents' directives and other siblings' directives. Parents also resisted children's directives. In response to the resistance in the directive interactions, participants drew from a wide range of linguistic and gestural resources to persuade their interlocutor to comply with their directive. For example, parents and children used verbal strategies that included issuing a threat, providing another option, repeating the directive, changing the subject, asking a question, offering an explanation, translangaging in Korean and/or English, whining and laughing. Parents and children used body gestures such as walking toward the child, pointing a finger, sustaining eye contact, widening eyes, raising eyebrows, touching, forcefully removing a child, and pushing or hitting a sibling.

Kent (2012) found that children resisted directives of parents through verbal and gestural responses. This study revealed a wider range of verbal and gestural resources that parents and children used to resist directives. It also found that a breakdown in communication during directive interactions, such as in the instance of resistance, pushed participants to navigate and negotiate the social interaction with more creativity and responsiveness to the interlocutor and the social context.

While resistance was evident in the homes of the three children, there were only a couple of instances of resistance in the preschool classroom. The preschool teachers had a class policy of no resistance from the children, and used whatever verbal and physical means possible to ensure that children complied with all directives. Thus, there were almost no incidents of children showing resistance in the classroom. While children did not resist teachers' directives, children demonstrated resistance to other children's directives through verbal and gestural resistance.

Teachers relied mainly on gestural cues and forms of eye contact to ensure that children followed through on verbal directives that teachers issued. This finding was also attested in Lowi's (2007) study, which found that children in the classroom relied heavily on gestures during directive interactions.

Furthermore, teachers did not tolerate resistance in the classroom, which conflicted with parents' directive interactions at home, which allowed and responded to children's acts of resistance. The teacher's policy of complete compliance in the classroom also conflicted with the Montessori philosophy. According to Montessori (1949), teachers are instructed to allow children to choose work lessons at any time so that children may work on lessons that are appropriate for their age and interests. In this class, however, teachers had firm control of which lessons children worked on. Montessori also promoted longer work periods of individual work and shorter periods of group activities, such as circle time. This class's schedule, however, included a lengthy circle time of 30 minutes or longer, during which the teacher had a strong centralized control over children's movements, behaviors, and speech. The teachers used verbal and gestural directives during circle time and work time to control the behaviors and speech of the children.

Institutional Discourse and Directives

The preschool teachers' use of directives exhibited features of institutional discourse, talk between an institutional representative and a client (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 2015). The relationship may be between a faculty advisor and a graduate student, or an interviewer and a job applicant. In this study, the institutional talk took place between the preschool teacher and the student. The study revealed that there were

linguistic practices used during directive interactions that were specific and unique to the preschool setting, as opposed to the home settings of the three children. Examples of institutional discourse included the use of proverbs, chants, and repetition of phrases during directive interactions between the preschool teachers and children. The features of these institutional directive interactions—particularly the use of proverbs, chants, and repetition of phrases—were not evidenced in the homes. Thus, this study revealed that there are distinct features of directive interactions that are unique and effective in the context of the preschool classroom. Specifically, directive interactions that included proverbs, chants, and phrases were found to be effective in eliciting compliance from the children in the preschool classroom.

Balances of Power and Language Shift

The last research question examined the language preferences and practices in different contexts, and how these patterns revealed larger social contexts and balances of power in the lives of the participants. The findings revealed that there were complex balances of power between the parents, teachers, and children in the study. The parents of all three homes expressed a desire for their children to become bilingual speakers. To fulfill this goal, parents made explicit language policies and practices at home, such as speaking only Korean at home, using both languages at home, surrounding the child with Korean-speaking friends and family members, and making plans to send the child to Korean language school.

At the same time, parents shared that they felt a need for their children to learn English before kindergarten so that they were not placed in ESL or non-mainstream classes, which might hinder their progress in public school. For this reason, parents

preferred that children only spoke Korean at home and English at school so that they were able to learn both languages. The teachers in the study were in agreement with the parents and taught only in English at school. While the main teacher was a White American teacher who only spoke English, there were two other assistant teachers who were Korean and spoke Korean more comfortably than English. Yet those teachers did not speak in Korean with the children during any of the observations. In addition to this pressure to learn English at school, one family faced pressure from their pediatrician to only speak one language to their child under the misconception that learning two languages would delay his cognitive development.

Parents in the study reported that even though their children had learned Korean first in the home, their children were beginning to forget their native language at the ages of three and four. Parents shared that they believed this was due to the importance that English was given over Korean in their preschool class. Additionally, parents believed that peer culture was important in determining the child's preferred language. Since the children spoke with their friends at school in English only, parents shared that English became their children's preferred language, which was confirmed by the interactions between the children. While children translanguaged with siblings at home, the three focal children spoke to each other in English for the majority of their interactions. While Hernández, Denton and Macartney (2009) identified parents' language skills as the most important factor in determining early language development, this study challenged this view by revealing the importance of peer culture for the language preference of young children.

These findings substantiated studies of Wong-Fillmore (1991), who uncovered the danger of introducing English too early. She found that an early focus on English-only may cause preschool children to experience language shift and to communicate exclusively in English even at home with family members who do not speak or understand English. Wong-Fillmore's study revealed that this language shift caused negative consequences of reduced communication with family members, new family tensions, misunderstandings, and at times breakdown of family functioning.

Furthermore, this study expanded Wong-Fillmore's (1991) research by adding a more complex perspective on the balances of power between the home and school. Rather than presenting a dichotomous divide between Korean-speaking parents and English-speaking teachers, this study showed that the home-school relationship was more complicated with multiple balances and tensions of power between the participants. The rich contextual lens that this analysis provided forged a window for examining this complex relationship between preschool teachers and parents. One example of this was in the consensual agreement between parents and teachers to create an English-only environment in the classroom. While there was consensus, this agreement was complicated by tensions in relation to the participants. For the head teacher, this decision was natural since she only spoke English but it was more difficult for the Korean-speaking assistant teachers who were adult English language learners. Parents wanted an English-only environment because they were knowledgeable of the public school system and aware of the social, cultural, and academic capital that would be afforded to their children if they were already fluent speakers of English in Kindergarten. Wanting the best

education for their children, these parents reported that they did not want their child to be placed in a non-mainstream class.

At the same time, parents did not want their children to lose their native language. Thus, parents socialized children into appropriate behaviors and speech in the Korean language and in translanguaging interactions during directive routines at home. Even though their children were experiencing language shift to English, the parents in the study reported that they would not give up their plans or hopes of raising their children as bilinguals in an English-only environment, a struggle of that has been documented in bilingual families by several researchers (Caldas, 2006; No, 2011; Shin, 2005).

Chapter 7. Discussion and Pedagogical Implications

The purpose of this study was to investigate the use of directives by three bilingual children with their families at home and with their teachers and classmates in their preschool class. This chapter looks across the study's findings in relation to the research literature and discusses implications of this study for educators, practitioners, and families about effective practices for developing the linguistic routines of young bilingual learners. To begin, I discuss ways in which the findings related to previous research on directives and young bilingual learners. I conclude the chapter by moving into implications for practice.

The phenomenon of directives has been a fertile one for language researchers due to the rich and complex social rules that are required to give or respond to a directive. Furthermore, researchers have revealed that directives are a critical part of the language socialization processes of young children in homes (e.g., Griswold, 2007; Kent, 2012) and in schools (e.g., Kryatsiz & Tarum, 2010; Lo, 2009; Waring & Hruska, 2012). In addition, there has been significant research on young children learning how to use directives in different languages and dialects, such as African American Vernacular English (e.g., Goodwin, 1990); Chinese (e.g., He, 2000); English (e.g., Kryatsiz, Marx, & Wade, 2001); Korean (e.g., Lo, 2004); Russian (e.g., Griswold, 2007); and Spanish (e.g., de Leon, 2000). However, there has been a dearth of research on the directive use of young children in multiple contexts and languages.

The findings of this study advanced previous research on directives and young children by examining the use of directives in two different contexts and in two different

languages. By examining the two connected and overlapping contexts of home and school, the study revealed that children developed along multiple trajectories of directive interactions in two languages and two contexts with an acute awareness and ability to creatively mix languages and shift language, register, gestures, and appropriate degrees of compliance. Moreover, this study revealed that children as young as three were highly aware of their contexts and able to issue and respond to directives in context-specific situations (Crivello, Kuzyk, Rodrigues, Friend, Zesiger, & Poulin-Dubois, 2016). These findings contributed to the research on the directive use of young children by providing an empirical analysis in two different contexts and languages, whereas research on directives until this point has primarily focused on one independent site of analysis. From studies that have focused on the directive interactions of families with young children, only one study has examined the directive interactions of Korean American children (Han, 2004), and no studies to my knowledge have examined directive use in Korean American families in the contexts of home and school.

The findings of this study advanced research on the translanguaging practices of Korean American children. García (2009) described translanguaging as going beyond code-switching because it did not only look at how speakers switched languages. Rather, speakers who translanguaged drew from a communicative repertoire of linguistic modes and features in a hybrid language meaning-making process. The word, 'translanguaging' was first coined by Williams (1994) to define the ability of bi- and multi-lingual speakers to draw from multiple languages, which formed an integrated repertoire for the speaker. Wei (2011) added that translanguaging conveyed a certain creativity and hybridity for the way that multilingual speakers create a new whole from the languages and

communicative resources in their repertoire. García and Wei (2014) have described translanguaging as different from code-switching because it is not merely switching between two languages, as in the act of code-switching, but constructing a complex and interrelated set of communicative and discursive practices that create a speaker's complete language repertoire.

In the past, researchers (Shin & Milroy, 2000; Shin, 2005) had examined ways in which Korean Americans had code switched between Korean and English for specific purposes. For instance, Shin (2005) reported that children switched between the two languages in order to express respect and deference to elders at church. Yet, this study's findings revealed a different phenomenon. The Korean American families did not use certain languages only for specific pragmatic purposes, or for a certain audience, or at a certain time of day. Rather, family members drew from their communicative repertoire of diverse linguistic features and modes provided by Korean, English and hybrid Korean-English languages, and gestures and forms of eye contact and movement, in order to achieve maximal communicative effectiveness. In other words, family members chose whatever resources were most advantageous to them in that particular situation, with that particular person, and for their particular goal. Languages were not limited to specific purposes, audiences, or contexts.

Thus, this study revealed that the perspective of code-switching may be problematic for researchers when examining the translanguaging practices of bi- and multi-lingual children. Not only was it impossible to index code-switched languages to certain people, contexts, and purposes, it was also difficult to apply the definition of code-switching to these children's language practices. Romaine (1989) had traditionally

defined code-switching as a bilingual speaker's ability to purposefully switch between two languages in which she is competent. Yet as Canagarajah (2013) argued, people could adopt language resources from multiple languages and communities without full or perfect competence in the languages and communities. The children in this study were developing fluency and did not have advanced competence in both Korean and English. Yet they drew from linguistic features and modes in the Korean, English, and a hybrid Korean-English language in order to make meaning during directive interactions.

Gestures were an important part of the participants' communicative repertoires. This study advanced the previous research on the way young children used gestures to issue, respond to, and resist directives. Researchers have documented ways in which gestures and directives were used together by children and adults. For example, Lowi (2007) reported that preschool teachers used gestures and eye contact to construct joint attention with children during directive interactions, which lead to successful communication and a preferred response from children. For directives used at home, Cekaite (2010) found that parents used gestures, such as twisting one's body in a certain direction or steering, in order to shepherd and guide the child's movements to comply with the parent's directive. The findings of this study contributed to the research on gestures and directives by revealing that parents, teachers, and older siblings socialized children to behave and speak in culturally appropriate ways at home and in school through use of their multimodal communicative repertoires and by modeling gestures and directives. This contribution may allow researchers and practitioners to understand that modeling gestures and directives is a crucial way in which parents and teachers participate in directive routines with young bilingual children.

The findings of this study also increased our understanding of the benefits of bilingualism. Research on bilingualism has documented benefits of bilingualism to include an increased understanding of interpersonal communication (Genessee, Paradis & Crago, 2004); higher problem solving skills, more linguistic and cognitive creativity, higher verbal IQ, higher metalinguistic awareness, higher quantity skills, higher degree of spatial concepts (García & Nañez, 2011); and increased gray matter in the brain (Espinsoa, 2010). This study's findings revealed that the bilingual child's ability to perform complex social and linguistic routines, namely directive interactions, in two languages is another important benefit of bilingualism.

Furthermore, this study shed light on research on family language policy (FLP) in Korean American families and communities, and may assist research on families and communities of other language groups as well. FLP has been defined by King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry (2008) as explicit planning regarding language use within the home by family members. This field of research has been especially helpful for bilingual families in diaspora and immigrant contexts to see the explicit decisions that are made by families in the home to maintain, learn, or adopt a language.

For families in diaspora and immigrant contexts, research has documented the policy of consecutive or successive bilingualism also called sequential bilingualism, the practice of teaching a second or third language once the child has fully grasped the first language, often after the age of four (Paradis, 2009). Kouritzin (2000) argued that teaching the native language first would assist in maintaining the minority language

under threat of shift or loss. This FLP, often used by parents of minority languages living in primarily monolingual cultures, is a method of preserving the child's bilingualism (Kouritzin, 2000).

While consecutive bilingualism has been documented as a successful approach for raising bilingual children in the aforementioned studies (Caldas, 2006; Kouritzin, 2000; Moin, Schwartz & Leiken, 2013), the findings of this study question the effectiveness of this FLP in this specific context in the U.S. Specifically, the study revealed that for the two families in this study that chose the FLP of consecutive bilingualism, the children exhibited a shift from Korean to English at the ages of three and four, after having been exposed to an English-dominant preschool in the U.S. This study advances the field of FLP by unveiling the challenges of adopting consecutive bilingualism as an FLP in language contexts that are monolingual and constricting for the use of the native language.

In addition, this research advanced knowledge on the language maintenance practices of Korean American immigrants in the U.S. As the third generation of third-wave Korean immigrants, according to Fishman (1972), it would be statistically difficult for the children in this study to maintain their native home language practices. Yet the active translanguaging practices of the three families revealed that parents and older siblings used directives to socialize children into culture and context-specific practices, such as using honorifics, learning how to request and ask in appropriate ways, and to speak with deference to older siblings and parents. These translanguaging practices developed the multilingual communicative repertoires of the children, and brought the family members closer to the parents' goals of language maintenance.

Moreover, the findings of this study advanced language socialization research in providing another example of the multi-directional nature of socialization. Children were not merely socialized into an appropriate form of behavior and thought by parents. Rather, parents, children, and their siblings all socialized one another into ways of thought and behavior that were appropriate in the context of their family and situation. The study highlighted the uptake of the children in this study and revealed that the children, even at the young ages of three and four, were able to push against directives and assert their agency in the context of conflict. Children, especially older siblings, reproduced, taught, and creatively played with the appropriate ways of interacting in directives. Language socialization, as evidenced in the three families, was a multi-directional process in which all participants had major parts to play.

Finally, this research contributed to the knowledge on home-school relationships by contributing an in-depth and complex relationship between three homes and a preschool class. Researchers (e.g., Godenberg & Gallimore, 1995; Gútierrez & Rogoff, 2003) have identified problems with studying home-school relationships as a dichotomous relationship and with studying issues of discontinuity between home and school with a focus on differences as traits. By focusing on different traits, research on home-school discontinuities in the past has made the assumption that culture is static and categorical (Godenberg & Gallimore, 1995). Rather than focusing on the different traits between home and school, Gútierrez and Rogoff (2003) called for an approach to the study of home-school discontinuities that analyze the histories and practices of cultural groups.

This study advanced research on home-school relationships by focusing on the

dynamic and daily practices of directive interactions in the three Korean-American families and their preschool class. By examining this linguistic practice of directive interactions, the study revealed complex intersections and tensions between the language policies, the language practices, the pedagogical philosophies, and the degrees of compliance and resistance exhibited by children in the study.

Implications for Research, Policy, and Practice

Given the findings, there are several implications that can be drawn for research, policy, and practice. The first implication is that future language socialization studies of Korean American immigrants will benefit from a longer data collection period. Due to the ethnographic nature of this study, the findings were able to capture the development of the participants' language practices over a longer period of time. Without a longer period of data collection, it will be difficult for researchers to analyze the larger themes that influence how the everyday routines of participants may develop over time.

Another implication is the need for administrators of early education to consider how to create practices and policy that invites the child's native language into the classroom and the greater context of the preschool as advocated by Genesee (2010). Particularly for young children of preschool age, when children are developing foundations of language, it is important to welcome the languages that children are speaking at home into the school (e.g., Schwartz, Koh, Chen, Sinke & Geva, 2015). As the findings in this study revealed, an English-only environment may cause language shift and loss for young children, which may lead to negative consequences in their homes and families, as documented by Wong-Fillmore (1991). Therefore, it is important

that policy for early education include the consideration of native languages through policies that support bilingual education, as researchers have documented (e.g., Collier & Thomas, 2004; Combs, Evans, Fletcher, Parra & Jiménez, 2005). Furthermore, teachers may include students' home languages into the room by including a storytelling corner in home languages and songs from multiple languages and cultures.

A third implication addresses the misconceptions about preschool children learning two languages. As the findings showed, all of the adults involved in this study—the parents, teachers, and medical practitioner—were under the misconception that learning two languages from an early age would delay the child's cognitive development and academic achievement in public school. Language researchers (e.g., Genesee, 2010; Espinosa, 2010) have reported that this belief of cognitive delay is a misconception and teachers, parents, and practitioners of early child medicine and development need to be informed and instructed of this misconception.

Furthermore, the benefits of bilingualism need to be shared so that teachers, administrators, and parents may support the teaching of multiple languages to young children. García and Nañez (2011) reported cognitive benefits of bilingualism to be higher problem solving skills, linguistic and cognitive creativity, higher verbal IQ, increased metalinguistic awareness, higher quantity skills, and higher degree of spatial concepts. Moreover, this study found through an examination of the children's directive interactions, that children were able to achieve social and pragmatic goals in complex social routines, namely directive interactions, through the use of two languages. Therefore it is crucial that teachers, parents, and medical practitioners are aware of the benefits of bilingualism.

A fourth implication that can be drawn from this study is the need for preschool teachers of bi- and multi-lingual children to invite the native languages of these children into their class culture and curriculum, as documented by August and Hakuta (1997). If the teacher is in a bilingual preschool that teaches the child's native language, the children may learn both English and their native language. Even if the child's native language is not the official language of instruction, preschool teachers need to include a consideration of the child's language into the classroom to support the child's linguistic development, as García and Frede (2010) had revealed in their research. Examples of including the native language in the classroom may involve assignments that may welcome family members from home, learning phrases or words from the multiple languages represented in the classroom, inviting children to speak the language or share about their language in the classroom, and creating assignments or lessons that may involve translations to encourage the child's participation and engagement in class through their native languages. This study confirmed the harm of an English-only environment on a preschool child's bilingual development (e.g., Wong-Fillmore, 1991). To prevent language shift and encourage the bilingual development of children, therefore, teachers need to include their students' native languages in creative ways in their curriculum and classroom culture.

A fifth implication from this study is that parents need to be informed of the importance of peer culture on the language preferences of children, as was revealed by the present study and research in the past (e.g., He, 2000; Kim, 2014). While this study showed that parents created bilingual contexts at home through the directive interactions within families, there were fewer interactions between the children that took place in a

similar bilingual context. For parents who desire to support their children's bilingual development, establishing more social networks between children and their peers that involve their native language will assist in supporting the child's bilingualism, as evidenced by the research of Zentella (1997) and Zhou and Kim (2006). For this process to be successful, these social networks need to be intentional about creating a bilingual environment for the children. An example of this may be a native language class or for younger preschool children or informal gatherings between parents and children that are in the native language.

A sixth implication that can be drawn from this study for researchers is to examine the relationship between translanguaging (García, 2009) and the metalinguistic awareness of bi- and multi-lingual speakers (Sung & Spolksy, 2015). Sung and Spolsky (2015) argued that multilingual speakers are able to draw on metalinguistic awareness to interact in a complex manner and to translanguage with other speakers. This study demonstrated that parents possessed a metalinguistic awareness of their translanguaging practices, especially evident in their multilingual family language policies and practices. Family members translanguaged purposefully for the long-term goal of language maintenance and the short-term goals of obtaining their desired outcome in a directive interaction. In addition, parents had a meta-awareness of their translanguaging practices with their children, which contributed to more complex and multilingual, multimodal interactions. There is a need for more research on the metalinguistic awareness of young multilingual children as they translanguage with others, and the ways in which metalinguistic awareness influences the children's practices of translanguaging.

A seventh implication from this study for researchers and teachers is the generative quality of resistance evidenced in the directive interactions. In the homes, resistance from parents or children in this study generated longer interactions, multi-party involvement, and linguistically creative and multilingual participation from adults and children. However, in the classroom with its zero-tolerance policy of resistance there were fewer instances of the generative directive interactions that were observed in the children's homes. This type of control and regulation of the children's interactions, including their verbal and physical comportment, did not provide an environment that nurtured the children's linguistic creativity and growth. For teachers and practitioners who work with young multilingual children, this study challenges prior notions of control and restriction in the preschool classroom (Florez, 2011; Willford, Whittaker, Vitiello & Downer, 2013) and opens up possibilities for more creative linguistic interactions that may result from an increased level of agency for children. This study calls for teachers and practitioners who work with preschool children to invite increased agency of multilingual children in the classroom to allow greater growth of the child's linguistic creativity and for richer interactions.

An eighth implication for researchers, families, and teachers of multilingual children is the complex modeling practices of Korean American families. This study revealed that Korean American families modeled appropriate forms of directives by momentarily subverting hierarchical positions to obtain long-term goals of socializing children into appropriate ways of being Korean Americans, and to procure short-term goals of the directive interaction. This study showed that parents changed their footing in these social interactions (Goffman, 1974) by using honorific verb endings and the polite

style with children who were younger and of a lower social status (Yeon & Brown, 2011). There is a need for more research on how this subversion in power roles may give children more footing in the conversation and possibly make more room for more resistance and longer, richer linguistic interactions.

A final implication that can be drawn from this study is for parents, teachers, school administrators, and practitioners who work with young children to be aware and cautious of the harmful consequences of institutional pressures on multilingual young children (Appel & Muysken, 2005). This study demonstrated that children experienced language shift after participation in an English-only institution. In addition, the institutional pressures of an English-only policy, accompanied by a zero-tolerance policy, inhibited children from the rich and creative linguistic play that they participated in at home. Furthermore, a medical practitioner placed pressure on one family to raise their son monolingually. Parents, teachers, school administrators, and practitioners who work with young children need to be advised of ways in which institutional pressures limit the child's agency and linguistic abilities and may harm the child's development linguistically.

Chapter 8. Limitations of the Study and Directions for Future Research

Limitations of the study

This chapter presents the limitations of the study and directions for future research. The first limitation of the study was in relation to the interview of children using puppets. Dockett and Perry (2007) suggested the use of props for interviews of children. I used puppet props with children because children were familiar with puppets and they would allow children to speak during interviews. Although children were asked to enact role-plays of mealtimes at home with their puppets, it was difficult to have children focus on the task at hand and continue with the role-play of mealtime. For this reason, the interview of children using puppets was limited and did not allow a focused interview on the topic of directives.

Another limitation of the study was that I was only able to observe a few interactions of assistant teachers with children. The director and head teacher of the preschool agreed that I could observe the children during the morning session from 9AM to 12PM and their lunch period from 12PM to 12:30PM. During this time, the children participated in a morning circle time and then had independent work time in the classroom. The head teacher directed the morning circle time and assistant teachers sat around the circle to monitor the children. During one observation, I saw an assistant teacher model a lesson for the children. However, the head teacher was the primary teacher in charge of the morning circle time. Due to this time restriction, I observed more interactions of the children with their head teacher but only a few interactions of the children with their assistant teachers. Since I was not permitted to observe during recess and during nap time, it was difficult to observe more of the children's interactions with

peers and with assistant teachers. This was a limitation because researchers have found that children's interactions with peers were a rich site of language socialization (He, 2000; Kryatsiz & Tarum, 2010).

Another limitation of the study was that I was not able to observe fathers' interactions with children during the day time. I conducted field observations in the three homes during the day before fathers returned from work. When I scheduled home observations with parents, I allowed them to suggest the best time that would be convenient for their families. All three families recommended that I could come during the day time. While this time was convenient for the families, it was difficult to observe the fathers' interactions with the children during the morning and afternoon. As Blum-Kulka's (1997) study revealed, the interactions of both parents were a crucial part of the child's language socialization process. To observe the fathers' interactions with their children, parents recorded their meal times with fathers present, and fathers were also interviewed separately from the mothers.

Directions for Future Research

In this section, I address directions for future research in relation to the present study and the existing research gaps in the literature. This study examined the two contexts of home and school. While children spent the most time in these two spaces of home and school, there were other social contexts that influenced the way they used directives and spoke English and Korean. For example, they attended a Korean American church, they had gatherings with extended family members, and the children attended other social functions during the weekends such as church events, sports activities, and social gatherings with other families. Researchers (e.g., Lyon, 1996; Zhou & Kim, 2006;

Zentella, 1997) have examined the social networks of immigrant children outside of the school but there is a gap in research that traces the child's use and development of languages across the multiple contexts they navigate. To better understand the bilingual and multilingual child's development in complex linguistic routines, such as directives, further investigation of the child's language practices in their multiple nested contexts is needed. These results can assist language teachers of immigrant children by providing a better understanding of the child's linguistic development.

Also, this study revealed that children were deeply influenced by their peer's language preferences and practices. While there have been studies conducted on the role of peer relationships in language socialization and literacy development (e.g., He, 2000; Kim, 2014; Kryatsiz & Tarum, 2010), there is a dearth of research on the role of peer relationships in the bi- and multi-lingual child's use of directives. An examination of the role of peer relationships in a bi- and multi-lingual child's use of directives, and the child's language preferences and practices should be conducted to deepen our understanding of the importance of peer relationships in a bi- and multi-lingual child's linguistic development. Research on the role of peer relationships in a bi- and multi-lingual child's linguistic development may suggest new implications for how to structure language classes, language learning environments, and family language policies.

In addition, data collection for this study took place in eight months. More longitudinal studies are needed to better understand the consequences of bilingual development and home language shift on children's social and academic growth. For instance, Garrett (2007) and Baquedano-López, Solís, and Arredondo (2010) called for more longitudinal and ethnographic research with the aim of describing an individual's

acquisition of socio-cultural knowledge across time and contexts. Future research may consider analyzing longer periods of time to broaden understanding of how preschool children develop linguistic routines, such as directive interactions, in two or more languages. By analyzing three Mexican families for eighteen months, Bhimji (2002) revealed the linguistic development of the children through the use of directives. Specifically, she revealed that children socialized younger siblings with directives as they grew older with time. Thus, more longitudinal studies of the directive use of immigrant children will allow researchers and teachers to understand how children develop in their use of directives. Longitudinal studies may also reveal the positive effects of bilingualism as children develop in both languages.

Finally, this study conducted ethnographic research of three Korean American children. Studies that employ a mixed-methods approach, and use qualitative and quantitative ways of capturing and analyzing data may reveal differences in the understanding of directives among distinct ethnic and language groups. Understanding differences of directive use among different ethnic and language groups will allow parents, teachers, and schools to better understand the directive practices of immigrant children.

This study is one of the few investigations that examine the directive routines of Korean American preschool children in the home and preschool. Through this examination, the findings illustrate how several bilingual preschool children develop linguistic and gestural resources in directive interactions. Furthermore, these directive repertoires become a primary means of socializing children into appropriate behaviors and speech in the Korean American families and in the English-only classroom.

At the same time, the study's rich context presents the dangers of an English-only environment on young preschool children (Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Despite the parents' attempts to socialize children into speaking the Korean language, children began to experience language shift. The findings from this study suggest that the decision to raise a child in two languages is not only dependent on the parents but on the child's friends, teachers, administrators, family members, pediatricians, and other medical practitioners. In other words, it takes a village to raise a child in two languages. For the United States, which is ever-diversifying in language groups, it is important for families, teachers, administrators, policy makers, and medical practitioners to understand the benefits of bilingualism for the children of this country.

Appendix A: Children's Informal Puppet Interview

Goal of Interview

The goal of this interview is to understand the way children perceive the use of directives in the home. By allowing one child to pretend to play the parent, the researcher may understand how the child views the directives of the parent.

Preparation for the Interview

The researcher will prepare for the interview by bringing three finger puppets, a tiny mat for the puppets to sit on and a tiny table for the puppets to sit around. One finger puppet will be used to enact an adult and the other two puppets will be used to enact children. If a child's sibling is present, the sibling may participate and play the role of the parent or child.

School Role-Play

Researcher's instructions to children:

Today we will play a fun game of pretend. I brought three puppets for us. One of these puppets will be the parent (mother or father). The other two puppets will be children in the class. Who would like to pretend to be the parent first? You will both get a chance. (Allow one child to put on the parent finger puppet.)

Great! I will also pretend to be a child. Today we are going to pretend we are eating dinner. Do you see this table? This is our dinner table! Ready? Let's begin!

(Allow children to role-play and then invite the sibling, if present, to also enact the parent.)

Appendix B: Children's Informal Drawing Interview

Goal of Interview

The goal of this interview is to understand the way children perceive the use of directives in the home and classroom through illustrations done by the child.

Preparation for Interview

The researcher will prepare for interview by bringing blank sheets of paper and colored pencils.

School Drawing

Researcher's instructions to children:

Today we will have a fun activity of drawing! I brought you paper and beautiful color pencils to color with. You know how we have circle time every morning where the lead teacher (provide name) teaches you songs and stories? Can you think of one circle time that you really, really liked? Maybe you really liked one story? Or a song? Can you draw that circle time for me?

(Give children time to draw picture.)

Can you explain what the teacher is saying here? What are the children saying or doing?

Home Drawing

Researcher's instructions to child:

Today we will have a fun activity of drawing! I brought you paper and beautiful color pencils to color with. You know how we all eat dinner at night with our families? Who do you usually eat with? (Allow child to answer.) Can you draw a picture of you and your family eating dinner together for me?

(Give child time to draw picture.)

Can you explain what the parent is doing or saying here? What are the children saying or doing?

Appendix C: Interview of Parents

Introductory Questions: The goal of these introductory questions is to break the ice

between the researcher and the participant. Through these questions, the researcher may

know more about the parents' background.

1. How long have you lived in North Valley? Do you like living here?

2. How did you choose to send your child to this preschool? How has the experience

   been so far?

3. Were you born in the U.S.? If not, when did you immigrate to the U.S.?

Questions about social networks: The goal of these questions is to elicit information

regarding the social networks in which the family is involved. Moreover, these questions

seek to analyze how the child's socialization processes may be influenced by ethnic

networks.

1. Do you have other extended family members living in your home and in N.J.?

   How often do you and your children get to see them? Do they speak Korean,

   English, or both with your children and in which language do your children

   respond?

2. Do you participate in any Korean communities (i.e., Korean association, church,

   community center or club) on a regular basis? How often do you and your

   children participate in the community? Do members of the community speak

   Korean, English, or both with your children and in which language do your

   children respond?

3. Who usually babysits your child? What language do they speak with your child?

Questions about language socialization: The goal of these questions is to analyze the language socialization routines that parents create at home with their children. In particular, these questions explore the way in which the parents socialize children into Korean and English linguistic routines.

1. Which languages do you speak at home? What language do you speak to your child?

2. Do you want your child to be orally fluent in Korean? English? Do you want your child to know how to read and write in Korean? English?

3. In what ways do you reinforce the language learning at home? (For example, posters, workbooks, tutors, Korean weekend classes, conversations)

4. Have you faced any challenges or resistance from your child regarding the use of Korean or English at home? Explain how and when the challenges or resistance emerged and how you have responded.

Questions about directives: The goal of these questions is to investigate how the parents' directive repertoires may be shaped by their cultural context. These questions will also elicit information about the parents' methods and past experiences for issuing directives at home. Parents will be informed that directives are what we say, do, or ask when we try to get someone else to do something. They will also be informed that directives can take many linguistic forms, such as an order, command, question, request, prayer, challenge, hint, invitation, or suggestion (Searle, 1976). I will provide an example of a parent asking her child, "Did you finish your vegetables?" as an example of a directive in the form of a question that gets the child to finish eating her vegetables.

1. What language(s) do you usually use to ask or tell your child to do something? For example, what language do you use when you give them a chore to complete or direct them to eat in a certain way?

2. Are there any specific words, gestures, or patterns that you use in order to direct children? What language have you found to be successful in clearly communicating directives to children?

3. Has there been a time that you met resistance from a child? For example, maybe your child refused to eat a certain food. How did the child's resistance show up through words and actions? How do you respond to resistance?

4. Do you use any rewards, punishments, or incentives for children following directives? And in what language do you incentivize or reward or punish the child?

5. What language did your parents give you directives as a child?

Appendix D: Interview of Teachers

Introductory Questions: The goal of these introductory questions is to break the ice between the researcher and the participant. Through these questions, the teacher has an opportunity to introduce herself to the researcher regarding her experience at the preschool.

1. How long have you been teaching?

2. How long have you been teaching at this preschool?

3. Why did you choose to work at this school?

Questions about directives: The goal of these questions is to investigate how the teachers' directive repertoires may be shaped by cultural context, pedagogical training, and expectations for children. These questions will also elicit information about the teachers' methods and past experiences for issuing directives in the classroom. Teachers will be informed that directives are what we say, do, or ask when we try to get someone else to do something. They will also be informed that directives can take many linguistic forms, such as an order, command, question, request, prayer, challenge, hint, invitation, or suggestion (Searle, 1976). I will provide an example of a teacher inviting her student, "Let's clean up our materials." as an example of a directive in the form of an invitation that gets the child to clean up her materials.

1. In Montessori classes, how are teachers trained to ask children to do something? What kinds of guidelines are there for Montessori teachers?

2. In your family, what was the customary way that your parent(s) gave directives to you and your siblings?

3. What kinds of directives do you give for children before circle time?

4. What directives do you usually provide for children before a lesson during their work time?

5. Are there any specific words, gestures, or patterns that you use in order to get children to do something? Do you use a specific language depending on the child?

6. What words, gestures, or methods have you found to be successful in clearly communicating directives to children?

7. Has there been a time that you met resistance from a child? How did the child show his or her resistance? How do you respond to resistance?

8. Do you use any rewards, punishments, or incentives to enable children to follow directives?

Questions about bilingualism: The goal of these questions is to analyze the teachers' beliefs and experiences regarding the use of two languages in the classroom. In particular, these questions seek to elicit information regarding the teacher's challenges with and educational expectations for bilingual children in the classroom.

1. How many children in the class are bilingual?

2. What strengths do bilingual children bring to the class?

Appendix E: Coding Scheme

Codeswitching

- Directive CSed English to Korean. adult to child
- Directive CSed English to Korean. child to adult
- Directive CSed English to Korean. child to child
- Directive CSed Korean to English. adult to child
- Directive CSed Korean to English. child to adult
- Directive CSed Korean to English. child to child
- English to Korean.adult
- English to Korean.child
- Explaining consequence or reason for directive in Korean. parent to child
- Korean to English.adult
- Korean to English.child
- Promising reward if directive is obeyed in Korean. parent to child
- Response to a parent's directive is CSed from English to Korean. child to parent
- Second directive CSed English to Korean. adult to child
- Two or more consecutive directives in Korean. child to parent
- Two or more consecutive directives in Korean. parent to child
- Using 빨리 얼릉 in Korean to expedite directive. parent to child

Compliance

- Delayed compilance. child to teacher
- Delayed compliance. child to child
- Delayed compliance. child to parent
- Delayed compliance. parent to child
- Delayed compliance. teacher to child
- Full compliance
- Gestural compliance and VR - mom/title - child to parent
- Gestural compliance and VR - that's not fair. child to parent
- Gestural compliance and VR - why? child to parent
- Gestural compliance but verbal resistance. child to child
- Gestural compliance but verbal resistance. child to parent

- Gestural compliance but verbal resistance. child to teacher
- Gestural compliance but verbal resistance. parent to child
- Gestural compliance but verbal resistance. teacher to child
- Verbal compliance but gestural resistance. child to child
- Verbal compliance but gestural resistance. child to parent
- Verbal compliance but gestural resistance. child to teacher
- Verbal compliance but gestural resistance. parent to child
- Verbal compliance but gestural resistance. teacher to child

Explanation of class rules

- How to be cheerful, not grumbling. teacher to child
- How to listen to teacher. parent to child
- How to only talk at ppl at your table
- How to raise a quiet hand if you need help. teacher to child
- How to sit at a spot with a napkin
- How to sit at the yellow line. teacher to child
- How to talk in class to the teacher. teacher to child
- How to touch another child. teacher to child
- Silence for first ten minutes of eating

Explanation of home rules

- Explaining home rules in Korean. parent to child
- Explaining how to respect downstairs neighbors.
- How child should not hit. parent to child
- How to eat at the table. parent to child
- Which foods to eat in what order. parent to child
- Why child cannot eat certain foods.allergies
- Why child cannot scream. parent to child
- Why child cannot touch sharp paper
- Why child must eat sitting down

Eye contact

- avoids eye contact. looks away to refuse. child to parent
- avoids eye contact. looks away. parent to child
- make eye contact. child

- make eye contact. teacher to child
- Prolonged
- raised eyebrows
- stern. child to child
- Stern. teacher to child
- 엄마 봐 ("mom look") or something . parent to child

Gestures

- carries child who refuses. parent to child
- clap. child
- clap. parent
- Clap. teacher
- counting with fingers. teacher
- folded hands for prayer. teacher and parent
- grabbing object. child to child
- hits table or object. child to parent
- Hitting. child to child
- Holding hands and switching spots at circle time. teacher to child
- holds up name card. teacher to child
- hugs. child to parent
- leans forward. child to child
- Moving object. teacher
- Nods. child to parent
- Nods. child to teacher
- Nods. teacher to child
- open hand to notice another person. teacher to child
- Open hand to show direction to move. child
- Open hand to show direction to move. teacher to child
- Open palm to say stop. teacher to child
- open palms up to ask question. teacher to child
- Opens hand to say no. Palm up. parent
- pats knees with hands. teacher to child
- Point finger. parent to child

- Point finger. teacher to child

- point finger.child

- points to eyes. teacher to child

- pushing head or body. child to child
- pushing head or body. parent to child

- raises hand to speak or act. child to parent

- raises hand to speak or act. child to teacher

- Reaching for desired object. child to child

- Reaching for desired object. child to parent

- repositioning child at table

- rings bell. teacher to child

- Shakes head. child to parent

- Shakes head. parent to child

- Shakes head. teacher to child

- Smile as a gestural directive. child to parent
- smile. teacher to child

- smile.child

- stamps foot to refuse. child to parent

- touch hand

- touch head. teacher to child

- Using manipulative to give directive. teacher
- Using. Mr. pointer- teacher

- Wags finger to say no

Introducing the directive

- Calling name. child to child

- Calling name. parent to child

- Calling name. teacher to child

- Calling name.child to parent

- Gesture. raising hand

- I'm waiting

- It is time to X. teacher to child
- It's time to X. parent to child

- Time markers 'now'. parent

- Time markers 'now'. teacher

- Time markers 'today'. parent

- Time markers 'Today'. teacher

- use of word 'okay'. child to child

- Use of word 'okay'. parent

- Use of word 'okay'. teacher

- Using pronoun we or everyone. child to child

- Using pronoun we or everyone. teacher to child

Mediating between sibling and adult

- explaining child's directive or question to other parent. parent to parent
- explaining sibling's directive to adult. child to adult

- repeating adult's directive to child. child to child
- repeating sibling's directive to adult. child to adult

- responding to sibling's directive in Korean. child to child

Mitigating Directive

- Adds 'yo' 요 at end of directive. child to parent

- Adds 'yo' 요 at end of directive. parent to child

- apology. parent to child

- apology. teacher to child

- Excuse me. child to parent

- Excuse me. parent to child

- Excuse me. teacher to child

- If you do/don't behavior this will happen. teacher to child
- please. child to child

- please. child to parent

- please. parent to child

- please. teacher to child

- please.child to teacher

- Thank you. parent to child

- Thank you. teacher to child

- Using -verb- bwa . child to child

Modeling

- adult asking child to model for younger children
- child.directed
- How to ask friend for something. parent to child
- How to raise hand. teacher
- Singing. parent to child
- Singing. teacher to child
- with gestures. parent to child
- With gestures. teacher to child
- With words for children to repeat. parent to child
- With words for children to repeat. teacher to child
- With words to repeat in Korean. parent to child

Negotiating

- Child with adult
- Child with child

Praising child after directive

- beautiful. teacher
- Complimenting in Korean to encourage child to follow directive. parent to child
- Good job. parent
- Good job. teacher
- very nice. teacher
- you did so good/well. parent
- You did something cool. parent to child

Reminders

- About class rules for all children to follow. general rules in class
- About class rules. sitting properly or on yellow line
- About class rules. teacher is talking
- About home rules. parent
- About how to ask for things. parent to child
- About previously discussed rules. parent to child

- About punishment for disobedience. parent to child
- About using words rather than hitting. parent to child
- Performing a memory verse
- Performing motions from previously memorized song or phrase
- Performing previously memorized words
- Reminding child about 'rule'. parent to child
- Reminding child about 'rule'. teacher to child
- Singing words from previously memorized song
- Use of the word 'remember'. teacher to child
- Use of the word remember. parent to child
- 생각해 (Think about it). parent to child.

Resistance

- multiple turns of resistance. child to parent
- Parent concedes to child after resistance. parent to child
- Resistance and 'not fair'. child to child
- Resistance with crying or whining. child to parent
- Resistance with laughter. parent to child
- Resisting and 'that's not fair'. child to parent
- Resisting and asking a question to redirect. parent to child
- Resisting and issuing another directive. parent to child
- Resisting and negotiating terms of agreement. child to parent
- Resisting and offering an explanation for resistance. parent to child
- Resisting and offering an explanation for resistance. teacher to child
- Resisting and offering explanation for resistance. child to parent
- Resisting and offering gesture to appease child. parent to child
- Resisting and offering gesture to appease child. teacher to child
- Resisting and susbsequent verbal turns of resistance. child to parent
- Verbal and gestural resistance. child to child
- Verbal and gestural resistance. child to parent
- Verbal and gestural resistance. child to teacher
- Verbal and gestural resistance. teacher to child
- Verbal and gestural resistance.parent to child

Second or subsequent turns of directives

- Calling name. parent to child

- Command. child to child

- Command. parent to child

- Explaining why directive needs to be obeyed. parent to child

- Explanation of directive. child to parent
- Giving a choice. this or that. parent to child

- please. child to parent

- Praising to encourage obedience. parent to child

- question. child to child

- question. child to parent

- question. parent to child

- Question. teacher to child

- Repeating directive in Korean. child to child

- Repeating directive in Korean. child to parent

- Repeating directive in Korean. parent to child

- Repetition. Child to child

- Repetition. Parent to child

- Repetition. Teacher to child

- Repetition.child to teacher

- Reptition. child to parent

Tattle telling

- to prevent another child. in Korean. child to child

- to prevent or stop child. child to teacher or parent

Types of initial directives

- Asking question directive in Korean. parent to child

- command in korean. child to parent

- command in korean. parent to child

- command. child to child

- command. child to parent

- command. child to teacher

- command. parent to child

- command. teacher to child

- Directing child to talk with other parent. parent to child

- Explanation of consequence if directive is not followd. parent to child

- Explanation of consequence if directive is not followed. If you do not X. teacher-child

- explanation of what will happen - we're going to - by parent

- explanation of what will happen. 'we're going to'. by teacher

- Explanation of what's going to happen - you're going to. child to child

- I can -verb- to suggest action. child to parent
- I can't verb. child requesting parent to change something

- I don't like. child to parent

- I don't want to - unwanted behavior - Teacher to child

- I have something to show you. teacher to child
- I like. child to parent

- I need. child to child

- I need. child to parent

- I need. child to teacher

- I need. parent to child

- I need. teacher to child

- I want. Child to child

- I want. Child to parent

- I want. Child to teacher

- I want. parent to child

- Look.directing attention.child

- Noticing something that needs to be changed or done. child to teacher
- Noticing something that needs to be changed. child to parent
- Noticing something that needs to be done. parent to child

- Parent asks child to tell other parent something. parent to child
- Partnering with other parent to give directive. parents to child

- Question in Korean. child to child

- Question in Korean. parent to child

- Question. child to parent

- Question. child.to.child

- Question. child.to.teacher
- Question. Parent to child
- Question. Teacher to child
- Threat issued in korean. parent to child
- threat. child to child
- threat. child to parent
- threat. child to teacher
- threat. parent to child
- threat. Teacher to child
- Use of word 'attentive'. teacher to child
- Use of word 'let's. child to parent
- Use of word attentive. child to teacher
- Use of word let's. Child to child
- Use of word let's. Child to teacher
- Use of word let's. parent to child
- Use of word let's. teacher to child
- Warning. Child to child
- Warning. Child to parent
- Warning. Child to teacher
- Warning. Parent to child
- warning. Teacher to child
- You are going to -desired behavior - teacher to child
- You have to - insert rule - teacher to child
- You have to - child to parent
- You have to - insert rule here - Child to child
- You have to -insert rule here- parent to child
- You have to stop / You don't have to -insert bad behavior- parent to child
- You have to stop / You don't have to -insert bad behavior- teacher to child
- You need to -verb- teacher to child

Appendix F. Illustrations by Children
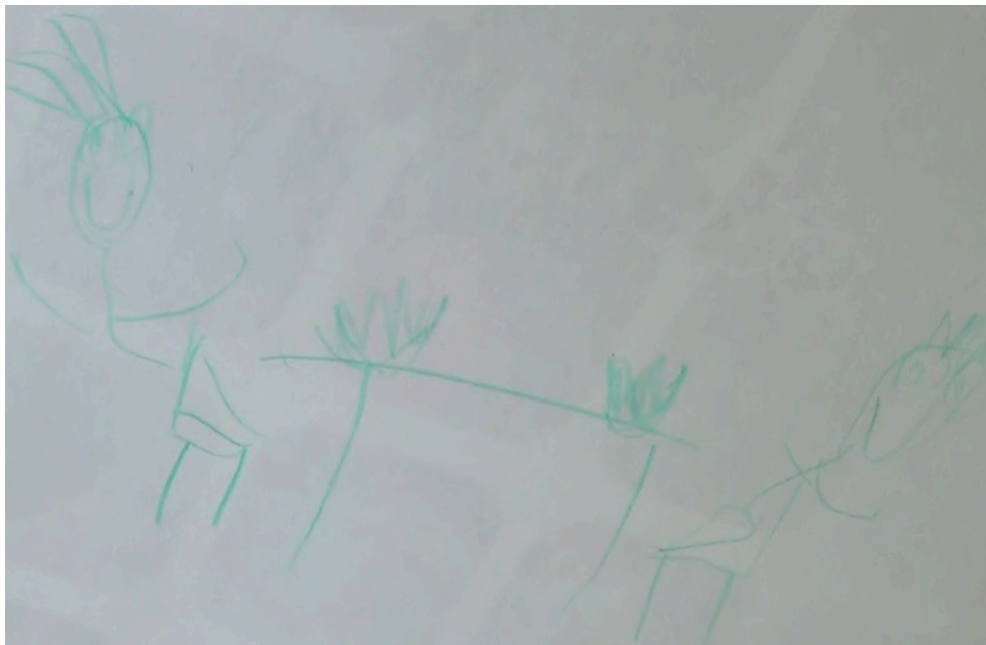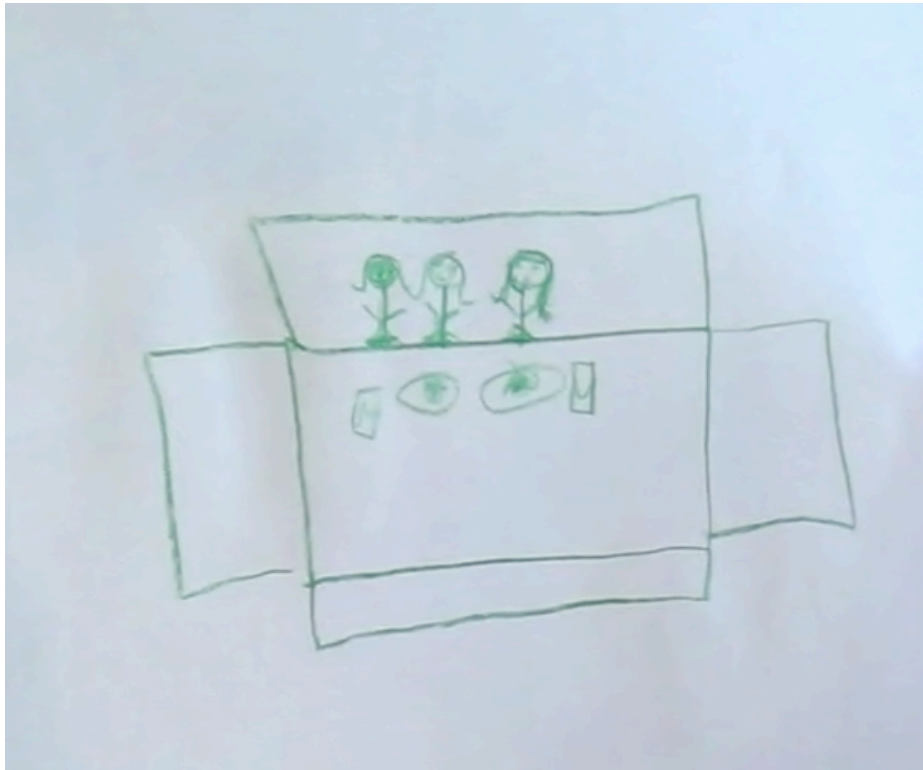
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