

Korean Interlanguage Errors of the American Children in a Bilingual Immersion Program in the US

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This study attempts to describe the interlanguage errors in the Korean writings by English-speaking American children enrolled in a Korean/English two-way immersion program in the US. The study employs a longitudinal approach and identifies the types of errors the students make over the period of three years.

The study found that the students' errors demonstrate both interlingual and intralingual transfers. The kindergarten level students made basic orthographic errors in their writing, while first graders made spelling errors and basic grammatical errors. Sociolinguistic errors were observed from first grade on. Implications for second language teaching and suggestions for further research are discussed.

[Korean as a foreign language/immersion/error analysis, 외국어로서의 한국어/몰입/오류분석]

I. INTRODUCTION

Immersion programs, which originated from the French Immersion Program (FIP) in St. Lambert, Canada, in 1968, have proliferated in the last several decades both Canada, the US, and several other countries. One major difference between the immersion program and the traditional second-language programs is that the immersion program makes language learning incidental by focusing on subject matter mastery, a method often referred to as "content-based learning." The goals of the first FIP were (a) to provide the participating

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students with functional competence in both written and spoken aspects of French; (b) to promote and maintain normal levels of English development; (c) to ensure achievement in academic subjects commensurate with students' academic ability and grade level; (d) to instill in the students an understanding and appreciation of French Canadians, their language, and culture with detracting in any way from students' identity with and appreciation for English-Canadian culture (Lambert, 1984; Genesee, 1984). Later programs shared much of the spirit of these goals, with relevant languages to meet their particular purposes.

A two-way immersion program, a new type that developed out of the original one-way immersion program, differs from a one-way immersion program in that the pupils in the two-way immersion program learn two languages simultaneously (Campbell, 1995). In the two-way immersion program, students from two language backgrounds learn the other language through classroom instruction that adopts the content-based language teaching approach, in which subject matters are taught through the target language (Brinton, Snow & Wesche, 1989). According to Christian and Whitcher (1995), as of 1995, there were two-way bilingual programs in over 182 schools in 19 states in the US, mostly using Spanish and English as languages of instruction.

The Korean-English Two-Way Immersion Program (KETWIP) in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) is the only bilingual immersion program in the US that uses Korean and English. Three elementary schools have been implementing the KETWIP: Cahuenga Elementary School, Denker Avenue School, and Wilton Place School.

Not much research has been done on the KETWIP and the interlanguage developments of English and Korean of the learners in the program. Campbell and his associates produced annual reports on the status and student performance on both English and Korean (e.g., Campbell et al., 1993, 1994). Jung-ok Bae (1997a) assessed the reading and writing skills of both Korean-American students and Non-Korean-American students in the program. She also studied the students' English writings in terms of cohesion, coherence, content and grammar (J.-O. Bae, 1997b).

This study attempts to describe in detail the errors of the Korean interlanguage writings of the students enrolled in the KETWIP in the LAUSD. The study focuses on the Korean interlanguage writings of the non-Korean-American (NKA) students in the program. The present study is significant in that it presents a detailed description of the English-speaking children's interlanguage errors of Korean as a second language.

II. THE METHOD

1. The Subjects

This study involved 9 non-Korean-American (NKA) students who took part in the KETWIP for the period of three years, i.e., from kindergarten to 2nd grade. The number of NKA students in the KETWIP program fluctuated over the years. Because of this subject mortality issue, it was necessary to limit the subjects to the students who stayed in the program throughout the period to be investigated. For this purpose, a group of nine students from Denker Avenue Elementary School were chosen.

2. The Instruments

The instrument used in the study were a writing test¹⁾ that required the students to write words and sentences in Korean. The writing test consisted of three different types of task: word writing, sentence writing, and story writing.

The word-writing test had two tasks: identifying the people and objects in the pictures of a math classroom and in a kitchen and diningroom. There were 20 blank spaces for students to write the words in.

The sentence-writing test had four pictures. The students were asked to write a sentence to describe each of the four pictures. One item asked to write the sentence beginning with “지금 (now)”, and another with “어제 (yesterday)”. The other two items did not give any restriction.

For story writing, students were given a strip of pictures that chronologically showed what happened to two students coming home from school on a rainy day. In the picture, a boy leaves the school with an umbrella and comes upon a girl whose umbrella is broken. The boy shares the umbrella with the girl, and they go to the girl's house together and play together, painting pictures. The girl's mother treats them with drinks and fruits. (Another version shows that the two students read books after getting home. Then the sun comes out, and they play ball outside.)

1) The test was originally developed by a research team at UCLA, with Dr. Russell Campbell as the project director.

3. The Data

The data used in the present study were the test papers of the subjects, administered in three years from 1995 to 1997. The writing test was part of the overall tests which consisted of listening, reading, and writing tests. The tests were not administered specifically for the present study, but for the annual assessment of the KETWIP.

In the test administrations, the assessment results of student performances were reported in terms of scores for the subtests. The researcher utilized the writing test papers to qualitatively investigate the student errors in the writing. The period to be investigated was from kindergarten to second grade, because the students took identical writing tests three times during the three years, once at the end of each school year. The fact that identical writing tests were used over three years was the reason for selecting this set of data for analysis.

III. THE RESULTS

A primary purpose of this paper is to describe the types and characteristics of the errors that NKA students commit in Korean writing²⁾. One of the major components of language knowledge in Bachman's language ability model (Bachman, 1990; Bachman & Palmer, 1996) is grammatical knowledge, which consists of the knowledges of vocabulary, morphology, syntax, and phonology/graphology. Since the errors in the students' Korean writings are mostly in the grammatical knowledge level, these components will be a basis for our categorization of the errors. However, textual competence and sociolinguistic competence will also be discussed where deemed necessary.

For easy reference, the symbols K, G1, and G2 will be used to represent Kindergarten, Grade 1, and Grade 2.

The students' writing showed a great improvement in their performance from the kindergarten to first grade, demonstrating a much better understanding of the writing system of the Hangul letters and characters. This is because writing was more seriously taught in first grade.

2) For a quantitative analysis of the development of the students' interlanguage in reading and writing, the readers are referred to Kwon (1999).

1. The Grammatical Competence Level

(1) Orthographic Errors

Orthographic errors include wrong letters and characters. For our discussion here, a "letter" will refer to the single Hangeul alphabet such as "ㄱ" or "ㅏ". A "character", on the other hand, will refer to a combination of letters to represent a complete independent syllable, such as "가" or "책".

Since kindergarten children were not seriously taught to write words or sentences, students wrote mostly unintelligible symbols or strings of letters, though there were a few students who did write some legible and even correct words. Their samples cast some important insights into the students' cognitive development of the Korean writing system and some possible transfer of the first language.

G1 and G2 levels also made orthographic errors. However, the degree of their error was not as serious as those of the K level.

1) Unintelligible Symbols

The first and most basic stage of the writing would be to differentiate the Hangeul (Korean alphabet) letters from other meaningless symbols. Many children demonstrated their inability to differentiate them. At this level, strings of letters do not make up any character, not to mention a word. See the writing samples below.

(K)

ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ

ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ

ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ

ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ

2) Mirror Image Letters and Characters

The K children wrote letters in a wrong direction, mostly in mirror images. This confusion is analogous to the confusion between English "b" and "d", or between "p" and "q". The children who demonstrated the error of (1) above also demonstrated this type of error.

(K)

ㅁㅏ (매스) (math)³

ㅈㅏㅅㅏ (책상) (desk)

On the character level, some K students misplaced a consonant letter after its vowel letter, as the following mirror image characters illustrate. This is not unusual in the early stage of writing even among the Korean children.

(K)

ㅣㅇㅁ (이름) (name)

ㅇㅁㅍ (연필) (pencil)

3) Configuration Errors

Orthographically speaking, all Korean morphemes or words should be in the form of initial consonant, medial vowel and (optional) final consonant. No letters can stand alone, and the vowel letters should always be accompanied by a consonant letter above it or to its left. To transcribe a vowel sound, the letter "ㅇ" (which is a dummy letter in the initial position but has a /ng/ sound in the final position) fills the consonant position.

Unlike English or other European language, the Korean writing system does not allow consonant clusters at the initial position. Besides, the writing rule of the Korean vowel letters specify that the letters ㅏ, ㅑ, ㅓ, ㅕ, ㅣ, ㅞ, ㅟ, ㅛ, ㅜ, should come to the right

3) In this paper, Korean words/sentences in the parentheses indicate correct forms corresponding to the erroneous forms, which are given in the bold face. Their English meanings are given in separate parentheses.

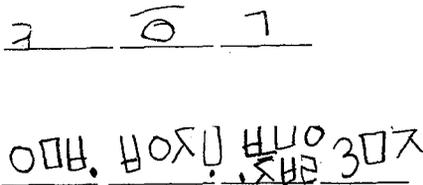
side of the initial consonant letters, and that the letters ㄱ, ㅋ, ㆁ, ㅁ, ㄷ, and ㅂ should come under the initial consonant letters.

As for the consonant letters, the initial consonant letters can come to the left or top of the medial vowels, depending on the vowels. However, the final consonant letters should always come under both the initial consonant and medial vowel letters.

Following examples illustrate violations of the character configuration rules.

① Single Consonant Letters: Many students simply wrote down the consonant letters in a random manner; the results were totally incomprehensible strings of letters.

(K)



② Single Vowel Letters: In the Korean writing system, the vowel letters should always accompany a consonant letter; even when the sound is actually an independent vowel, the letter should accompany the “empty” letter “ㅇ”.

(K)

ㄱㅁㅁ/ㅁㅁ (엄마) (Mom) ㅁㅁ/ ㄱㅁㅁ (아빠) (Dad)
 ㅁㅁ (의자) (chair) ㅇㅁ (우유) (milk)

The examples above show that the students understood the sound value of the vowel letters, but that they did not acquire the rule of vowel letter writing.

(K)

엄 ㅁ (엄마) (Mom)

The above example is slightly different from the preceding examples. Here, the student thought that the “ㅁ” of the preceding syllable can be linked to the following vowel letter and produce “어ㅁ”, which is the student's perception of the spoken word of “엄마” (mom).

③ Consonant Clusters: As Korean writing does not allow consonant clusters in writing, the following samples indicate that the students may have transferred their knowledge of English writing.

(K)

스피커 (스피커) (speaker)

④ Linear Positioning of Letters: Positional errors are mostly seen in the linear arrangement of the letters, violating the configuration rules of Korean Hangul characters. A Hangul character requires its final consonant(s) to be under the initial consonant letter and the medial vowel letter. Vowel letters such as “ㅏ”, “ㅑ”, “ㅓ”, “ㅕ”, “ㅗ”, “ㅛ”, “ㅜ”, “ㅠ”, “ㅡ”, and “ㅣ” come to the right side of the initial consonant letter; on the other hand, vowel letters such as “ㅘ”, “ㅙ”, “ㅚ”, “ㅛ”, and “ㅜ” come under the initial consonant letter.

The following linear arrangements of letters seem to result from transfers of the English writing rules.

(K)

가ㅏㅑ (가방) (bag) ㅗㅓㅓㅓ (문) (door)
 처ㅑ ㅓㅓ (친구) (friend) ㅓ ㅡ ㅇ (공) (ball)

⑤ Mixing Korean and English Alphabets: Consider the following examples.

(K)

ㅗ ㅇ 자 (모자) (cap) ㅓ ㅇ ㅓ (꽃) (flower)
 ㅇ 마 (엄마) (Mom)

There are two possible ways of interpreting the above examples. One way is to consider the “ㅇ” letter as a Korean Hangul letter. Then, we can interpret that the student might have viewed the “ㅇ” letter as a vowel letter to represent the sound “ㅗ” (/o/) or “ㅓ” (/a/). Another interpretation is that the student might have used the English letter “o” to represent the sound /o/. Note that the letters are arranged in a linear configuration, a transfer of the English writing rule.

The second interpretation sounds more plausible if we consider the next example that the same student wrote.

(K)

ㅗ ㅓ ㅓ (물) (water)

The student used the English letter *l* to represent the sound /l/, which would have been "ㄹ" in Hangul. He arranged the letters in a linear manner.

⑥ Consonant Letters Before "아 (/a/)": As the students learned that a vowel letter cannot stand alone and should accompany a dummy letter "ㅇ" to represent a vowel sound, some students applied this rule even when there was a consonant letter for a sound.

(G1)

아맘 (엄마) (mom)

아빠 (아빠) (dad)

피아노 (피아노) (piano)

The last example is slightly different from the preceding two. In this case, the student might have thought that the letter "ㅂ" (/b/) alone could represent a sound "비" (/pi/) and thus put the "ㅂ" above "아" (/a/).

⑦ Wrong Combination of Vowel Letters: In Korean writing rules, the vowel letters "ㅓ" and "ㅗ" can not be combined. The following violates the rule.

(G1)

도 우ㅓ 졌서요. (도와줬어요.) (X Helped)

(G2)

남자 아이가 여자 아이를 봤ㅓ 어요. (남자 아이가 여자 아이를 봤어요.) (A boy saw a girl.)

비가 왔ㅓ어요. (비가 왔어요.) (It rained.)

해가 나왔ㅓ어요. (해가 나왔어요.) (The sun came out.)

⑧ Wrong Position of Vowel Clusters : When the letters "ㅓ"(/u/) and "ㅗ" (/eo/) are combined to make "ㅓ"(/weo/), the horizontal stroke of "ㅗ" should be placed under the right side of the horizontal stroke of "ㅓ". In the following example, the student put the letter "ㅓ" under the character "더".

(G2)

도왔어요 (도왔어요) (helped)

(2) Phonologically Motivated Spelling Errors

Most of the phonologically motivated spelling errors reflect that the children initially learned Korean orally, and then used the spoken Korean knowledge in writing words or sentences. Many students did not distinguish the aspirated sounds and unaspirated sounds in Korean. This type of errors were very common among the first graders.

1) Consonant Errors

① Confusion Between “ㅈ” (/j/) and “ㅊ” (/ch/)

(G1)

- ㉠ “ㅈ” for “ㅊ”: 친구 (친구) (friend), 책상 (책상) (desk), 책 (책) (book)
- ㉡ “ㅊ” for “ㅈ”: 지우개 (지우개) (eraser), 재미 (재미) (fun), 종이 (종이) (paper), 집 (집) (house)

(G2)

- ㉠ “ㅈ” for “ㅊ”: 책 (책) (book),
- ㉡ “ㅊ” for “ㅈ”: 지우개 (지우개) (eraser), 차 (차) (ruler)

② Confusion Between “ㄱ” (/g/) and “ㅋ” (/k/)

(G1)

- ㉠ “ㄱ” for “ㅋ”: 카펫 (카펫) (carpet), 그레파스 (크레파스) (crapas), 머리가락 (머리카락) (hair), 거브/거바 (컵) (cup), 캠프 (캠프) (camp), 캠프 (캠핑) (camping), 칼 (칼) (knife), 소고 (사커) (soccer)
- ㉡ “ㅋ” for “ㄱ”: 공 (공) (ball), 가방 (가방) (bookbag), 카레고 (그리고) (and), 카위/카의 (가위) (scissors), 쿨 (퀴) (car)

(G2)

- ㉠ “ㄱ” for “ㅋ”: 머리카락 (머리카락) (hair)
- ㉡ “ㅋ” for “ㄱ”: 물고기 (물고기) (fish), 공 (공) (ball)

③ Confusion Between “ㅂ” (/b/) and “ㅍ” (/p/) (and “ㅃ” (/p’/))

(G1)

㉠ “ㅂ” for “ㅍ”: 연필/엄비 (연필) (pencil), 그레바스 (크래파스)

(crapas), 보크 (포크) (fork), 비언노/비안너 (피아노) (piano)

㉡ “ㅍ” for “ㅂ”: 피 (비) (rain), 풍필 (분필) (chalk),

㉢ “ㅂ” for “ㅃ”: 아바 (아빠) (Dad)

(G2)

㉠ “ㅂ” for “ㅍ”: 연필 (연필) (pencil) (G2)

④ Confusion Between “ㄷ” (/d/) and “ㅌ” (/t/): 통생 (동생) (brother) (G2)

2) Vowel Errors

① Confusion Between “ㅏ”, “ㅑ”, and “ㅓ”: Confusion among the vowels seem to be motivated by their phonetic closeness. Most students committed more than one error of this type.

(G1)

손센님 (선생님) (teacher), 어바마 (오빠) (brother),

머자 (모자) (cap), 물거기 (물고기) (fish), 정이 (종이) (paper),

더와져서/더이주어서요 (도와주었어요) (helped)

(G2)

예자 아이가 거머워입니다. (여자 아이가 고마워합니다.)

(The girl is thankful.)

캠핑을 좋아요. (캠핑이 좋아요.) ([I] like camping)

② Confusion Between “ㅓ” (/o/) and “ㅜ” (/u/):

(G2)

물 (물) (water)

③ Wrong Diphthong Letters:

(G1)

파노 (피아노) (piano))

3) Pronunciation Spelling

Pronunciation spelling implies that the students learned spoken Korean before they learned

the written language.

(G2)

신발 (신발) (shoes), 햇빛 (햇빛) (sunray), 어깨 (어깨) (shoulder)

내일 (내일은) (tomorrow) 맑은 날 (맑은 날) (fine day)

많이 (많이) (much),

(2) Morphological/Vocabulary Errors

The students who committed morphological errors usually demonstrated that they have learned the basic shapes of the Korean letters. It can be inferred from the given samples that those who could write even the wrong morphological forms might have acquired the words verbally.

1) Incomplete Spelling

Incomplete spelling means that the students' did not make up a complete character in writing a word. This type of error was observed mostly in the K level.

(K)

ㄴ 자/니자/니ㅏ자 (남자) (man) ㄴ 무 (나무) (tree)

가거 (가위) (scissors) ㅏ마 (아빠) (dad)

ㅏ마/엄ㅏ (엄마) (mom)

2) Incorrect Spelling

In contrast to incomplete spelling, incorrect spelling means that even though the students successfully composed each character to write a word, they spelled it erroneously. Incorrect spellings are too numerous to illustrate here. The following examples imply that the students at least learned the words for the objects verbally, but have difficulty in expressing them in written Korean.

(K)

책상/꺄상/첸상/꺄상 (책상) (desk) 난자/니자 (남자) (man)

한교 (학교) (school) 승새님 (선생님) (teacher)

얀필 (연필) (pencil) 어마 (엄마) (mom)

채 (책) (book)

3) Transliteration of English Words

Many students simply transliterated English words in Korean letters when they did not know the Korean equivalents. Some of the words are considered loan words in Korean, but most of them are not considered Korean words yet. Interestingly, their spellings reflect their understanding of the sound values of the Hangul letters, and therefore are not the same as the standard Korean transliterations of the words. This demonstrates that the children employed the communicative strategy of using first language (L1) knowledge in their second language (L2) communication (in this case, responding to the test tasks).

(K)

잡 (잡스틱) (chopsticks) 판 (팬) (pan)
사가 (사카) (soccer) 맞/맞 (매스) (math)

(G1)

시저사 (scissors), 운배라 (umbrella), 싱크 (sink), 석별 (soccer ball),
어븐/에벤/오븐/오빈 (oven), 타메도/토메토 (토마토) (tomato),
스케티/스파게티 (spaghetti), 커핀, 캠프 (camping), 한긴 (hiking),
바로케 (broken), 칩보드 (chalkboard), 디씨 (dish), 페바 (paper),
라피자레타 (refrigerator), 커펄 (carpet), 쉐/스에 (share)

4) Semantic Errors

Semantic mismatch means that the students used a wrong word to denote something.

(K)

책상 (desk) (for 테이블)

(G1)

오늘 선생님이 피아노 **노라**습니다. (오늘 선생님이 피아노 쳤습니다.)
(Today the teacher played the piano.)

The English word “play” can be translated into many different Korean words, depending on its context. Here, the student translated the English “play” into “노라습니다”(놀았습니다.) which means “played (for fun)”. A correct equivalent would be “쳤습니다.”

(G1)

어제 현일, 영우, 대영 추우공을 **놀**았습니다. (어제 현일, 영우,
대영이 축구공을 쳤습니다.) (Yesterday Hyon-il, Young-woo,
and Daeyoung played soccer ball.)

The above is another example of mistranslation of the English verb “play.” Although

there is such an expression as “공놀이(ball play)”, a correct verb in the above sentence would be “차셨습니다” (kicked).

(G1)

비날 (비오는 날) (rainy day)

Literally translated, “비날” is “rain day”. Koreans would say, “비오는 날”(rain-coming day) or “비내리는 날”(rain-falling day).

(G2)

내일가 비가 왔어요. (다음 날 비가 왔어요.)

(*Tomorrow [The next day] it rained.)

The students obviously did not learn to differentiate between “내일” (tomorrow) and “다음 날” (the next day).

(3) Syntactic Errors

At the K level, sentential errors were hard to find, not because the students wrote correct sentences, but because few students wrote beyond the word level. Only two students attempted to write something that appeared to be sentences, but they were not fully comprehensible. One notable thing, however, is that these two students somehow demonstrated correct word orders and case markers. The meanings of the following sentences were guessed with the help of the pictures given to the test paper.

(K)

니자 흥 고 ㅏ바가 ㄴ 무 츠 스 니다. (남자하고 아빠가 나무 ??

니다.) (A man/boy and [his] dad are _____ a tree.)

여자가 ㄴ 무 ㄴ ㄴ 스 니다. (여자가 나무 ?? 니다.)

(A woman is _____ trees.)

에스라 ㅏ 스 ㅑ ㅓ 니다. (에스라가 사커(?) 합니다.)

(Ezra is playing soccer (?).)

1) Case Marker Confusion

In the following examples, the first four error types are resultant from students' misconception about Korean phonological constraints. In Korean, “은”, “을”, “이”, and “과” follow a noun that ends with final consonants, while “는”, “을”, “가”, and “와”

follow a noun that ends with a vowel. The first two types of errors are often found in native Korean speaker's writings, while other types are rarely observable.

The case marker errors observed in first grade were also observable in second grade writing, though their frequencies decreased. There were certain patterns in student errors. When there were two phonologically conditioned case markers, some students used only one of them for all purposes. For example, one student used the subject marker “가” only, even when “이” is required. Similarly, another student used the object marker “를” for both “을” and “를”.

① Confusion Between “은” and “는”:

(G1)

선생님은 피아노했어요. (선생님은 피아노 했어요.)

(The teacher did (played) the piano.)

상한는 술 집에 가세요. (상한은 술의 집에 갔어요.)

(Sanghan went to Shawl's house.)

데니스와 술는 (데니스와 술은) (Dennis and Shawl ...)

② Confusion Between “을” and “를”:

(G1)

사가을 했어요. (사커를 했어요.) (played soccer)

그리고 책을 일그 가습니다. (그리고 책을 읽었습니다.)

(And [he] read a book.)

그리고 너 지구가 집을 가세요. (그리고 너 친구가 집을(에)

갔어요.) (And your friend went home.)

③ Confusion Between “이” and “가”:

(G1)

나는 선생님가 좋아요. (나는 선생님이 좋아요.) (I like Teacher.)

태준가 사크가 있습니다. (태준이 사커가 있습니다.)

(Taejoon plays soccer.)

햇빛가 반자 반짝해요. (햇빛이 반짝 반짝 해요.)

(The sunshine is glittering.)

베니또가 더하기이 있습니다. (베니또가 더하기가 (더하기를 하고)

있습니다.) (Benito is adding (numbers).

④ Confusion Between “와” and “과”:

(G1)

솔와 상한 학교 가세요 (솔과 상한 학교 갔어요.)

(Shawl and Sanghan went to school.)

선생님과 지구 (선생님과 친구) (teacher and friend)

⑤ Confusion Between “에”, “에서”, and “에게”: The locative marker of destination “에 (to)” can be confused with the marker of origination “에서 (from)”. Also, the locative marker “에서 (from/at)” can be confused with “에게 (to)”, as shown in the third example.

(G1)

친구가 학교에 집으로 갔습니다. (친구가 학교에서 집으로
갔습니다.) (A friend went home from school.)

헥터가 박에서 갔어. (헥터가 파크에 갔어.)

(Hector went to the park.)

친구에서 업사 umbrella. (친구에게 umbrella 없어.)

(There is no umbrella for the friend.)

2) Misuse of Object Case Markers:

(G1)

여자 우산을 깨져서요. (여자 우산이 깨졌어요.)

(The girl's umbrella was broken.)*

학생을 칠판이 서기 있습니다. (학생이 칠판에 쓰고 있습니다.)

(A student is writing on the board.)

If we interpret the first sentence above as “여자가 우산을 깨었어요 (The girl broke the umbrella)”, then the student did not confuse between “를” and “이”, but simply between “을” and “를”, which is pretty common even among Korean students. The student might have written “깨졌어요 (was broken)” to mean “broke”.

In the English sentence, "I have a book", the NP "a book" is an object. The student might have thought that the word “우산 (umbrella)” was an object of possession even in the Korean sentence.

(G2)

타머스가 우산을 없었어요. (타머스가 우산이 없었어요.)

(Thomas didn't have an umbrella.)

This is also seen in the following example. In an English sentence like "I like camping," the word "camping" is an object of the verb. This information is carried over to the Korean sentence and "캠핑 (camping)" is given an object case marker.

(G2)

선생님이 케핑을 많이 좋아요. (선생님이 캠핑이 많이 좋아요.)

(The teacher likes camping a lot.)

A Korean would say this either in one of the following ways:

㉑ 선생님에 캠핑이 좋아요. (To the teacher, camping is dear/good.)

㉒ 선생님이 캠핑을 좋아해요. (The teacher likes camping.)

3) Overuse of Case Markers:

(G1)

타머스가 그리고 현일과 그리고 에리카 거이가 티눈스요.

(타머스, 그리고 현일, 그리고 에리카 셋이 ___했어요.)

(Thomas, Hyonil and Erika ___ed [soccer].)

In this example, the student attached the subject case markers "가" repeatedly after each of the three subject noun phrases. In Korean, when there are multiple subject noun phrases (NP's) in the same category, only the last subject NP has the subject marker.

4) Case Marker Deletion

In Korean, case markers can often be deleted in suitable contexts. Students seem to have learned this deletion rule, as in the following contexts. However, in a written form, a proper case marker would make it more natural.

(G2)

영우와 빛나가 햇빛 봤어요. (영우와 빛나가 햇빛을 봤어요.)

(Young-woo and Bitna saw the sunlight.)

영우와 빗나가 영우 집 갔어요. (영우과 빗나가 영우네 집에 갔어요.)

(Young-woo and Bitna went to Young-woo's house.)

어디에 가요? 나 집. (어디에 가요? 나의 집.)

(Where are you going? My house.)

엄마 집 있었어요. (엄마가 집에 있었어요.) (Mom was home.)

5) Parts of Speech

① Wrong Conjunctions:

In Korean, “하고” is a colloquial form equivalent to “와” (and), which is only used between nouns or noun phrases. In the following examples, the students misused this colloquial form to link two sentences.

(G1)

여자 이름은 브리트니 하고 남자 이름은 현일의요. (여자 이름은

브리트니이고 남자 이름은 현일이요.) (The girl's name is

Brittani **and** the boy's name is Hyonil.)

소풍을 있습니다. 하고 재미있습니다. (소풍을 하고 있습니다.

재미있습니다.) (They are having a picnic. **And** it is fun.)

② Overuse of Conjunctions: Students tended to overuse conjunctions. The overuse of sentential conjunction “그리고” (and) was already discussed in the previous section. In the examples that follow, various kinds of conjunctions were overused to link noun phrases.

(G1)

브랜디 그리고 티아라 그리고 브리애나 공을 그이거 있습니다.

(브랜디, 티아라, 그리고 브리애나가 공을 킥하고 있습니다.)

(Brandy **and** Tiara **and** Breanna are kicking a ball.)

In the above sentence, the conjunction “그리고 (and)” is used twice. In a more correct Korean sentence, the first “그리고” would be replaced by “와” or by a comma. The same student used “또” (another form for “and”) overly and wrongfully in the following sentence. Since some native English children tend to use “and” excessively between sentences or objects, the tendency may be viewed as a result of interlingual transfer.

(G1)

선생님 또 브리애나 또 브랜디(를) 선생님 피아노를 짝을 불러요.

(선생님과 브리애나, 그리고 브랜디가 피아노 책을 불러요.)

(Teacher **and** Breanna **and** Brandy, Teacher sing on the piano book.)

내일 성도와 란와 에리카와 소피아 그리고 선생님까 짜림일 갑니다.

(내일 성도와 란과 에리카와 소피아, 그리고 선생님이 츠립(여행)을 갑니다.) (Tomorrow Sungdo **and** Ran **and** Erika **and** Sophia **and** Teacher go on a trip.)

In case of “하고”, since some native Korean children also tend to overuse “하고” to link noun phrases, the following examples may be both interlingual and intralingual transfer.

(G1)

현일**하고** 영우**하고** 일주가 서그전화니다. (현일과 영우와 일주가 서커전 합니다.) (Hyonil **and** Young-woo **and** Il-joo play soccer.)

나**하고** 선생님**하고** 브리애나**하고** 에리카**하고** 영우**하고** 란

(I **and** teacher **and** Breanna **and** Erika **and** Young-woo **and** Rahn)

Though not as frequent as in first grade, some overuse of “하고 (and)” were seen in the second grade samples.

(G2)

베니또가 **하고** 타머스 **하고** 타머스 엄마를 공을 노라서요.

(베니또와 타머스와 타머스 엄마는 공을 놀았어요.)

(Benito **and** Thomas **and** Thomas' mom played ball.)

6) Wrong Quantifiers

Consider the following examples.

(G1)

하나 남자 업서요 우서. (한 남자가 우산이 없어요.)

(One man doesn't have an umbrella.)

5개 아이들 챔있어요. (Five (pieces of) children have fun.)

Here, the students demonstrate both intralingual and interlingual transfers. “하나 (one)” in Korean can not be used before nominals as a quantifier. The student seems to have transferred the English article “a” into Korean. In Korean “5개(five pieces)” is used only

after certain countable nouns excluding human beings and other living things. But the student used this “5개” before “아이들 (children)”. It is interesting, however, that the student who wrote the second sentence did correctly write “두 아이들 노래해요. (Two children are singing.)”

7) Wrong Verb Phrases

Some students combined two verb forms in ways that violate syntactic rules. These errors reflect the students misunderstanding of the verb inflection and combination rules.

① **-아/어/고 했어요:** The Korean verb “했어요”, the past tense form of “하다 (do)” is used after a nominal form only, as in “공부했어요 (studied)”. However, some students used this “했어요” form after “놀아” or “보고” to express the past tense of the verbs.

(G1)

친구는 노래를 **브리 했어요.** (친구는 노래를 불렀어요.)

(Friends sang a song.)

필립 집에 **놀아 했어요.** (필립의 집에서 놀았어요.)

([We] played at Philip's house.)

성한하고 필립 그림책 **보고 했어요.** (성한과 필립이 그림책 보았어요.) (Songhan and Philip saw a picture book.)

(G2)

서브리나 공 **놀러 했어요.** (사브리나가 공 놀았어요.)

(Sabrina played ball.)

영우와 빗나가 **밖에 놀러 했어요.** (영우와 빗나가 밖에서 놀았어요.) (Young-woo and Bitna played outside.)

그리고 책 **일거했어요.** (그리고 책 읽었어요.) (And they read a book.)

② **-어요 있어요:** Like the “-어 했어요” error, students used “-어요 있어요” to express the present progressive form of verbs.

(G1)

이 아이가 **배어요 있어요.** (이 아이가 배우고 있어요.)

(This child is learning.)

③ **-기/-이/noun 있습니다:**

(G1)

대영이가 숫자를 쓰기 있습니다. (대영이가 숫자를 쓰고 있습니다.) (Daeyoung is writing numbers.)

학생을 칠판이 서기 있습니다. (학생이 칠판에 쓰고 있습니다.)
(A student is writing on the board.)

Here the students seem to transfer English sentence structures of present progressive. The Korean word “쓰기” is a gerundive form equivalent to “writing”. However, since the English participle “writing” has the same form as the gerund “writing”, the student seems to have used “쓰기” when “쓰고” is required. A similar example follows below.

(G1)

베니또가 더하기이 있습니다. (베니또가 더하기가 있습니다.)
(Benito is adding (numbers))

In the next examples, “있습니다” is preceded by a noun.

(G1)

남학생 숫자를 있습니다. (남학생 숫자를 쓰고 있습니다.)
(A boy student is writing numbers.)

영우 숫자 있습니다. (영우가 숫자를 쓰고 있습니다.)
(Young-woo is writing numbers.)

④ -아 갔어요: Except in some cases such as “살아가다 (lead a life)”, the verb phrase “-아 가다” expresses a progressive change that will eventually come to an end when the change is completed. The above example, therefore, should be seen as an error in spelling. It should have been written as “놀러 갔어요.”

(G1)

어제는 내 오빠가 제 친구들이 놀아 갔어요.
(어제는 나의 오빠가 제 친구들과 놀러 갔어요.)
(Yesterday, my brother went to play with his/my friends.)

⑤ -함(니다)+(했)습니다:

(G1)

그림을 그림습니다. (그림을 그렸습니다. (drew pictures))

② -고 나가:

(G2)

남자 아이는 여자 아이를 뛰고 나가 뒤었어요. (남자 아이는 여자 아이를 뛰어나가 도왔어요. (The boy ran out to the girl and helped.))

8) Wrong Word Orders

Although English and Korean have different word orders, not many students transferred English word orders to Korean. Only five such cases were observed by three students.

(G1)

하나 남자 업서요 우셔. (한 남자가 우산이 없어요.)

(A boy doesn't have an umbrella.)

나는 좋아요 이사벨. (나는 이사벨이 좋아요.) (I like Isabel.)

친구에서 업사 업벨라. (친구에게 업브렐러 없어.)

(There is no umbrella for the friend.)

(G2)

많이 학생 있어요. (학생 많이 있어요.) (There are lots of students.)

많이 비 더어졌어요. (비가 많이 떨어졌어요.) (The rain fell a lot.)

2. The Textual Competence Level

Not much can be said about the textual competence level, as the student writings were limited to words, sentences, and short paragraphs. One thing to note is their idiosyncratic use of conjunctions.

(1) Using "와" (and) to Combine Sentences

In English, the conjunction "and" can link words, phrases, or sentences. In Korean, however, "와/과" can only link (pro)nouns or noun phrases, but not sentences, unless the sentences are considered quoted entities. In the example below, the student used "와(and)" to link two sentences.

(G1)

테랜스와 정은이 노래를 불러와 선생님이 피아노를 쳐요.

(테랜스와 정은이 노래를 불러요. 그리고 선생님이 피아노를 쳐요.)

(Terrance and Jeongun are singing, and the teacher is

playing the piano.).

(2) Using "하고" (and) to Combine Sentences

Like "와/과", "하고"(and) combines nominals only, especially in colloquial forms.. The following example illustrated how this rule can be violated.

(G2)

즈에리하고 스텐하고 스텐 엄마는 공을 했어요. **하고** 재밌
있어요. (즈에리와 스텐과 스텐 엄마는 공놀이를 했어요.
그리고 재미 있었어요.) (Zueri and Stewn and Stewn's mom
played ball. **And** it was fun.)

지금 란 하고 현일 노래 있어요. **하고** 선생님 좋아요.
(지금 란과 현일이 노래 부르고 있어요. 그리고 선생님이 좋아해요.)
(Rahn and Hyonil are singing now. **And** the teacher is happy.)

3. The Sociolinguistic Competence Level

Sociolinguistic errors are some times more subtle than grammatical errors; however, they can be more unacceptable than grammatical errors. One of the most difficult areas in learning a foreign language is the sociolinguistic rules and conventions. The writing samples demonstrate some of the sociolinguistic errors even at an early stage.

(1) Wrong honorific markers:

Unlike English, Korean has honorific markers that are obligatory in all sentences. Therefore wrong honorific markers are more salient than any other errors in Korean discourse. When children learn Korean as a native language, they usually learn the non-honorific form first. In the course of their home and school education, they learn to distinguish between [+honorific] and [-honorific] forms, and eventually use forms appropriate for the given discourse context.

① {+Honorific} Forms to Equal Status Interlocutors/Audience

It was anticipated that, if NKAs learn Korean in natural settings, they would learn [-honorific] forms first as they are exposed to the [-honorific] forms used among the Korean-American (KA) peers. However, the students' writings used [+honorific] forms more than [-honorific] forms. This phenomenon seems to have to do with classroom instruction.

In classroom language, teachers usually use [+honorific] endings when addressing the class. As a result, the students had learned [+honorific] forms better than [-honorific] forms. This problem persisted in G2.

(G1)

이사벨 아요하세요. 나는 좋아요 이사벨. (이사벨, 안녕?
나는 이사벨이 좋아.) (Hi, Isabel. I like Isabel.)

It should be mentioned here that using [+honorific] forms to lower status interlocutors or audience is not as serious an error as using [-honorific] forms to higher status interlocutors or audience. In fact, many Korean mothers use [+honorific] forms to their young children so that they will become familiar with [+honorific] forms.

② Mixing [+Honorific] and [-Honorific] Forms: The students showed inconsistent use of honorific endings in their writing. In the following examples, the students do not seem to have learned “그래 (Yeah, [-honorific])” for “네 (Yes, [+honorific])”.

(G1)

술 나 우산을 “같이 가요?” 네. 고마워. (“술, 나 우산을 같이 쓰고
갈까?” “그래.” 고마워.)

(Shawl, may I share the umbrella? Yes. Thanks.)

“테니스 나에 집 들어가자” 네. (“테니스, 나의 집에 들어가자” “그래.”)

(Dennis, let's go into my house. Yes.)

테니스 집가니? 네. (테니스, 집에 갈래? 그래.)

(Dennis, will you go home? Yeah.)

어제 근혜 우산 있었어요. 근혜 테니스 봤어. (어제 근혜 우산
있었어요. 근혜 테니스 봤어요.) (Yesterday, Keunhye had
an umbrella. Keunhye saw Dennis.)

(G2)

베니또가 말아어요. 타머스 우산 없어요. 왜. 왜냐면 나 우산 더어졌어
요. (Benito says, “Thomas doesn't have an umbrella.”

“Why?” “Because I dropped the umbrella.”)

에릭가 현일 봤어요. 에릭하고 현일을 우산 가치 스텐다. (Eric saw
Hyonil. Erik and Hyonil used (shared) the umbrella together.)

(2) Pronoun Use

We in English has two semantic functions: one is called, “inclusive *we*” and the other, “exclusive *we*.” The inclusive *we* includes both the speaker and the hearer, whereas the exclusive *we* excludes the hearer from the “*we*”. In (a) below, “*we*” is inclusive; in (b) “*we*” is exclusive.

- (a) Let's meet at six. **We** will have fun together.
- (b) Don't forget us. **We** will miss you..

In Korean, there is a third function of “우리 (*we/our*)”. The possessive pronoun form “우리 (*our*)” is often used when English speakers would use “*my*”. This use of “우리” is often said to reflect the Koreans' social psychology that discourages individualistic assertiveness. Consider the following examples:

<u>English</u>	<u>Korean</u>
my home	우리 집 (<i>our home</i>)
my father	우리 아버지 (<i>our father</i>)
my wife	우리 마누라 (<i>our wife</i>)

The following examples show that the students translated English “*my house*” and “*my brother*” to “내 집 (*my house*)” and “내 오빠 (*my elder brother*)”, for which Korean speakers would say, “우리 집 (*our house*)” and “(우리) 오빠 ((*our*) *elder brother*)”.

(G1)

근혜, 내 집을 와요. (근혜, 우리집에 와.)

(Keunhye, come to my house.)

내 오빠 재미있어요* (우리 오빠는 재미있게 놀아요.)

(My elder brother is having fun.)

(* This sentence could mean “My elder brother is funny/interesting”, depending on the context. In the given context, it meant, “My elder brother is having fun.”)

One G2 student used “나 집 (*my house*)”, for which Korean speaker would say, “우리 집 (*our house*)”.

(G2)

나 집가 커요. (우리 집이 커요.) (My house is big.)

(3) Colloquial Forms

One sign of the students' acquisition of spoken Korean in natural contexts is found in their use of colloquial forms in their writings. These colloquial forms are not necessarily errors. In fact, they can be used in everyday informal writings. This type appeared mostly in G2.

(G2)

남자가 여자가 도개 좋았어요. (남자와 여자가 되게 (매우) 좋았어요.)

(The boy and the girl were very happy.)

Interestingly, the colloquial form “되게” is not used in standard Korean writing. The student must have learned it from classmates. She used this “도개” several times in her writing. On the other hand, the correct forms of the following examples can be used in standard Korean writing, although the repetition of the same word is not so frequent as in speaking. It is suspected that the students might have learned these forms verbally from their classmates.

(G2)

노무 노무 좋았어요. (너무 너무 좋았어요.) (It was very very nice.)

비 만이만이 다거요. (비 많이 많이 왔어요(?).)

(The rain came a lot a lot.)

One student even played with words when she repeated “많이 (a lot)” in her sentence as seen below.

(G2)

서브리나, 브리아나, 브랜디, 쏘피아, 어릭, 선생이 케핑을 많이 많이

많이 많이 많이 많이 좋아요. (Sabrina, Breanna, Brandy, Sophia,

Eric, the teacher like camping a lot, a lot, a lot, a lot, a lot, a lot.)

IV. CONCLUSION

This study investigated the interlanguage errors of the non-Korean-American (NKA) children in the KETWIP in the LAUSD. More specifically, the study described the errors shown in the Korean writings of nine English-speaking children in their kindergarten, first grade, and second grade.

The study found that the kindergarten level students make basic orthographic errors in their writing, while first graders make spelling errors and basic grammatical errors. Sociolinguistic errors (more specifically, Korean honorifics) were observed from first grade on. These honorific errors were suspected as teacher-induced errors.

Some important educational implications can be drawn from the error analysis of the students' writings.

(1) The most basic errors in the NKA students' early stage of writing had to do with the confusion of phonetically similar sounds, such as “ㄷ(/dg/)” vs. “ㄷ(/ch/)”, “ㅂ(/b/)” vs. “ㅍ(/p/)”, and “ㄱ(/g/)” vs. “ㅋ(/k/)”. Since these sound pairs are phonetically close to each other, the students' pronunciation errors, in many cases, are not detectable; their errors are detected only when the words are written. Special care needs to be taken to direct the learners attention to the spelling of these sounds. Although a minimal-pair drill is a good exercise to differentiate similar sounds or spellings, the technique may not work in a content-based language learning setting. Extensive and intensive reading would be helpful, but increased writing practice seems to be the best solution.

(2) One of the recurring problems is the pronunciation spelling problem. Students tend to spell words as they are pronounced. Although the Korean spelling system has very good sound-symbol correspondence, there are phonological and morphological rules to observe in order to spell correctly. Considering the fact that correct spelling is difficult even to Korean native speaker children, it may be too much to expect NKA students to spell perfectly. However, by encouraging them to be spelling-conscious when reading, and by explaining some basic rules of morphophonological change, the pronunciation spelling problem can be reduced.

(3) The NKA students seem to learn Korean both from the teacher (formal and standard language) and from the KA classmates (informal and colloquial language). The NKA students' overuse of the [+honorific] endings is most likely teacher-induced, while their learning of [-honorific] forms results from their interactions with peers. Although the

students' future interlocutors are adult Korean speakers, and therefore their learning appropriate honorific markers is more important than learning non-honorific markers in the long run, their immediate context of the language use requires them to appropriately use non-honorific markers that are used among friends. Therefore, the teacher is advised to encourage both KA and NKA students to use more Korean in their informal communications. Informal communications can reinforce the NKA students' vocabulary and syntax knowledge. One possible approach is to set one day of a week as a Korean only day, and encourage all students in the program to speak Korean even out of the classroom (except when they communicate with non-program students and except when they learn English related subjects).

Although the students demonstrated a variety of errors, it should be added that the students in general performed impressively in their writing. In fact, it was amazing that the students, who had not been exposed to Korean before they started the program, could produce such sentences that can be easily understood by the native speakers.

The KETWIP has a great potential for both second language learning/teaching and second language research. It is unique in that, unlike other Korean-as-a-foreign-language programs that involves mostly adult learners, it involves young children and that it involves content-based learning and two-way immersion learning. More comprehensive longitudinal, as well as cross-sectional, research will reveal valuable information about the learning and use of Korean as a second or foreign language.

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<국문 초록>

미국의 한 이중언어 몰입프로그램 참여 미국 어린이들의 한국어 중간언어 오류

권오량*

본 연구는 미국 로스앤젤레스 지역의 한국어/영어 양방향 몰입프로그램에서 한국어를 배우는 미국 어린이들의 한국어 작문에 나타난 중간언어 오류를 분석하고 기술하려고 한다. 본 연구는 종단적 연구로서, 학생들이 유치원, 초등학교 1학년, 2학년에 쓴 동일한 작문 시험에 나타난 한국어 중간 언어 오류를 집단적으로 분석 기술하였다.

본 연구는 학생들의 오류가 언어간 전이와 언어내 전이를 반영하고 있음을 보여 준다. 유치원 수준의 어린이들은 기본적인 글자 모양에서 오류를 범하였고, 초등 1학년 학생들은 맞춤법 오류와 기본적인 문법 오류를 범하였다. 1학년에서부터 사회언어학적인 오류도 발견되었다.

논문은 제2언어 교육에 대한 시사점과 추후 연구에 대한 제안을 제시한다.

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