

Language Attitudes of English-Korean Bilinguals: A Qualitative Analysis of Self-Reports via Interviews*

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Abstract

Lee Jeongeun 2013. **Language Attitudes of English-Korean Bilinguals: A Qualitative analysis of Self-reports via interviews.** *The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korea* 21(2). This study observes how second generation English-Korean bilinguals display language attitudes during an unstructured interview, and how they construct their identities in narratives. The interviews were about their language use, culture, and identities. The interviewees made use of specific types of speech acts as part of their response strategies. The analysis focused on these speech acts and the positioning of themselves and others. Findings of the qualitative analysis revealed the interviewees' language attitudes, especially when they defined their mother tongue and explained the communicative situations and language choices. This study found that the interviewees have developed negative or indifferent attitudes towards verbal exchanges with native Koreans because their choice to speak Korean in conflict-ridden communication led to positioning of themselves as inarticulate, rule-breaking, berated, and alien. Their failure to achieve cooperation and recognition when they communicated in Korean had negative influences on their self-esteem, which significantly impacted the use of Korean as heritage language, and the formation of their identities as the second generation Kyopos. (185)

Keywords: interview narrative, self-report, language attitude, identity, self-esteem

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I. Introduction

Due to global cultural exchanges as well as global economic exchanges these days, the world has become smaller and there are more bilinguals and plurilinguals than ever. This has affected Korean speakers as well, and they are not a homogeneous monolingual group any more. In 2010, the number of Overseas Koreans, Kyopo was 7,268,771 (Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2011). Kyopo, especially second or third generations of them either continue speak Korean, their heritage language, maintaining it as an important part of their lives and a crucial part of their identities, or lose Korean and hardly speak it anymore but speak their dominant language.

The Kyopo interviewees of this study had mixed feelings towards Korean; some appreciate Korean and consider it as a valuable cultural asset, while others refuse to speak Korean and do not feel the necessity to keep it. One interviewee recalled an incidence when she was a preschooler, and said she was ashamed to speak a language different from her playmates; so, she refused to speak Korean until she became fluent in English. Another interviewee, on the contrary, was constantly worried about her Korean pronunciation and vocabularies, and was afraid that her misuse of Korean might lead to disapproval by other Korean speakers.

For second or third generations of Kyopo, whether to learn and speak Korean or not is more like their choice, unlike their dominant language, which is English in these cases. These interviews naturally give rise to the question of how bilinguals or plurilinguals attitudes toward their heritage language affect their use of the language, and what correlations they have. In order to examine this, we shall look into the answers to some specific questions: first, how do Kyopo feel about the language when they communicate in Korean; second, how do their feelings toward Korean affect their language choice and use; and last, what are the primary factors that make them choose to learn and speak Korean.

This study focuses on the socio-psychological phenomena that English-Korean bilinguals experience when they communicate in Korean, and

examines how the phenomena is related to their language attitude and identities. A qualitative analysis was carried out, and scrutinized the discursive practices in their oral narratives. The aim of this study is to find the motivational factors that lead to the positive or negative attitudes towards Korean of English-Korean bilinguals and to examine the effects of their attitudes on their Korean use.

II. Background

1. Language attitude

To learn, improve and retain proficiency in several languages, speakers should maintain positive attitudes towards the languages; thus, the language attitude is a crucial affective factor in bilingual studies (Brown 2005). Language attitudes refer to opinions, ideas or feelings that speakers have with respect to a language (Hamers & Blanc 1995; Saville-Troike 2009). Speakers have either positive or negative attitudes towards the languages they speak to communicate, and this affects their language usage as a social factor (The Sociolinguistic Society of Korea 2012). Positive attitudes towards a certain language mean that the language has a positive role in the identities of the speakers, and the speakers have negative attitudes when their identities related to the language are viewed negatively or disapproved. Language attitudes are formed from the speakers' communication experiences in a society, so language attitudes are parts of their opinions on themselves, others and their culture, and are closely related to their identities.

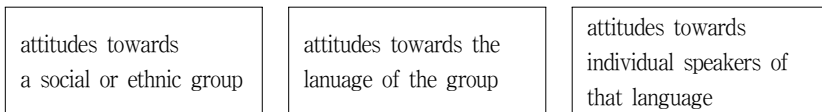


Figure 1. Schema representing the formation of attitudes
(Appel and Muysken 2008: 38)

In studies of socio-linguistics or language acquisition, the language attitude has been studied with a great interest since when there is a language contact, language attitudes can cause a language shift or even a language death. To understand the socio-psychological phenomena related to how the bilinguals keep and improve their heritage languages, we should start from their language attitudes towards their heritage languages. Therefore, this study focuses on the language attitudes towards English and Korean, especially that of second generations of Kyopo and the major factors that cause the attitudes to analyze how they retain and improve their Korean. We interviewed second generations of Kyopo in English speaking countries and analyzed their self-reports of their opinions or ideas on their languages and their language use.

Language attitudes has been studied using the following methods (Appel & Muysken 2008; Bernaus et al. 2004; Hamers & Blanc 1995): first, by playing recordings of a language as Lambert's matched-guise technique, second, by measuring how subjects judge a certain utterance as in Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel (1973), third, by asking direct or indirect questions about subjects' language use via questionnaires or interviews. However, it is hard to find out subjects' experiences or backgrounds that affected their language attitudes with these methods. A study on language attitudes as socio-psychological phenomena should not be limited to discover if language attitudes are positive or negative, but should move further and examine which factors affect language attitudes in which circumstances. Previous studies on language attitudes of Kyopo conducted interviews or surveys, for example, a study on preservation of Korean (Shin 2008) or on the correlation of positive attitudes towards Korean and Korean culture, and Korean acquisition (Jee 2011), but these studies still do not tell us what affects and forms language attitudes. Jang (2011) claims that Korean heritage speakers' positive attitudes towards Korean and their efforts to learn Korean are motivated by the idea that it will help them with their jobs in the future if they are fluent in Korean, but did not deal with language attitudes, which are formed from personal experiences of heritage speakers. Therefore, this study pays attention to the self-report characteristics of spontaneous speeches of interviews to discover the

socio-psychological circumstances the speakers face and the related language attitudes.

2. Interview and Self-report

Interviews are carried out to scrutinize opinions, attitudes and experiences of the subjects in field work studies (Wallace 2009: 227). Interviews are not just information elicitation, but social events, that are not mere answers to the questions, but are meaningful experiences for the interviewees and have important values that are mutual and interpersonal social acts between the interviewer and the interviewee (Lee 2010). Thus, it is important to analyze and discuss about the expressions used when the interviewees describe their experiences, the context of narratives and speech acts.

Interviews are composed of various narratives such as explanation, argumentation, description, report, or storytelling depending on the mutual and interpersonal social acts between the interviewee and the interviewer. Interviewees share their experiences or thoughts, describe their living environments or opinions, judge others, situations or behaviors, or explain their decisions. They also self-justify their behaviors or apologize, share their theory on the world and themselves, or report their experiences (Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann 2006).

An interview is a self-report, a report of the interviewee's opinions or behaviors, and helps us find out their past from their conscious and contemplated answers (Wallace 2009: 125). Thus, an analysis of narrative interviews leads us to discover language attitudes based on the statement of interviewees about their opinions, feelings or behaviors. Certain expressions or wordings of self-reports are expected to reveal not only the language attitudes of Kyopo towards Korean but also related factors that have socio-psychological effects on their social relations when they communicate in Korean.

III. Methods

1. Participants

50 second generation Kyopo from English speaking countries, who visited Korea for two to six months between 2006 and 2008 participated in this study. We interviewed 10 speakers in 2006, 26 in 2007, and 24 in 2008. The nationalities of the participants were varied. Four were Canadians, one was New Zealander, two were Australians, one was Chilean, one was from Guam, two were Korean citizens, and the rest were US citizens. Two of them immigrated to a English speaking country when they were 11 and 12, but were still counted as second generation Kyopo in this study. Most of the participants were undergraduate students in their early 20s. All of the participants were intermediate or advanced speakers of Korean.

2. Materials and procedures¹⁾

A qualitative analysis was carried out for an in-depth study of language attitudes of Kyopo. The interviews did not have any rigid or standardized structures but were exploratory and spontaneous to adapt to the characteristics of each interviewee (Baek 2006; Shin 2002; Cho 1999). The interviewees were told a general topic of the interview and the order or content of questions were left for them to choose on their own. This allowed the interview to be a natural and spontaneous conversation.

The general topic of this study was 'Language use, culture and identity of Kyopo as a bilingual' and we asked the participants to talk freely and openly about their experiences and thoughts on the topic.

We individually interviewed them for about an hour at our second meeting,

1) The data for this study was collected via unstructured interviews, and the interviews were carried out with voluntary participation consents from the participants, and they gave consents for academic use of the data collected. We thank our interviewees for participating in this study.

after having a casual meeting of introducing each other and collecting interview applications. The content of the interviews were different by interviewees and were subject to change as the interview went along due to its spontaneity, but most of the interviews were about their immigration history, growth environment, use of English and Korean and communication difficulties in their daily lives, identities and their visits to Korea. This study looked into self-reports related to language attitudes and language use as presented below.

(1) Language use of English and Korean bilinguals and their language attitudes

- The domain of language use and the aspect of language use with their families
- Perception of mother tongue
- Functions of the two languages, English and Korean
- How they feel when they communicate in English or Korean

3. Qualitative analysis

Unstructured interviews are a rich source of information on the effects of society on individuals, and on their coping strategies. They thus serve the qualitative and/or ethnographic purposes rather than mere quantitative data elicitation. Through observations of the interviewees' own expressions, the interviews further assist us in grasping the interviewees' empirical context, and in its interpretation (Blanchet & Gotman 2006). We expect the subjective expressions of interviewees to characterize the socio-psychological aspects of bilingual communication and to render important insights into the factors that influence language attitudes and language use.

In this study, we conducted a qualitative analysis focusing on domains of active language use, domains of communication difficulties and misunderstandings, and certain speech acts in the form of response strategies, and positioning between the interviewer and the interviewee on the one hand, and between the interviewee and the persons in their narratives on the other hand, as interlocutors of a conversation. The transcriptions of the interview recordings have undergone two to three revisions before data analysis.²⁾

This study also paid attention to the concept of positioning, and this allowed us to notice the variations and changes of language attitudes of the interviewees and their identities formed in the narratives(Harré & Langenhove 1999; Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann 2006). The positioning of interviewees was analyzed focusing on i) the experiences of the interlocutors in conversations in Korean (other-initiated positioning), and ii) the self-positioning of interviewees when they talk about their language attitudes, and the influence of this positioning on positioning of others. This study examined language attitudes of the second generation Kyopo, and the correlation between their language attitudes and their identities.

IV. Results

1. Defining the mother tongue

In every interview, we asked the interviewees what their mother tongue is to observe the status of Korean. Every single interviewee answered that their mother tongue is English. The followings are some examples of specific speech

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- 2) For a detailed description of the actual conduct of interviewing, see Lee (2010).
 Transcription symbols used for data analysis
- . falling intonation
 - ? raising intonation
 - , slightly falling or raising intonation
 - ↗ sharp raising intonation at the end of a phrase or a word, distinguished from steady raising intonation
 - : vowel lengthening or dragging sound
 - ^ incomplete utterance, when a speaker stops producing it in the middle of an utterance
 - () description of non-linguistic behaviors such as a laughter, a cough, a sigh, an inward breath, or explanations of recording conditions, noise or other notable situations

The examples in this paper excluded habitual back-channels such as 'uh, um or yes' of interviewer and just the narratives of the interviewee are presented.

acts that defined their mother tongue.

(2)

우진: 저는 그 mother tongue을요, 제일 편한 제일 affective language라고 생각하는데 그 그런데 mother tongue은 그 처음 배운, 그 language일수도 있구요. 그래두 저는 mother tongue은 그 저의 definition 따라서 영어, 영어일 거 같아요.

(2)

Woo-Jin: For me, that 'MOTHER TONGUE' means the most accommodating, the most affective language bu/but 'MOTHER TONGUE' can also be the LANGUAGE that one learned first. Still, for me 'MOTHER TONGUE' is, according to my DEFINITION, English, English I think.

(3)

성진: 어 영어 mother tongue? 제가 자라서 쓴 tongue. first language는 영어라고 해요 근데 확실히 처음 배웠는 언어가 한국어였어요. 그렇게 생각 안 해요

면담자: 왜요? 어떻게

성진: 그냥 제가 영어를 처음 많이 쓰게 돼서 한국어는 엄마, 아빠하고 집에서만 써서 진짜로 처음 language라고 생각 안 해요

(3)

Sung-Jin: uhm English 'MOTHER TONGUE'? the TONGUE I grew up speaking. the first language is definitely English but the first language I learned was Korean.. I do not think that way

Interviewer: What do you mean? How?

Sung-Jin: I just mean I just got to use English a lot first and I only spoke Korean at home with my mom and dad, so I really do not think it is the first language

The reason behind their choices of English as their mother tongue is laid out in their answers. For them, English is the primary, first, native, and easy language, which they speak the best and plays more important roles in their daily lives. Korean may be the first language they acquired in their toddler years, yet its communicative use is highly limited in the English-speaking environment, and speakers usually lose their fluency in Korean growing up. Then, this leads to their dissatisfaction over not being able to express their

feelings or thoughts appropriately in Korean, or failing to get involved in various social interactions. They did not elevate Korean to the status of mother tongue.

The fact that none of the interviewees considered Korean as their mother tongue was a surprise, because we expected that second generation Kyopo who are relatively fluent in Korean would naturally consider Korean, their first acquired language, as their mother tongue. However, as shown in Sung-Jin's response, the interviewee prefers English, which has been dominant in his everyday life while growing up and enabled active social interactions, to Korean, which was the first language that his parents taught him. For them, English is the language that they can speak to express their thoughts and feelings the best, the language that raises their self-esteem, and the language which allows them to have active social interactions. This also indicates their indifferent and passive attitudes towards Korean.

By participating in the interviews, the interviewees had the opportunity to talk freely about their use of Korean, Korean culture and their identities, and to take some time for introspection on their language resources and performances. Their definition of the mother tongue as the language that serves their needs the best can be regarded as a specific speech act that implies their evaluative attitudes towards Korean.

2. The communication situation and language choice

Because of the interviewees' relatively high mastery of Korean, we expected that they would use Korean in several domains of their everyday lives. However, Fishman (1972)'s domains did not apply to their use of Korean and who they communicate with was the most influential factor in their language choice. The interviewees reported that they usually speak Korean with their parents, but speak English with their siblings at home. They also frequently code switch between English and Korean at home, but it was highly constrained depending on the interlocutors, as exemplified below.

(4)

현주: 부모님한테 말할 때는 어려웠어요. 한국말이 그렇게 잘 안 나왔으니깐. 통하긴 통했는. 근데 대학교 갔을 때부터 더 어려웠어. 생각하는 건 발달했는데 그걸 잘 전달 못 하니깐. 부모님들은 한국말밖에 못하니깐 생각이 자란 그만큼 많이 말하고 싶어도 못했으니깐 이번에 한국에서 공부하고 싶었어요.. 공부하러 왔는 거예요. (중략) 동생이랑은 한국말 전혀 안 해요. 동생은 한국말 나랑 비슷해요. 근데 영어가 더 편하니까 우린 영어로만. 동생도 부모님한테 한국말로 말해요. 부모님한테 우리 모두 95% 한국말로 해요. 대답할 때

(4)

Hyun-Joo: It was difficult to talk with my parents. Because Korean did not come out that well. We did understand each other... but it got more difficult when I entered university. My thoughts were developed but because I could not easily convey them... Because my parents can only speak Korean, but I could not express as much as my mind had grown... I came to Korea this time to learn Korean... (abridged) With my little brother/sister I do not speak Korean at all. His/her Korean is similar to mine. But because English is more accommodating, it's only English for us. My little brother/sister speaks Korean to our parents, too. We all speak to our parents in Korean up to 95%. When we answer.

The interviewees who were the oldest child in the family showed similar language usage patterns with Hyun-Joo at home. The respective level of language competence of their parents and siblings, in both English and Korean, plays a major role in determining the extent of code switching or language shift. The interviewees reported that if this pattern of language use is fixed, they feel awkward and weird to talk to their parents in English or talk to their siblings in Korean.

Church gatherings were also an expected domain of Korean use; yet again, the interviewees speak Korean only to the older generation, while they speak only English with their friends or people of their own generation. Even at places other than churches, the interviewees always speak English with their peers of the same age group. Thus, it can be summarized that the decisive factors for the language choice of the second generation Kyopo are the language competence of the interlocutors, the degree of convenience in

communication, and the level of mutual understanding.

(5)

현주: 식구에 대해서 말하며는 한국말이 이르게 편하고 뭐 부모님 대해서 말하면. 그리고 음 옛날 제가 어릴 때 대해서 말하면 스페인어고, 그리고 지금 당장인가 아니면 더 어 좀 더 어려운 거 이러케

면답자: 추상적인 얘인가

현주: 네 책인가 아니면 politics 아님 뉴스며는 영어.

(5)

Hyun-Joo: When talking about family I speak Korean at ease, like, when I talk about my parents. And ehm when talking about the time when I was little, it is Spanish, and when it is about right now, or, like, about more difficult, like...

Interviewer: ...or abstract talk

Hyun-Joo: Yes or books or POLITICS or news, then it is English.

Many of the relatively fluent bilingual and/or plurilingual second generation Kyopo showed a tendency to use different languages depending on the function of the language and the circumstances as shown in (4). In the case of a situational language shift, they felt as it is necessary to talk in Korean was to express their situations and experiences, especially if the speakers needed to describe their inner feelings.

3. The problematic situations of communication in Korean and affective factors

When we asked the interviewees about the most common difficulties and problems they face when they communicate with native Korean speakers, many interviewees answered that when their Korean was judged and criticized by the native Korean speakers was most difficult to handle. If they made mistakes talking in Korean, they were often criticized and this judgment put them in the positioning of an ill-mannered person or a berated person. In the following example, the interviewee assumed that her mistake was merely a small one that was not worth to interrupt the conversation, and she was upset

at the disapproval thrown at her in such an unexpected way.

(6)

민서: 음, (침묵 1초) 그: 말에서 나오는, 말, 주로 말, 제가, 제 경험에서는, 말에서 많이, 이케 차이가 많이 나는 거 같아요. 제가 말했듯이, 그냥, 우리는 영어로는,, 그냥 하고싶은 말을 다 하고, 그니깐, 상대방이 기분이 나쁘면, (웃으면서) 그건 상대방이 해결할 문제지, 막 대답이, 대답이 그니깐, 나올 거 아니에요? 그럼, 그렇게 말로, 이케, 해결하면 되는데,, 한국열, 얘기하면,, 그, 말한 그 자체가 문제가 되니까요,, 그 어, 오빠나 언니한테 말 했다는 것이, 그런 말이 나왔다는 것이, 문제가 되니까,, 제가 말하는 내용이 아니라,, 말했다는 거 자체가 문제거리가 되니까, 그게 약간, 답답했거든요? 그래서, 그걸 딱, 지켜야 되는 거? 그, 말이나, 할 수 있는 말,, 아니면 할 수 없는 말,,

(6)

Min-Suh: Ehm, (1 second silence) From those words, language, mainly words, I, in my experience, in those words there is a huge, this huge difference. As I mentioned already, we just, in English., we just say whatever we want to say, so like, when the conversation partner is hurt, (laughing) well, that's his problem to cope with, the answer would totally, I mean the answer would, just follow, right? So then, we could like, solve this problem, through words, When speaking in Korean, that, the very words that one uttered become a problem, That uhm, older relative, male or female, that I put it like this, that those words came out, becomes a problem., it is not what I said but the act itself that I said something that becomes a problematic issue, that is a little, suffocating, you know? That's why, you have to stick strictly, to the rules? Those, words or, that which you can say and that which you cannot say

As Min-Suh said in (6), Kyopo often do not realize their misuse of words or grammars and expect to have a smooth conversation, but gets perplexed when they encounter criticism or judgments. Those criticisms make second generation Kyopo have negative impressions on speaking Korean, and the frustration and conflicts act as affective factors that affect their Korean use.

People opt for minimizing the difference through language choice, and want to receive a friendly evaluation by the interlocutor in a conversation (Appel and Muysken 2008). When second generation Kyopo speak Korean with native

Korean speakers, it is out of the effort to minimize the difference; they reveal their Korean identity and expect the interlocutor to be favorable in a conversation. As a result, second generation Kyopo hope to establish a collaborative relationship that the interlocutors show mutual respect for each other, self-respects and equality (Johnson and Johnson 2010). But as shown in (6), the very attempt at communicating in Korean was rejected by the interlocutor through judgments and disapprovals, and second generation Kyopo were positioned during the conversation as deficient Koreans and rule breakers, etc. Thus, the speakers' Korean identities were damaged once again, and these negative experiences may result in silence or reluctant and passive attitudes in Korean communication.

(7)

준하: 그런데 백인하고 한국에 있는 한국사람하고 뭐 보다 교포하고 한국에 있는 한국 사람들이 더 오해가 많은 거 같아요 백인이면 어 그 사람이 다르구나 눈으로 확인할 수 있으니까 그렇게 그 태도를 조절하면서 대화도 하고 그러는데 피부색이 같다 그러면 어 생각도 같겠지 뭐 assume하고 그리고 그런 생각으로 말하니까 오해가 더 쉽게 오해가 될 거 같아요

(7)

Joon-Ha: But above all, there seem to be more misunderstandings between Overseas Koreans and Koreans in Korea than between white people and Koreans. If you are a white person then Koreans notice, ah, that the person is different, because they can plainly see it with their eyes, so they then adjust their attitudes and hold a normal conversation and so on, but if your skin color is the same, they think, ah, their mindset must be the same, they just ASSUME this and talk with this in their minds, so accordingly, misunderstandings are inevitable.

When a native speaker and a heritage speaker have a conversation, the native speaker usually occupies the position of control in the language, expecting the heritage speaker, consciously or unconsciously, to speak the language following their way of speaking. When the two interlocutors do not share the same cultural pre-understandings, it may result in misunderstandings or conflicts (Appel and Muysken 2008). However, as the interviewee pointed out

in (7), many of native Korean speakers assume that they share the same cultural pre-understandings with heritage Korean speakers because they share the same ethnic identity, and this, in their opinions, gives them enough reasons to criticize the second generation heritage speakers' Korean, and put them in a negative position. But Kyopo have different norms and cultures; therefore, they feel antipathy towards those native Korean speakers, lose confidence in speaking Korean, and feel inferior.

Having grown up as fully accepted members of a multiethnic society (that still distinguishes its members by race), the second generation Kyopo undergo twofold othering processes while experiencing conflicts with native Korean speakers. On the one hand, in a model of markedness, they are marked as 'others' in their countries of residence due to their looks and their use of Korean, which are conventional markers of ethnic identities. On the other hand, they are also marked as 'others' due to their use of Korean if they talk to native speakers of Korean, who have the same ethnicity as Kyopo. When native Koreans notices they are Kyopo causes conflicts rather than cooperative communication, due to disrespect of the social and cultural identities of second generation Kyopo, which were shaped through socialization in their countries of residence. This disrespect causes alienation and the loss of integration.

(8)

태경: 머 한국말을 잘 못하니까 딱 교포다 그렇게 생각하는 거 전 다 보여요 그르구 어떤 사람들은 무시하기도 하고 근데 또 어떤 사람들은 관심있게 영어를 잘 하구나 그렇게 머 신기하게 보구 한국사람들이 그래두 다르게 봐요 우리를

(8)

Tae-Gyung: So, you cannot speak Korean well, that makes you, of course, an Overseas Korean, that people are think like this I can see, and some people are even openly condescending, but then again, some people remark with genuine interests that oh, you speak English very well, and show their astonishment. Koreans still consider that we are different.

On yet another level, the second generation Kyopo, who failed to have a collaborative and empathizing conversation with native Korean speakers and

were criticized, are deeply affected by those encounters and they feel anxious and depressed even in their future interactions with native Koreans. Even Tae-Kyung, who is fluent in Korean, mentioned with discomfort that 'we' second generation Kyopo are treated like aliens. Many interviewees complained that they feel insecure because of people on the streets giving them odd looks. This can be interpreted as that they feel like they are outsiders and have affective distance.

(9)

인애: um: 한국말 할 때는 저가 생각하는 거를 못하니까 불편해요 아 저가 좀 바보같은 느낌이 나요. 저가: 한국말을 모르니까 알아야 되는데 모르니까 아호: 안 좋아요. 그러니까 할 때 좀 엄 confidence? 뭐지 (면담자: 자신감) 자신감이 없어요.

(9)

In-Ae: UM: When I speak Korean, I cannot express my thoughts so it is inconvenient, oh like, I feel silly then. Because I: don't know Korean, even though I should know it, I don't know it oh: it's not good. So when I speak Korean, well, there is little, uhm, CONFIDENCE? What's that again (interviewer translates confidence into Korean) I don't have any confidence.

Affective distance and the incompleteness or lack of successful communication made second generation Kyopo lose confidence in their Korean. Tae-Gyung in (8) and In-Ae in (9) are both fluent in Korean but self-evaluated that they do not speak Korean well and hardly had confidence in their Korean even when the conversation went smoothly. These affective factors thus led to their insecure attitudes towards Korean.

(10)

보영: 네: 그니까 마음속에 뭐 진짜 뭐 생각하는지 잘 모르겠어요. 그 뭐 그 교포들은 만나면 하고 대화하면 어떤 사람인지 알아요. 근데 한국 남자들은 잘 모르겠어요.

면담자: 얘기를 해도?

보영: 네. 똑같은 얘기를 해도 교포들은 마음을 읽을 수가 있는데 한국 남자들은 잘 모르겠어요. 착하게 생겼지만 진짜 어떤 사람인지 잘 모르겠어요.

(10)

Bo-Young: yes: so I really do not know what they are really thinking. Those, what,

with those Overseas Koreans, if I meet them and talk to them, I can tell what they are like. But with Korean men, I really have no idea.

Interviewer: Even when you talk to them?

Bo-Young: Yes. Even if they tell me the same thing, I can read the mind of Kyopo, but I just don't know how Korean men are like. They seem friendly, but I really cannot tell what they are like inside.

A conversational interaction provides interlocutors various knowledge and cultural patterns, expressed and conveyed with languages (Bonvillain 2002). The incomplete communication of Bo-Young in (10) is because the cultural assumptions and contexts imbedded in languages are hard to grasp. The second generation Kyopo cannot apply their standards of understanding and categorization to native Korean speakers, and thus, they face much more difficulties to have the mutual sense of understanding with the interlocutors when they communicate in Korean.

4. Language attitudes and identities of second generation *Kyopo*

We have discussed so far the perception of mother tongue, the language choice of English-Korean bilinguals, the conflicts in communication, identities, and the affective factors impacting their attitudes towards Korean, based on a qualitative analysis of self-reported interviews. For second generation Kyopo, Korean is not just the symbol of their ethnic identity as Koreans, but has important meanings as an effective language resource that they use to establish relationships with others and position themselves within the relationships. Korean empowers them to exchange thoughts and interact with other Korean speakers, thus, Korean is a mean of communication that enables them to convey rich life experiences and emotions.

However, it was evident from the interviews that the second generation Kyopo have negative positioning with their communication experiences, socio-culturally or linguistically judged by others. It would be hard for them to continue to have a cooperative and meaningful conversation when they sense that they are viewed as inarticulate, rule-breaking, berated, and alien. Native

Korean speakers, on the other hand, have positioning as culturally intolerant scolding judges. Since they do not acknowledge the different and diverse socio-cultural backgrounds of the second generation Kyopo, and authorize themselves some power for having Korean identity, it is almost impossible to have collaborative communications. Similarly, the interviews demonstrated that interviewees emphasized their identities as Kyopo or Korean Americans rather than highlighting the uniqueness of their Korean identity. This means that the experienced distance to native Koreans caused them to embrace their national or achieved identities formed growing up in the countries of their residence rather than their ethnic identities, since that is the social identity that makes them have positive impressions about themselves.

The identities constructed in discursive practice in the course of positioning motivate people to communicate with each other. If one interacts with others, overcomes conflicts or solves problems, and constructs an agreeable identity, then the attitude towards that particular language will be positive, but if the opposite was the case, then of course, the language attitude will be negative. If the second generation Kyopo develop a negative psychological stance and reluctant attitudes towards Korean and their and others' use of Korean, then their participation in Korean communication and the motivation will be reduced, and their interactive exchange with native Koreans will also be affected by their negative or reluctant attitudes.

A self-esteem is constructed through various attitudes that others have for them. A sense of self-esteem motivates desires of formation of the self who is positively evaluated by others, and this motivation can spring successful communication with others (Lee 2010: 28; Hewitt 2001: 153). The reasons why the interviewees defined English as their mother tongue are that English is the language that they can competently manage conflicts with others, and construct agreeable identities, and acquire and maintain a positive psychological stance. We should discuss about what will be new motivations for second generation bilinguals to speak Korean with respect to their identity formation and retention of Korean.

V. Summary and Conclusion

In sum, this study analyzed interviews of second generation Kyopo from English-speaking countries and found the factors that influence the formation of language attitudes and identities of them. Their language attitudes and identities were clearly represented by the positioning of themselves and others via specific speech acts such as perception of mother tongue and the narration of experienced conflicts in Korean communication. In conflict situations, in particular, when the second generation Kyopo communicated in Korean as depicted in their narratives, they confronted with positioning as inarticulate, rule-breaker, berated, and alien, instead of the anticipated cooperation and recognition. This led them to affectively connect the use of Korean with failure. Such negative experiences had negative influences on their self-esteem, and deteriorated their negative or indifferent attitudes towards verbal exchanges with native Koreans. For Kyopo, therefore, the use of Korean does not contribute to formation of their identity as Korean; rather, it invokes a negative identity of a deficient Korean, which stresses the differences rather than shared characteristics. Thus, the singularity of identities as Kyopo or Korean American is favored and emphasized. They clearly consider English as a more important language in their lives which guarantees them a successful communication, instead of Korean as their heritage language.

These observations explained the socio-psychological dimension of Kyopo whose Korean communication processes have not been studied in detail yet.

This study underlined the importance of understanding of Kyopo's self-esteem as a crucial affective factor for their language attitudes. Korean should serve not just as a symbol for their ethnic identity, but as a linguistic resource for building their identities and sustaining relationships with others. Even if the speaker does not have full command of Korean, Korean should enable the speaker to uphold cooperative communications with others, and to constitute positive relationships, and consequently form a positive self-esteem. If so, they will be motivated to speak Korean.

Previous studies on Korean bilingualism were limited to ethnic identities,

and did not deal with the factors that cause language attrition, language preservation, and language development. To our best knowledge, this study was the first attempt to find out the factors that have been ignored so far. Further research in the future on English-Korean bilinguals should take affective and motivational dimensions into consideration. The methodological and theoretical framework of this study was therefore especially chosen to overcome the limitation that previous studies had. For future research, the research methodology of this study should be refined and new data should be collected and analyzed. Moreover, future research should bear in mind that the situations of their countries of residence and various socio-cultural factors are deeply related to their language attitudes and identities. Besides, categorization of meanings and microscopic analysis of various linguistic and pragmatic features of the data should be followed.

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