

Ethnic Identity and Language Use of the Heritage Koreans in the US*

Jeong Khn Ahn

(Chonbuk National University)

Ahn, Jeong Khn. 2008. **Ethnic Identity and Language Use of the Heritage Koreans in the US**. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 16(3), 61-79. The major purpose of the study is to look at ethnic identity and language use of the heritage Koreans in the US. Twenty young heritage Koreans living in Hawaii were studied on how they identified their own ethnicity and what relations there would be between their ethnicity and their language use in bilingual contexts. The major findings in the study are as follows: 1) Almost half of them identified themselves as Korean and the other half as Korean-American, 2) Scarcely did they use Korean outside home, 3) Their ethnicity showed no clear difference in the use of Korean and language choice between Korean and English in some context, however it was related with their proficiency level of Korean, 4) The higher their proficiency level was, the more they used Korean and the more they switched English to Korean in their three minute talk, and 5) Their ethnicity showed a clear difference in code-switching to Korean in their three minute talk.

Key Words: self ethnic identity, code-switching, bilingual phenomena, heritage Koreans

1. Introduction

It is said that language plays a role in determining ethnic identity.

* This study was supported by the 2005 Research Grant of Chonbuk National University for the visiting scholars to the foreign countries. This paper was a revised version of the paper which was presented at the 2008 conference of The Linguistic Association of Korea held at Chonbuk National University, 24 May, 2008. I am grateful to the comments of the three anonymous reviewers of the paper.

Research on the relationship between language and ethnic identity has been carried out in a wide range of disciplines from diverse perspectives.

In recent years, some studies (Shin & Milroy, 2000; Song, 2001; Stone-Kang, 2002; Kang, 2003; Yoon, 1996) were conducted on the linguistic behavior of heritage Koreans in the U.S. from the micro-interactional perspective. Shin & Milroy (2000) indicated that 12 first-grade heritage Korean children used Korean to accommodate peers who were less fluent in English. Song (2001) also reported that three heritage Korean children used Korean as a strategic communication in four different contexts: at home, at school, at the researcher's apartment, and at the Korean Saturday School. In a longitudinal case study, Stone-Kang (2002) indicated that a heritage Korean girl used English more frequently in cognitively demanding contexts. What these studies all indicate is that even children use a particular language strategically while interacting with others. For adult linguistic behavior of heritage Koreans, Yoon (1996) indicated that the more distant their conversation partners are, the more they use Korean during conversation. They use Korean as an honorific language when they talk to socially distant members in order to maintain an asymmetrical relationship that may exist between them with respect to age, gender, and social status. A similar study to Yoon (1996), Kang's study (2003) also indicated that the use of Korean by heritage Koreans in a particular situation reveals ideologies of social hierarchy that serve to mitigate potential conflicts. Thus for heritage Koreans, knowledge of honorific forms of Korean and their correct use toward socially distant members are very crucial factors in maintaining their relationships. Of course this is also true for native Koreans living in Korea (Kim, 1991; Lee, 2002) and Korean emigrants to other countries (Park, 2005).

Some studies (Ladin, 1982; Giles & Johnson, 1981) also suggested that ethnic identity may be independent of a person's heritage language. Ladin (1982) reported that more than 50 percent of pupils between the ages of 12 and 14 answered yes when asked if they thought it possible to be Alsatian without being able to speak the Alsatian dialect. In some cases (Giles &

Johnson, 1981), it is not always necessary for members of an ethnic group to speak the same language. For example, heritage Koreans who do not know Korean will participate in the events of Korean Cultural Day as Korean members. Those who perceive themselves as more Korean than American are willing to participate in those cultural events, and there will be a higher chance for them to maintain the use of the Korean language. In contrast, those who perceive themselves as more American than Korean may not be willing to involve themselves with Korean events, and there will be a higher chance for them to use English exclusively in most situations. It seems clear that ethnic group affiliations are of relative value, thus a matter of relative choice (Tabouret-Keller, 1997).

Language is closely related with ethnic identity, but it is neither a unique feature nor a necessity in deciding our ethnicity. In some cases such as Alsatian, language is not directly related with ethnic identity. In other cases, language attitude toward a particular language or a particular linguistic feature (e.g., honorific forms of Korean) also affects our linguistic behavior and our ethnic identity as well. Thus it is quite complicated how one perceives his ethnic identity in his everyday verbal interaction in many different language contexts. There may be a number of variables operating on language and ethnic identity.

Based upon these understandings of the relationship between language and ethnic identity, the study investigated some sociolinguistic phenomena of the heritage Koreans living in the US. The major purpose of the study was to look at ethnic identity and language use of the heritage Koreans in the US. Twenty young heritage Koreans living in Hawaii were studied on how they identified their own ethnicity and what relations there would be between their ethnicity and their language use in bilingual contexts. Twenty young heritage Koreans in the study were Korean-Americans who were born and had lived in the US all their lives. Their range of age was between 10 and 17. Nine of them attended elementary school, four middle school, and the rest seven high school. Their language behavior was closely observed by the researcher at a number of places in Hawaii in 2006.

2. Data Gathering

To examine language behavior of the heritage Koreans in the US, a Korean church and its attached Korean Saturday Hangul school in Hawaii were chosen by the researcher who is the writer of this paper. Their language behavior at those places had been closely observed and recorded by the researcher for almost a year, in 2006.

A survey was given to them at a Korean Hangul school in Hawaii to study their self ethnic identity and their preference for language use in some context, as shown in the following;

The Survey

1. I am
 Korean Korean-American American
2. In what context do you use Korean most? Why?
3. In what context do you switch English to Korean
 or Korean to English? Why?

To study the relationships between their ethnicity and code-switching to Korean, their three minute talk was recorded individually at different time at the Korean Hangul school by the researcher. The researcher himself had taught them Korean at the Hangul school as a teacher at the time of the study and thus had the advantage of approaching them naturally for examining their language behavior, reducing the observer's effect quite a lot. In three minutes they were asked individually to talk about things which happened to them yesterday and their talk was recorded by the researcher.

Among the twenty heritage Koreans participated in the study, seven of them were beginners, six intermediate, and seven advanced learners of Korean at the Hangul school. Their proficiency level of Korean was determined by the level of the classes they attended at the Korean

Hangul school. Their age ranged from ten to seventeen. Most of them also went to a Korean church on Sundays.

3. Major Findings in the Study

3.1. Ethnic Identity

Quite surprisingly, among the twenty heritage Koreans who were born in the US no one identified himself as American in the Survey which was given to them at the Korean Saturday Hangul school. Almost half of them (nine) identified themselves as Korean and the other half (eleven) as Korean American.

3.2. Ethnicity and Language Use

One of the major characteristics of language behavior of the heritage Koreans in this study was that they did not use Korean as much as they could in normal context. Since they had used English in almost all their conversation, their use of Korean was quite restricted in some context such as at a Korean church and its attached Korean Hangul school, and at their home. Even in classes at a Korean Hangul school they would not use Korean as much as they could. They seemed just to pass their time, not learning Korean in class. It is understandable because most of them were forced by their parents to attend a Korean Hangul school for some reason. Their motivation, instrumental or integrative, to learn Korean was not strong. They were not willing to learn Korean. It is also understandable because there were not definite social forces which pushed them to learn Korean. As a result, they ended up being poor learners of Korean, which leads to being poor bilinguals in the States. To examine their use of Korean, the following two questions were asked to twenty heritage Koreans at a Korean Hangul school in Hawaii, as shown in the survey; 1) In what context do you use Korean most? Why? and 2) In what context do you switch English to Korean or Korean to English? Why?

Although there was minor difference, they answered in quite the same way for the two questions, as indicated in Appendices 1 and 2. Almost everyone in this survey indicated that the context they used Korean most was at home. They used Korean at home largely because they were enforced to use it by the parent for some reason and because their parents understood Korean only or understood it better than English. In particular cases, they used Korean when they begged their mom for something. Outside home, they used Korean sometimes in such cases as they talked to the Korean exchange students at their school, to someone who understood Korean only, or to the teachers at the Korean Hangul school.

Hardly did they switch English to Korean in normal context but they switched Korean to English mostly at home when they did not know how to say things (words or phrases) in Korean to their parents or the Korean elderly and when they were asked by their parents how to say things in English. They often replied with the same language (Korean or English) when their interlocutors used one of the two languages first. In most cases they used Korean in a limited way at home, at school, and even at the Korean Hangul school. Sometimes they used Korean when they talked to Korean-American friends in school because it was fun when Americans did not understand.

The survey clearly indicates that their use of Korean was very restricted in certain contexts such as at home and at the Korean Hangul school. This reflects their own and their parent's attitudes towards Korean and reveals their ethnic identity as Korean or Korean-American at home and at the Korean Hangul school consciously or unconsciously. Outside such contexts, they are Americans who use English only, reflecting their attitudes towards English. Thus they are Koreans or Korean-Americans in some contexts and Americans in some other contexts which indicates that a particular language used consciously or unconsciously by the speaker in a specific context plays a role in determining his ethnic identity or expressing his preference for being a member of a specific ethnic group.

Our attitude toward a particular language also reveals or affects our ethnic identity. A positive attitude toward a particular language and thus

its actual use in a specific context may be an indication that we prefer to be a member of the language group in that specific context. This may explain the most typical language behavior of the heritage Koreans in the US. As the result of the survey indicates, they generally use Korean at home and English in other contexts, revealing their different ethnic identities respectively. However, it is not easy to definitely state that they are Koreans at home and Americans outside the home because, as Fishman (1997) put it, the link between language and ethnicity is variable, just as ethnicity itself is both situational and a matter of perspective and is therefore variable in saliency. Quite interestingly, all of the heritage Koreans in this study indicated that they were Koreans or Korean-Americans in the survey but some of them identified themselves as Americans when asked individually by the researcher in casual context, which shows that their ethnicity can be situational, too.

Parents of heritage Koreans presented another interesting example of language attitude. Shin (2005) reported that most parents of heritage Koreans were either positive or neutral when asked their views about their children mixing both English and Korean when addressing them, but they wanted their children to use Korean when Korean-speaking friends or relatives were present. This suggests that the parents want their children to behave like Americans in most other contexts. Korean appears to play an ethnic marker only in certain language situations, and thus the role of Korean cannot be predetermined as an ethnic identity feature in all contexts. In this survey, parent's attitude towards a certain language or ethnic group was also revealed because their children's use of Korean at home was largely enforced by them.

The survey also indicates that the heritage Koreans in this study accommodated their use of Korean to their interlocutors in certain contexts. They used their limited Korean to someone who understood Korean only or better than English, which clearly supports Giles's accommodation theory. Giles (1979, 1980, 1984) and Giles & Byrne (1982) proposed that people are motivated to accommodate their speech style as means of expressing values, attitudes, and intentions towards others. The extent to which individuals shift their speech styles toward the speech styles of their

interlocutors is a mechanism by which social approval is communicated.

For most of the heritage Koreans in the study, their Korean is not good enough to communicate with other native Koreans. This is quite amazing because some adult or university level heritage Koreans actually become an advanced level of Korean. Then could we imagine the heritage Koreans in this survey would become such an advanced learners of Korean later when they enter the college? But for now, their proficiency of Korean is so low that I'd like to call them poor bilinguals. They are learning Korean in passive manner and what was worse hardly did they use Korean in their speech. Being poor bilinguals, they used Korean in a very limited way. It is clear that communication problems may exist when they exchange abstract thoughts with others in Korean.

3.3. Ethnicity and Proficiency Level of Korean

Ethnic identity of the heritage Koreans in the study showed no clear difference in their use of Korean or language choice between Korean and English in some context, however it was highly related with their proficiency level of Korean.

For beginners of Korean, five out of seven heritage Koreans (71%) indicated that they were Koreans, whereas two out of six (33%) for intermediate and two out of seven (29%) for advanced learners of Korean identified themselves as Korean respectively. It is clear that the number of Koreans decreased as their proficiency level of Korean became higher. In other words, Korean-Americans increased as their proficiency level of Korean became higher. 29% for beginners, 67% for intermediate, and 71% for advanced learners of Korean identified themselves as Korean-Americans. Quite interestingly, the number and its percentage of self ethnic identity for beginners were exactly the opposite those for advanced learners of Korean.

3.4. The Three Minute Talk

In order to study language behavior of the heritage Koreans, they

were asked individually at different time by the researcher (i.e., the teacher) to talk things which had happened yesterday in three minutes at the Korean Hangul school. The teacher had taught them Korean at the school for a year and they had known each other well. Their three minute talk was individually recorded by the teacher in the class. The following are some cases of the three minute talk.

Case 1) A Korean-American, Beginners of Korean

I don't know what to talk about. But yesterday I had exams at school. One was math and the other music. And how do you say I think I did bad? 시험을 못했어요. And I had pizza, a large one, at lunch. 음... 맛있어요. It was delicious. In the afternoon, the school was boring. Eh, and, Oh, I went to a friend's house after the school. 경민이네 집. And 세 개 친구 더 왔어요. And we were talking and talking and talking... And then we were playing basketball. 농구를 놀았어요. And 개가 농구공 bite 했어요. 우리도 개 발로 찼어요. And the dog was barking and barking, running away. And I went home at six. And had dinner and watched TV. And I went to bed. 다 했어요.

Case 2) A Korean-American, Intermediate of Korean

I studied much in school. You know. And how do you say orchestra? 첼로 연습했어요. 첼로 좋아해요. Eh eh what else I do? Oh, I played card game in break time. 나 card game 좋아해요. I played it with friends in break time. In weekend we play it at the church. But 엄마가 싫어해요. My mom doesn't like it. And when I got home, I played Maple story. Eh... How do you say five hours? 음.... Maple story 많이 해요. Because it's fun. Eh ..., In Maple story, 나 twenty-five 이예요. And at night I had stomachache. And I couldn't sleep well all night. But I'm ok now. 지금 좋아요. Today I came here first. And band practice 했어요. 많이 했어요. Eh... I only did that.

3.4.1. The sentences they made in the three minute talk

The sentences they made in three minute talk were not that many. The average number of total sentences they made in three minutes was 22.7 (454 sentences/20), ranged from 16 to 31. The higher their proficiency level of Korean was, the more sentences they made. The average number of total sentences they made in three minutes was 19 for beginners, 22 for intermediate, and 27 for advanced learners of Korean. By self ethnic identity, the average number of total sentences they made was 20.1 for Koreans and 24.8 for Korean-Americans.

3.4.2. The Korean sentences they made in the three minute talk

The average number of Korean sentences they made in three minute talk was 8.6 (172 sentences/20), ranged from 4 to 15. The higher their proficiency level of Korean was, the more Korean sentences they made. The average number of Korean sentences they made in three minutes was 5 for beginners, 8 for intermediate, and 12.7 for advanced learners of Korean. By self ethnic identity, the average number of Korean sentences they made was 6.1 for Koreans and 10.6 for Korean-Americans.

3.4.3. Code-switching to Korean in the three minute talk

The average percentage of their code-switching to Korean in the three minute talk was 38% (172 Korean sentences/454 total sentences they made). The higher their proficiency level of Korean was, the higher code-switching to Korean they made. The average percentage of code-switching to Korean in their three minute talk was 26% for beginners, 36% for intermediate, and 47% for advanced learners of Korean. By self ethnic identity, the average percentage of code-switching to Korean was 30% for Koreans and 43% for Korean-Americans. It is evident here that ethnicity showed a clear difference in code-switching to Korean in their three minute talk.

3.5. Some characteristics of code-switching they made

In their three minute talk, the total number of sentences they made was not many. It is partly because they were not prepared what to talk and thus it took time for them to talk right away and they used so many hedges such as eh, oh, you know, 음, in between the sentences they made, as shown in the cases above.

There occurred not just inter-sentential code-switching but intra-sentential one, such as "And 개가 농구공 bite 했어요" and "Eh ... In Maple story, 나 twenty-five 이예요". Also the following tendencies were often found in their code-switching.

3.5.1. They tended to repeat the same thing;

- 1) "음... 맛있어요. It was delicious."
- 2) "엄마가 싫어해요. My mom doesn't like it."
- 3) "She couldn't speak English well. 음...영어 잘 못해요."

3.5.2. They tended to explain what they had said;

- 1) "I went to a friend's house after the school. 경민이네 집."
- 2) "Maple story 많이 해요. Because it's fun."

3.5.3. They asked often what English words or phrases were called in Korean;

- 1) "And how do you say I think I did bad? 시험을 못했어요."
- 2) "And how do you say orchestra? 첼로 연습했어요."
- 3) "Eh... How do you say five hours?"

3.5.4. Direct translation of English into Korean was found in code-switching;

- 1) "And how do you say I think I did bad? 시험을 못했어요."
- 2) "And then we were playing basketball. 농구를 놀았어요"

These code-switching of English to Korean were the result of the direct translation of English to Korean, which produced wrong expressions in Korean. It is clear that English was their L1 and they learned Korean as L2. Considering the average percentage of code-switching to Korean which was only 38%, English was their matrix language (Myers-Scotton, 1996), the host language (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980; Grosjean, 1989), or unmarked language, whereas Korean was their embedded language, guest language, or marked language.

3.5.5. Wrong expressions were often found in code-switching to Korean;

- 1) "And 세 개 친구 더 왔어요."
- 2) "우리도 개 발로 찼어요."
- 3) "Eh... In Maple story, 나 twenty-five 이예요."
- 4) "엄마가 데려왔어요."

Counting in Korean is one of the most difficult areas in learning Korean for any non-native speakers of Korean, let alone for the heritage Koreans in the US. "How do you say five hours?", as indicated in 3.5.3. above, is another instance that shows their difficulty in counting in Korean.

The heritage Koreans tended to omit case markers in Korean since they had been confused in using them, as shown in 2) and 3) above. And it is quite interesting to notice here that they would omit the subjects in Korean as native Koreans did such as "But I'm ok now. 지금 좋아요." and "음... 맛있어요. It was delicious."

Voices in Korean also would give them difficulty in using Korean. In 4) "엄마가 데려왔어요.", passive voice '대리려' should be used instead of active '대려' and the object and its case marker '나를' or '저를' would be included.

3.5.6. Simplified forms

Simplified forms were used in their Korean as the native Koreans did such as "텔레비 소리 줄여". Variation of the word 'television' was also found in their Korean such as 'TV' and '텔레비'.

4. Conclusion

The study examined self ethnic identity and language use of the twenty heritage Koreans who had born and lived in the US all their lives. Most of them were K-12 students in Hawaii and had learned Korean as their L2. As shown in their code-switching in the study, English was their L1 and affected their language behavior in certain ways at the Korean church and its attached Saturday Korean Hangul school.

It is quite interesting to see that they identified themselves as Koreans or Korean-Americans in the survey although they were born and had lived in the US. None of them identified themselves as Americans though English was their L1, which supports the notion that ethnicity is a variable and is not solely related with their L1.

The study also indicated that their self ethnic identity and proficiency level of Korean were related with their bilingual behavior in such ways that the higher their proficiency level was, the more they used Korean and the more they switched English to Korean and that Korean-Americans did much more code-switching to Korean than Koreans in their three minute talk.

Their use of Korean as L2 was not great as indicated in the study. Only 38% of their talk was done in Korean on average in their three minute talk at the Korean Hangul school. Although they were divided into three proficiency levels of Korean at the school, most of them had difficulty in communicating with others in Korean, particularly outside the school or their home. In other places, in reality, Korean is not the language which is used as a lingua franca in the US. It is clear that Korean is used and maintained as an ethnic language for the heritage Koreans in the US.

In general, the heritage Koreans in the study stayed at the poor proficiency level of Korean. This explains why they rarely used Korean

outside certain limited places. Even at the Korean Hangul school they used English in most of time and particularly in break time between the classes. It is remarkable though that some of them actually used their poor Korean to accommodate their speech to other Koreans although such communication took place in a very restricted manner and at certain places as indicated in the study. Their poor level of Korean would be due to their lack of motivation, instrumental or integrative, to learn Korean and very limited input to their learning Korean outside their home. Insufficient amount of time in learning Korean at the Korean Hangul school and lack of Korean related activities, academic and cultural, in the surrounding environment would be another major factors affecting their stay at the poor bilingual level if we could define them as bilinguals, what so ever. It is obvious that they were learning Korean as their L2 in very passive ways in multilingual contexts in the US. Although people who are bilinguals need not necessarily have almost the same proficiencies in the languages (Wardhaugh, 2002; Clyne, 1997) and they develop competence in each language to the extent that they need it and for the contexts in which each language is used (Sridhar, 1996), it is highly expected for the heritage Koreans in the US, particularly the young ones, to learn Korean in most active ways. We know that some adult heritage Koreans including college level students actually had become fluent bilinguals of Korean and English in the US.

References

- Clyne, Michael. (1997). Multilingualism. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (pp. 301-314). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Fishman, J. A. (1997). Language and Ethnicity: The View from Within. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (pp. 327-343). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Giles, H. (1979). Ethnicity Markers in Speech. In K. R. Scherer & H. Giles

- (Eds.), *Social Markers in Speech* (pp. 251-289). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Giles, H. (1980). Accommodation Theory: Some New Directions. *York Papers in Linguistics*, 9, 105-136.
- Giles, H. (1984). The Dynamics of Speech Accommodation. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 46.
- Giles, H. & Byrne, J. L. (1982). An Intergroup Approach to Second Language Acquisition. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 3, 17-40.
- Giles, H. & Johnson, P. (1981). The Role of Language in Ethnic Group Relations. In J. Turner & H. Giles (Eds.), *Intergroup Behavior* (pp. 199-243). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Grosjean, F. (1989). Exploring the recognition of guests words in bilingual speech. *Language and Cognitive Processes*, 3, 233-274.
- Kang, M. A. (2003). Code-switching as a Mitigating Strategy: Social Hierarchy in Korean American Discourse. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(3), 299-320.
- Kim, H. S. (1991). *A Sociolinguistic Study of Modern Korean: Reality and Orientation of Modern Korean*. Seoul: Taehaksa.
- Ladin, W. (1982). *Der Elsassische Dialekt Museumsreif? Analyse Einer Umfrage*. Strasbourg: SALDE.
- Lee, J. B. (2002). *Korean Honorifics and Sociolinguistics*. Korea: Weolin Press.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. (1997). Code-switching. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (pp. 217-237). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Park, K. R. (2005). A Sociolinguistic Study on the Mixing of Addressee Honorifics of Korean Immigrants from Chungbuk, Korea in Yeonbyeon, China. *The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korea*, 13(1), 53-82.
- Shin, Sarah J. (2005). *Developing in Two Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Shin, S. J. & Milroy, L. (2000). Conversational Codeswitching Among Korean-English Bilingual Children. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 4(3), 351-383.
- Song, K. K. (2001). *A Study of the Syntactic and Sociolinguistic*

- Development of Korean Children in America*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois.
- Song-Kang, E. (2002). *The Private Speech of an English/Korean Bilingual Child: A Case Study*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Florida State University.
- Sridhar, K. K. (1996). Societal Multilingualism. In S. L. McKay & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching* (p. 50). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sridhar, S. N. and Sridhar, K. (1980). The syntax and psycholinguistics of bilingual code-mixing. *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, 34, 7-16.
- Tabouret-Keller, A. (1997). Language and Identity. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (pp. 315-326). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Wardhaugh, Ronald. (2002). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (4th ed.) (p. 95). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Yoon, K. K. (1996). A Case Study of Fluent Korean-English Bilingual Speakers: Group Membership and Code Choices. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 25, 395-407.

Appendix 1. In what context do you use Korean most? Why?

	Ethnic Identity	Proficiency Level of Korean	Age	In what context do you use Korean most? Why?
1	Korean	Beginner	12	When I beg my mom for something I speak Korean.
2	Korean	Beginner	11	When I talk to my parents, because they don't understand English.
3	Korean	Beginner	10	At home.
4	Korean	Beginner	11	I use Korean at home the most because my parents do not understand English that much.
5	Korean	Beginner	9	When talking to Korean people.
6	Korean-American	Beginner	11	At home.
7	Korean-American	Beginner	11	At home because my mom and dad is Korean, so they want me to speak more Korean at home.
8	Korean	Intermediate	13	At home because mom and dad don't speak English.
9	Korean	Intermediate	13	I use Korean most when I speak to my parents because it is our language and they want to encourage me to use it often. I often talk Korean to people who understand and talk Korean also since it is encouraged to me I will use it often.
10	Korean-American	Intermediate	12	I use Korean the most at home because my parents can understand me a little better.
11	Korean-American	Intermediate	14	Talking to parents in Korean
12	Korean-American	Intermediate	14	I use Korean when my parents make me. I also talk to the foreign exchange students that are Korean at my school, sometimes.
13	Korean-American	Intermediate	12	When I talk to Korean people because I want them to understand me.
14	Korean	Advanced	16	In my house. When I talk to my parents and other adults because I can talk to them.
15	Korean	Advanced	16	At home. My parents enforces me to speak Korean at home to keep the knowledge of Korean for longer period. Also when I am talking to other Koreans. I learned that it is not a good manner to speak in English while other person is speaking to me in Korean.
16	Korean-American	Advanced	16	I use Korean when I talk to someone who only understands Korean because they only understand Korean.
17	Korean-American	Advanced	17	When talking to parents. They understand Korean better.
18	Korean-American	Advanced	17	To my parents, because they can't speak English well.
19	Korean-American	Advanced	17	I speak Korean at home and when I speak to Korean adults. My parents made me speak Korean when I was at home when I was little, so I became fluent in speaking it.
20	Korean-American	Advanced	16	At home, because my mom and her boyfriend is Korean.

Appendix 2. In what context do you switch English to Korean or Korean to English? Why?

	Ethnic Identity	Proficiency Level of Korean	Age	In what context do you switch English to Korean or Korean to English? Why?
1	Korean	Beginner	12	When I don't know what to say (I speak English)
2	Korean	Beginner	11	When I talk to my parents (I speak Korean) and when I translate something (I speak English).
3	Korean	Beginner	10	When we do not know the Korean word.
4	Korean	Beginner	11	When I'm at home I speak Korean and in school I speak English.
5	Korean	Beginner	9	I switch English to Korean only when I need to talk with parents at home.
6	Korean-American	Beginner	11	At home and with friends (I speak Korean) because I am ok.
7	Korean-American	Beginner	11	What context I switch English to Korean is at Korean School because I speak English in the morning and I have to speak Korean at Korean School. What context I switch Korean to English is when I go to regular school because I have to speak Korean at home and Korean School, I have to switch to English at regular school.
8	Korean	Inter-mediate	13	At school (I speak English) because my friends and teachers don't know how to speak Korean.
9	Korean	Inter-mediate	13	When I do not know a certain word in Korean when I speak to my parents I switch it to an English word then confirm with my parents what that specific word is in Korean and learn it. Then next time when I encounter a situation using that word I can remember what my parents corrections were to me.
10	Korean-American	Inter-mediate	12	I switch English to Korean when I'm at Korean School and home because sometimes people don't understand English so I switch to Korean.
11	Korean-American	Inter-mediate	14	When I go to school I speak English. When I'm home I speak Korean.
12	Korean-American	Inter-mediate	14	Whenever I want to. I also change Korean to English if I don't know how to say a word in Korean.
13	Korean	Inter-	12	When I talk to Korean American friends (I speak

	-American	mediate		Korean) because it's fun when Americans don't understand
14	Korean	Advanced	16	When I can't say certain words in Korean
15	Korean	Advanced	16	Probably when I am trying to teach English to my mom. She asks me "How do you say?" and "What does mean?" Only then, I translate the language around to help her.
16	Korean -American	Advanced	16	Whenever I feel like it.
17	Korean -American	Advanced	17	When speaking to parents and friends (I switch English to Korean).
18	Korean -American	Advanced	17	I switch from Korean to English when I don't know a word in Korean
19	Korean -American	Advanced	17	When I talk with my parents, I speak Korean. When I talk with my friends I speak English, but if my friend is Korean I speak Korean. If people talk to me in English I answer in English. If they speak to me in Korean, I answer in Korean.
20	Korean -American	Advanced	16	When I can't think of the Korean word I use English.

Jeong Khn Ahn
 English Department
 College of Humanities
 Chonbuk National University
 Chonju, Korea, 561-756
 Phone: 82-63-270-3213
 E-Mail: jkahn@chonbuk.ac.kr

Received: 26 June, 2008
 Revised: 20 August, 2008
 Accepted: 5 September, 2008