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Identity, Second Language Acquisition, and Investment: Overseas Koreans,

Language, and Ethnolinguistic Community Membership

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in Applied Linguistics

by

Christopher Joseph Dykas

2014

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Identity, Second Language Acquisition, and Investment: Overseas Koreans,

Language, and Ethnolinguistic Community Membership

by

Christopher Joseph Dykas

Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Katrina Daly Thompson, Chair

In this thesis I explore the intersection of identity and second language acquisition, in the

form of *investment* (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007), and as it

pertains to the experiences of *gyopo*, or "overseas Koreans" (ethnic Koreans from abroad), living

in Korea. In doing so, I hold three goals: (1) to uncover connections between overseas Koreans

and their affinity for an imagined, transnational Korean community; (2) to outline ways in which

overseas Koreans negotiate their identities as members of this community, particularly in regard

to issues of language; and (3) to link this understanding of identity negotiation with

consequences for Korean-language learning and teaching. In examining interviews I conducted

with *gyopo* living in Korea between 2007 and 2010, I find that within a context of ethnolinguistic

essentialism—one that links race, ethnicity, appearance, and language—overseas Koreans find

their authenticity as ethnic Koreans challenged. Whereas mixed-race *gyopo* note that they are

often looked at as "foreigners" in Korea, and thus little knowledge of Korean language and

culture is expected of them, "full" Korean *gyopo* note that they are often understood to be

Korean, and their Korean abilities are looked at as insufficient vis-à-vis an imagined native

standard. As a result of this repeated challenging, overseas Koreans' imagined Korean

communities are collections of experiences both positive and negative, complex representations

of push-and-pull that form mixed sentiments of acceptance and non-acceptance. In linking these

findings with ethnolinguistic essentialism in heritage language research—in the Korean context

and in general—I complicate understandings of Korean "heritage language" education, and

recommend a pedagogy of inquiry (Nelson, 1999) to expand possibilities for identity in Korean

language learning.

The thesis of Christopher Joseph Dykas is approved.

Marjorie Harness Goodwin

Sung-Ock Sohn

Katrina Daly Thompson, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014

DEDICATION

To the "other" Koreans.

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I would like to thank Katrina Daly Thompson, whose professionalism and enthusiasm for students was apparent to me in our very first e-mail interaction and will long serve as a guide for what "professionalism" means to me and in my career. Your balance of enthusiasm and thoroughness has pushed me to strive to create better work.

I would like to thank "the Goodwins," Charles and Marjorie Harness Goodwin, who have opened for me doors to life-changing understandings of the world and interaction, and whose combination of ground-breaking scholarly work, dedication to students, and humility have been nothing less than inspirational. In particular, as a thesis committee member, Marjorie Harness Goodwin has been a wonderful source of encouragement.

I would like to thank Sung-Ock Sohn, whose many hats and willingness to expand her own research horizons has shown me the joys of career-long scholarly evolution. Thank you for taking the chances you have in offering me the opportunities you have given me.

Finally, I would like to thank the overseas Koreans who shared their lives with me through interviews and through our personal relationships. You were my greatest coping mechanism for navigating life in Korea 2006-2011, through companionship, advice, networking, and community. My work at UCLA has been driven by a desire to understand our place in the Korean diaspora and in Korea. Each time I hit a roadblock when writing, I found that I could always turn back to the interviews to rediscover my motivation and relive the excitement and intimacy of our friendships. For making our imagined Korea a place of wonder, a place of frustration, a place of affinity, and a place of joy, I thank you.

INTRODUCTION

0.1. FRAMING THE INTERSECTION OF IDENTITY & LANGUAGE LEARNING

Through my experiences learning languages in both U.S. and non-U.S. contexts—studying German in Germany, French in France, Korean in Korea, and Spanish in Argentina—it has become unequivocal to me that the ways in which we view ourselves as human beings hold barring on our connection with others. What is more, language, as a mode of connection, interpersonal understanding, expression, and exchange of ideas, is an essential aspect of making those connections and, as such, of understanding ourselves. With focus on the range of experience within one community of language learners and users, "overseas Koreans" (ethnic Koreans raised or living outside of Korea) who are living in Korea, I seek to understand how these individuals negotiate their membership to an imagined Korean ethnolinguistic community. Through backgrounding this work in theoretical understandings of the intersection between identity and language learning, and by examining ethnographic interviews that I conducted in Korea between 2007 and 2010, I look at ways in which language users negotiate their understandings of personhood, place, and language in negotiating feelings of connection and identity.

My understanding of the intersectionality of identity and language learning in the diasporic Korean context is based on a number of theories that I believe tie together two main strains of thought. The first is that the individual, personal, liminal identities of language learners hold relevance to their feelings of access to an imagined community of target language speakers, as embodied in Norton's concept of *investment* (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2000, 2001, 2002; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). As learners study—or, more broadly, encounter—the target language and speakers of it, their conceptualizations of the target language community evolve, as

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does their perceived access to and place in that community. The second strain of thought, and

more specific to overseas Korean learners of the Korean language, is that an imagined tie to

Korea (the nation-state), the Korean Peninsula, and the Korean diaspora (the greater

transnational community) hold a special significance, one that cannot but deeply affect our

relationship with and access to the Korean language.

0.2. ON THE TERM "OVERSEAS KOREAN"

In many senses the term "overseas Korean" is one that remains to this day elusive to me.

A widely-used English translation of the Korean word *gyopo* (also *dongpo*, or "brethren"), when

I first learned it after arriving in Korea in 2006, I felt an immediate connection to my

understanding of it as a *Korean* understanding of diasporic Koreanness. Years later, in an

advanced Korean language class in Seoul, I discussed my understanding of the term, to which

the instructor told me that I, as a mixed-race person, was not "gyopo," and thus another term

should be used or created to describe the overarching connection to which I referred. Meanwhile,

the Korean government recognized me as *gyopo*; while living in Korea I held an F-4 visa, which

allowed me access to a *haewoi gukjeok dongpo geosojeung*, or "residency card for *dongpo* with

overseas nationality." Eligibility for an F-4 visa broadly necessitates that an applicant prove that

at least one grandparent is a person of former Korean nationality. But was this condition a

governmental recognition of mixed Korean lineage, or merely a minimum legal requirement?

I wondered then, what *is* the meaning of the word *gyopo*? Who counts as an "overseas

Korean?" The only other place I could think to turn was some "official" definition. *The Standard

Korean Language Dictionary*, published by the National Institute of the Korean Language,

defines *gyopo* (교포[僑胞]) as "(2) a member of the *brethren* who has settled permanently in

another country and lives as a *citizen* of that country"[1] (emphasis added). This definition does not define what "brethren" means, but does incorporate "living as a citizen" of another country in its understanding of overseas Korean status. This begs the question of how to understand the term "brethren," or *dongpo* (동포[同胞]), which the same dictionary defines as "(1) brothers or sisters born to the same parents; (2) a word that affectionately describes people of the same country or ethnic group." This definition still left unclear to me what it meant to be "brothers or sisters." If the sibling metaphor becomes a synecdochic representation of diasporic community, what is the place of mixed-race Koreans as "half-siblings?"

Given my experiences with the term—my understanding of it as a notion of diasporic connection, the biopolitical definition of the Korean government, the definition of a Korean language instructor, and the dictionary definition of "brethren"—it would seem that the term *gyopo* includes varying and at times overlapping ideas of familial lineage, nationality, race, and personal identity. Clearly the term itself is a site of struggle over identity and biopolitics. Whereas I felt personally included in the term and have found that many Koreans *do* understand my lineage as included in the spectrum of Koreanness, my instructor's racialized logic excluded me. Racialized logic is both part of and separated from nationality-based understandings, found in the Korean government's policy for issuing F-4 visas and the *Standard Korean Language Dictionary's* mention of "brethren" *and* citizenship to a country other than Korea. From my experience, first-generation Korean immigrants in the United States are considered *gyopo* regardless of naturalization status, as are any children born to two Korean emigrants or the

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[1] The National Institute of the Korean Language *Standard Korean Language Dictionary* (국립국어원 표준국어대사전), accessed October 26, 2013, http://stdweb2.korean.go.kr/main.jsp, translation mine.

descendants of Korean emigrants. As I mention above, individuals' understandings of the term may or may not apply to people of mixed Korean ancestry.

Given the potential breadth with which the terms can be understood, in my work I intentionally include in my use three categories of people. In addition to what I consider a general, unmarked understanding of "a Korean emigrant or descendent of Korean emigrants," I include as well "mixed race *gyopo*" and overseas Korean adoptees. Whereas my understanding of "overseas Korean" includes unequivocally these latter two categories, in Korean they are generally referred to as *honhyeolin* ("mixed-blood person") and *haewoiibyangin* ("overseas adopted person"), respectively. The problem here, however, is that the former is a racial category that can also refer to mixed-race Koreans *from and living in* Korea—and really any mixed-race person—and neither term inherently indicates within it any shared status as part of a Korean diaspora. Thus, in using the terms *gyopo* and "overseas Korean" to refer interchangeably to "gyopo" in the unmarked sense, mixed-race overseas Koreans, and transracial, transnational adoptees from Korea, I further a mission of inclusivity in our understanding of diasporic Koreanness.

0.3. ON METHODOLOGY & DATA

In addition to theoretical background, in this thesis I analyze interview data collected between 2007 and 2010 in Seoul. These data were originally collected for use in an online podcast that I titled *Canaries in the Motherland*.[2] The purpose of the project was to create a pool of resources (interviews) available for free online in the hopes that overseas Koreans interested

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[2] *Canaries in the Motherland* can be accessed at: http://canariesinthemotherland.wordpress.com; only interviews I conducted myself are used in this study.

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in moving to, living in, and working in Korea might be able to gain insight into their possible range of experiences. In the beginning I worked with a partner, Nari Baker, who conducted six of the interviews; the remaining 24 I conducted, edited, and posted online myself. Overall, the participants hail from over 10 countries and fall into the three broad categories of *gyopo* I mention above: (1) "*gyopo*" in the unmarked meaning of the term, i.e. those who are either descendants of Korean emigrants or were born in Korea and emigrated, (2) *gyopo* in a marked definition—mixed-race overseas Koreans—in these instances all having one Korean parent (in most cases the mother) and one non-Korean parent, and (3) transnational, transracial Korean adoptees adopted from Korea as infants or young children to White families in North America or Europe. Although all interviews are available online, all names of participants have been changed in this study.

0.4. THESIS STRUCTURE & ARGUMENT

In Chapter One I develop a theoretical basis in which I problematize current understandings of Korean as a heritage language (HL). I begin by exploring contemporary scholarship that has elucidated the ways in which individual subjectivity affects perceived access to an imagined target language community. I then explore the ways in which members of the Korean diaspora perceive themselves as part of a broader ethnic, or ethnolinguistic community. Here, I show that membership to this broader community is not unproblematic; rather, a historically persistent construction of Korean pure-bloodedness, exclusionary concepts of national identity that conflate ethnicity, nationality, and language, and legacies of war and migration have created a transnational diasporic Korean consciousness that is both a site of affinity and a site of struggle for acceptance. Finally, tying together identity issues in SLA and

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Korean diasporic identity, I problematize ethnolinguistic essentialism in HL research and, using

studies that have begun to question the traditional portrayal of "Koreanness" in the Korean-as-a-

HL context, point to new directions in conceptualizing what it means to be a Korean HL learner.

In Chapter Two, I examine expressions of imagined communities in narratives of

personal experience that came about in interviews with two overseas Koreans living in Korea.

Utilizing a framework of narrative analysis and understandings of reported speech, I find that

participants opportunistically initiate these storytelling sequences to highlight broader statements

about life in Korea, inserting incarnations of their imagined Korean communities in the form of

characters. Interestingly, these characters—generalizations about "what Koreans say" and "how

Koreans are"—are recursively employed within the very narratives that are meant to support

their generalizability. In Chapter Three, I look at excerpts from interviews with four further

overseas Koreans living in Korea and examine how these individuals view the necessity and role

of Korean in their lives. I find that the role of Korean varies from person to person, but that this

individual valuation conflicts with what seem Koreans' views of what the linguistic repertoires

of ethnic Koreans are or should be. In Chapter Four, I shift focus to examine excerpts from my

interviews with mixed-race overseas Koreans. I find that the politics of appearance play an

important role in various aspects of their day-to-day lives, from complicating job prospects

amidst Korean perceptions of race and "nativeness," to becoming the object of Koreans' stares,

and to frequently being approached by Korean strangers in English, rather than in Korean.

Through this process I accomplish a number of goals within three broad strains of

thought. First, I tie together a discussion of the relevance of identity in language learning with an

examination of diasporic Korean identity to forge a complicated image of diversity within the

Korean diaspora. In particular, I connect these understandings to the context of ethnic return

migration (Tsuda, 2009), here, the migration of ethnic Koreans raised and often born outside

Korea to Korea, which they view as their ethnic homeland. Through my discussion of these

interviews I shed light on the issues overseas Koreans face when interacting with Koreans in the

"homeland," and subsequently on their conceptualizations of their imagined target language

communities. By expanding possibilities within our understandings of imagined communities,

we may conceptualize more broadly what it is language learners seek when they invest in a

language of study, particularly in a HL.

Second, I show that imagined communities are complex, multi-faceted sites for the

negotiation of belonging. After discussing diversity and language shift within the Korean

diaspora, the interviews I examine show the push-and-pull that individuals experience when

interacting with members of the target language community. In my study, participants find their

authenticity as ethnic Koreans challenged by native Koreans in Korea. This can take the form of

questions such as, "Why don't you speak Korean?" or displays of skepticism or

misunderstanding when confronted with overseas Koreans' non-normative histories (places of

origin, first languages, etc.). On the one hand, such findings complicate understandings of

investment that describe imagined communities as those to which learners desire membership.

On the other hand, they demonstrate very plausible mixtures of feelings of acceptance and non-

acceptance as members of the target language community. Although I by no means attempt to

argue that participants' impressions of life in Korea are *overall* negative, I highlight moments in

which Koreans seem to resist overseas Koreans' authenticity as Koreans, in order to show that

collections of lived experience are what come to form imagined communities.

Third, this study seeks to problematize current understandings of Korean HL pedagogy.

To do this, I point to a "deficiency approach" in HL education research, in which non-HL-

speakers are discursively constructed as people who "should" speak a particular language, and that those who do not are missing out on important cognitive and social benefits. As a result, I raise questions regarding the effects of such discourses on those who do not speak the HL, and regarding how such discourses my manifest themselves in HL pedagogy, thus affecting learners' investment in the target language. This is significant as it complicates traditional funds-of-knowledge-based understandings of HLs, in which HL learners are assumed to have some proficiency in the language when first entering the classroom. Whether or not a person identifies as Korean is a separate matter from whether they have had previous exposure to the language. This does not mean the two are unrelated; rather, identifying as Korean can hold significant weight in learners' investment in Korean. As such, my findings complicate the discourse of HL learning, and point to a need to expand our understanding of "heritage language" learning in the Korean-as-a-HL context, as well as in general.

CHAPTER ONE

LANGUAGE LEARNING AS A SITE OF NEGOTIATION OF BELONGING:

ON NATIONALISM IN THE KOREAN DIASPORA, ETHNOLINGUISTIC ESSENTIALISM,

& HERITAGE LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I examine strains of thought and research that attend to various and intertwining issues of language learning and identity, connecting these works in such a way as to show how identifying as an overseas Korean can hold weight in the learning and use of Korean. First, I connect research on subjectivity in language learning, examining studies that demonstrate the power that various facets of identity have on perceived access to target language communities, and thus on prospects for success. Second, in order to situate these ideas in a transnational Korean context, I discuss the current situation and historic basis of Korean diasporic nationalism, in which ideas of Korean pure-bloodedness, *minjok* (a unitary nation), and histories of transnational migration and diasporic haunting (G. M. Cho, 2008) have led to a complex, multi-faceted Korean diasporic consciousness. These sensed ties to a Korean ethnic nation, and thus to Korea, led the overseas Koreans of my study to seek out new experiences and opportunities in the ethnic homeland. This pattern of *ethnic return migration* (Tsuda, 2009), however, is not without difficulty, as I discuss *hierarchical nationhood* (Seol & Skrentny, 2009), in which members of one "unified" ethnicity discriminate within the ethnic group based on national origin, and *the black sheep effect* (G.-W. Shin et al., 1999), by which I argue that language can be used within ethnonationalist contexts to "police" in-group members.

Third, I connect my discussion of the issues diasporic Koreans and ethnic return migrants face to ethnolinguistic essentialist discourses in heritage language (HL) research. I find that in HL education and preservation literature, discourses of ethnolinguistic essentialism frame lack of knowledge in prescribed HLs from a deficit perspective, in which not knowing the HL holds negative consequences for individuals and society. Furthermore, I connect this deficit approach to the Korean HL context, and offer an alternative to it by examining new strains of research that have sought to position language shift at the individual, familial, and community levels as shifts in valorizations of linguistic capital, or in investments in new identities represented by new linguistic repertoires. By connecting these strains of thought, I problematize current understandings of "heritage language" and point toward expanded possibilities for ethnic identification in language learning.

1.2. IDENTITY & SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

1.2.1. SUBJECTIVITY IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

In recent years a number of scholars have begun to examine the place of learning within the scope of individual identity, specifically in reference to the ways in which language learning and use constitute social practice. In beginning my discussion of these works I look toward Kramsch's concept of the multilingual subject (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007, 2008; Kramsch, 2010; Kramsch & Gerhards, 2012), which originates from her concept of the learner as a multifaceted subject in a state of constant progress. She explains that she titled her 2010 book *The Multilingual Subject*

> to attract the attention of the readers to the fact that learning a
> language even in a classroom and even outside of the environment

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in which that language is taught engages not only learners'
cognitive framework and their pragmatic communicative
competence, but all kinds of subjective aspects including issues of
identity. (Kramsch & Gerhards, 2012, p. 75)

Thus, while language learning employs cognitive frameworks for studying aspects of language such as grammatical structures and vocabulary, and pragmatic competences for negotiating our relationships to others *in situ,* it also becomes a site for the expression and negotiation of subjectivity, for developing ourselves.

Kramsch describes the multilingual subject as both what we are and who we become through the development and use of symbolic systems, including language. This understanding of the subject incorporates identity and places subjectivity in a liminal space in which we remain "in progress" (Kramsch & Gerhards, 2012, p. 75). This applies as well to Kramsch's (1993) "intercultural third place," in which she views the learner's cultural positioning as fluid, and in which symbolic competence is developed as a "capacity or process that people [use] to position themselves socially, culturally, and emotionally as subjects in conversations, etc." (Kramsch & Gerhards, 2012, p. 75). As such, Kramsch's view highlights the shortcomings of a pedagogical view of language learning as the study of only the mechanics of language (declinations, vocabulary, or grammatical elements); instead, she views language learning as the acquisition of symbolic competences that allow learners to convey meanings regarding the physical and emotional world. This conveyance of meaning allows learners to express and develop images of themselves and involves both audio and visual channels, as well as the body itself.

1.2.2. IMAGINED COMMUNITIES & 'INVESTMENT'

In order to demonstrate how ethnography may be used to understand how learners perceive their membership to an imagined language community, I draw upon the work of Norton in a number of incarnations. I begin with works by Pavlenko and Norton (2007) and Kanno and

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Norton (2003), in which they adapt Anderson's (1991) concept of nations as imagined

communities and view the imagination through the lens of Wenger's (1999) concept of the

imagination as personal, meaning-making expansions of ourselves that transcend time and space.

In one concise explanation, Kanno and Norton write:

> *Imagined communities* refer to groups of people, not immediately
> tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power
> of the imagination. In our daily lives we interact with many
> communities whose existence can be felt concretely and directly
> … however, these are not the only communities with which we are
> affiliated … in imagining ourselves bonded with our fellow
> compatriots across space and time, we can feel a sense of
> community with people we have not met, but perhaps hope to meet
> one day. (2003, p. 241)

This recontextualization of imagined communities is important for considering the possibilities

for individual interactions to hold weight over our conceptions of the greater world. In order to

further narrow in on the locus of negotiation for these imagined communities, not only do

Pavlenko and Norton utilize Bourdieu's (1991) concept of language as "the locus of social

organization, power, and individual consciousness, and as a form of symbolic capital" (Pavlenko

& Norton, 2007, p. 589), Norton (2002) suggests that each individual interaction works to shape

our understanding of the world and our place in it. She writes: "Every time language learners

speak, they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors—they are also

constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social

world" (2002, p. 3). Here, Norton is describing her concept of investment, claiming that the

notion of "motivation" in second language learning is insufficient to explain why learners may

want to learn. Rather, language learners invest in a target language as a means to gain proximity

to a new, desired imagined community. Norton explains:

> When we *invest* in a second languages, we desire a wider range of
> identities and an expanded set of possibilities in the future.
> Conversely, if we are not invested in a particular target language, it

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may be as a result of limited options for identification and possibility. Investment, then, is not a fixed personality trait, but a construct that attempts to capture the relationship of the learner to the larger, changing, social world. … To invest in a language is to invest in an identity. (2002, p. 4)

Norton's viewpoint stresses the complexity of learner identity, and the ways in which this identity shapes the significance of the language being learned. It is through Norton's concept of investment that I examine my data, looking at the ways in which overseas Koreans living in Korea understand their pasts to gain insight into how this may influence their imagined Korean communities.

1.2.3. IDENTITY & INVESTMENT IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION RESEARCH

Norton and other scholars have used investment as a framework to understand subjectivity in language learning. By examining the significance of personal identity in perceptions of success and access, they examine the intersection of language learners' identities, learning practices, and outcomes. Below are examples of studies that draw direct connections between facets of identity and language learning.

1.2.3.1. RACIAL & ETHNIC IDENTITY IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

In regard to study abroad and racial identity, Anya (O. C. Anya, 2011; U. Anya, 2011) outlines the importance of racial identity for Black American learners of Portuguese. From this she extrapolates a need for a wider understanding of the ways in which racial identity and feelings of acceptance in the target language community play a role in L2 learning while abroad. Backgrounding her research by outlining a history of scholars' "deficit approach" to Black language learning (in the learning of Standard American English vis-à-vis African American Vernacular English), Anya notes that such research constructs Black American learners as perpetually deficient in language. In her study, Anya examines the experiences of six self-

identified Black American students learning Portuguese as they study abroad in a primarily Afro-Brazilian city in Brazil, with a curriculum that highlighted Afro-Brazilian history and culture (slavery, art, literature, festivals, etc.). Outside the classroom, students felt visceral ties to Afro-Brazilian culture, including the rhythms of Afro-Brazilian music and the valorization of their bodies as people of African descent. Through the intersection of these two strains of experience—the "formal," primarily pedagogical experiences in the classroom and the "informal," primarily social experiences outside the classroom—Anya finds that positive associations with Blackness, Afro-Brazilian culture, and membership to an African diaspora all helped students develop positive associations between themselves as Black subjects and the culture and language of this area of Brazil.

S. J. Shin (2010) problematizes understandings of heritage language (HL) learning from the perspective of mixed-heritage learners from the United States, uncovering a push-and-pull between mixed-race language learners and non-mixed ethnic community members. These learners grew up with one English-speaking parent and one non-English-speaking (HL) parent, and came from varied backgrounds: although eight of the twelve participants had fathers who met HL-speaking mothers during service abroad in the U.S. military, the natal countries of the study participants' mothers varied. HLs included Vietnamese, Mandarin (Taiwanese), Japanese, Korean, and Spanish (Columbian), and the HL abilities of Shin's participants varied. Shin finds that HL ability correlates to feelings of connection to the heritage ethnic community, and that the desires of these adults to further develop their HLs correlated with their desires to connect with speakers of the HL. In contrast, Shin notes community factors that seem to push back against her participants' feelings of connection: "Living at the intersection of two cultures, mixed-heritage individuals are frequently subjected to marginalization in their respective heritage communities

because of their dual ancestry" (p. 216). As such, some participants with higher HL proficiency leveraged racial marginalization by speaking the HL to HL community members; others with lower HL proficiencies lamented not being able to connect with relatives and the greater HL-speaking community at deeper levels. Shin's "most important conclusion … is the need for greater attention to individuals who do not fit the traditional profile of the heritage-language learner" (p. 215). Shin argues that most community-based HL programs in the United States are targeted at children and, as such, materials and pedagogical methods are frequently inappropriate for adult HL learners.

1.2.3.2. SEXUAL IDENTITY IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

King (2008) describes the ways in which Korean men who self-identify as gay negotiate their identities as English language learners vis-à-vis their sexualities. Here, it is less a broad, English-speaking target language community in which these men invest, and more a "Western" (non-Korean) gay community to which they desire access; English serves as the "gateway to that community" (p. 232). Examining in-depth interviews with three gay Korean men who had spent substantial time in English-speaking countries, King notes that although gay-ness was a primary consideration in their imagined communities, race and sexual desire played roles as well. At times these men felt intimidated by the prospect of speaking with White native English speakers to whom they felt sexual attraction, yet, at others, they felt comfortable speaking with other non-native English speakers, especially those who were not White and to whom they did not feel sexually attracted. In exploring these men's identities, King finds a need to expand upon the "1-dimensional view of the language learner" (p. 230), and goes so far as to question assumptions that L2 learning in the naturalistic setting is best, noting that given these men's marginalized sexual identities, "access to speakers in real naturalistic settings is not guaranteed, and social

marginalization often prevents learning" (p. 230). As such, King's conclusions hold relevance both to the dimension of sexual identity and its role in investment, as well as to our perception of the importance of the naturalistic setting, which, for many, equates study abroad.

All of these works place significant emphasis on the role of individual identity in the L2 learning process. In King's study, English was the gateway for three Korean men to gain access to an imagined Western gay community, or expanded opportunities for sexual identification and subjectivity. In Anya's studies, racial identification with other members of the African diaspora meant increased feelings of acceptance and thus greater interest in the target language community. For Shin's participants, racial othering they experienced from the community could be counteracted by using the HL with community members; for participants for whom this was not an option due to lack of proficiency in the HL, marginalization persisted. These studies support Norton's concept of investment, demonstrating ways in which interactions with target languages and target language communities serve as sites of identity negotiation. In turn, this demonstrates language learners' desires for extended identities and language use, which are important consequences for my understanding of overseas Koreans' engagement with the Korean language.

1.3. ETHNONATIONALISM, HIERARCHICAL NATIONHOOD, & 'THE BLACK SHEEP EFFECT'

In order to understand the ways in which Koreans in Korea and members of the Korean diaspora may view the connection between lineage (familial, biological), ethnicity, race, nation, and language, I draw upon the work of a number of scholars who have sought to trace the origins of the conflation between these identity categories in the Korean context. In order to more closely tie together the relationship between Korean sentiments of nationality and the Korean

diaspora, I first note major patterns of Korean dispersion around the globe. Within this context of migration, I examine literature on ethnic return migration (Tsuda, 2009) and the notion of hierarchical nationhood (Seol & Skrentny, 2009). In these theories we see how "in-groupness" is collectively formed among people of Korean heritage around the world, but also how membership to the Korean diaspora is hierarchized. Finally, I add to this a discussion of the growing body of scholarship on communal trauma in the Korean diaspora, an area of research that both connects bodies around the world that are racialized as Asian, Korean, and foreign, and also ties these bodies to Korea and its traumatic history.

1.3.1. WHO ARE OVERSEAS KOREANS?

In a report outlining modes of adaptation and survival of "overseas Korean residents," I.-J. Yoon (2006) states that the total overseas Korean population is roughly equivalent to 9% of the total combined populations of North and South Korea. Citing 2005 statistics from the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, I.-J. Yoon notes that this population of overseas Koreans is concentrated in three countries and one commonwealth: 2.43 million in China, 2.08 million in the United States, 900,000 in Japan, and 530,000 in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS, or former Soviet republics). K. Park (2009) adds to this "informal estimates" that put substantial Latin American Korean populations at 50,000 in Brazil, 20,000 in Argentina, 8,000 in Mexico, 6,000 in Paraguay, and 2,000 in Chile (p. 1). Such numbers generally come from the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Korean Ministry of Health, Welfare, and Family Affairs; however, due to types of emigration (legally sanctioned versus not), era of emigration (before the foundation of today's two Korean states versus after), census methodologies, and availability of information, discontinuities between Korean data and census data from countries of settlement are frequent.

Clearer data are available on transnational adoption out of Korea, given the institutionalization of the practice of transferring children across borders and the necessity of adoption visas. The practice of transnational adoption from Korea began with the Korean War (1950-1953) and the U.S. military presence on the Korean peninsula at the time. Directly after the War, war orphans—specifically the mixed-race children of Korean women and fathered by members of the U.S. armed forces—were discursively constructed as an American political and humanitarian responsibility (E. J. Kim, 2010). From this the practice of transnational adoption from Korea began and became institutionalized. E. J. Kim (2010) places the total number of international adoptions from Korea between 1953 and 2008 at 162,665, with the total adopted to the United States during that period 109,242 (p. 21). The following top receiving countries include France at 11,165 (1968-2008), Sweden at 9,051 (1957-2008), Denmark at 9,297 (1965-2008), Norway at 6,295 (1995-2008), and the Netherlands at 4,099 (1969-2003) (p. 21).

Although G. M. Cho (2008) notes an estimate of 100,000 Korean women who have married U.S. armed forces members and emigrated to the United States, to my knowledge there are no statistics regarding Korean men who have married U.S. nationals and emigrated, nor any statistics whatsoever for marriage-based emigration to other countries. Furthermore, although over the course of my research I have encountered much anecdotal evidence of mixed Koreans having extensive contact with other mixed Koreans through their (mostly) mothers' social networks—especially as children—there are no numbers from which to draw.

1.3.2. KOREAN ETHNONATIONALISM & 'THE BLACK SHEEP EFFECT'

Schmid (2002) traces a genealogy of the contemporary Korean national imaginary similar to that of Anderson's (1991) concept of imagined communities. By examining Korean print media (newspapers) and other historical documentation between the years 1895 and 1919,

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Schmid documents the discursive construction of an imagined national community that synthesized nation, ethnicity, and race to create a uniquely Korean view of nation in light of the nation-state of capitalist modernity.

G.-W. Shin, Freda, and Yi (1999) discuss the particularity of Korean ethnic nationalist sentiment within the context of contemporary divided nationhood. Expanding on past literature, which had focused on ethnic conflict within multiethnic states, G.-W. Shin et al. detail a Korean ethnic sentiment that transcends the confines of a single state, i.e. the sentiment of ethnic singularity shared between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and the Republic of Korea (South Korea). In doing this, G.-W. Shin et al. trace the origins of Korean nationalism to concepts of one Korean blood (*hyeoltong*), arguing that this led to a conflation within the concept of national identity. Embodied in the term *danil minjok*, or "unitary nation," G.-W. Shin et al. describe this concept of "an ethnically homogenous and racially distinctive collectivity" (p. 469). They conclude that:

> This belief in a unitary national past with common ancestry
> invokes a notion that 'we' are members of an extended family,
> consequently accentuating the psychological distance between the
> in-group and the out-group. Thus race, ethnicity and nation were
> all conflated in Korea and this is reflected in the multiple uses of
> the term *minjok*, the most widely used term for 'nation' but which
> as easily refers to *ethnie* or race." (p. 469)

G.-W. Shin et al. shed light on Korean ethnic nationhood in two important ways: (1) that ethnic nationalism in the Korean context is transcendental of state boundaries, and (2) that if ethnic nationalism transcends state boundaries, members of "the other" ethnic state may be painted as deficient members of the greater ethnic nation, which I use synonymously with diaspora.

Moving beyond the concept of *danil minjok*, G-W. Shin et al. then draw from social identity theory, which purports that one of the most powerful means of establishing in-group

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unity lies in the conceptual construction of deficient members. This process is termed "the black sheep effect." G.-W. Shin et al. describe the black sheep effect as follows:

> When behaviours of undesirable in-group members are perceived to threaten the in-group identity, the black sheep effect can be activated to preserve or restore the perceived positivity of the in-group as a whole. However, conflict could and would arise over who is defined as a 'black sheep', triggering intense conflict within the group. Thus, we see that strategies of policing the in-group are inherent in the maintenance of coherent and manageable social identity … The conflict is bitter and persistent because each side is wedded to a vision of ethnic unity in which the greatest threat to that level of identity is not the out-group, but internal 'traitors' (unlikeable in-group members). (1999, p. 475)

Thus, membership to the Korean ethnic community—and the desired qualities of those members—is "policed" by individuals within the group who invoke the black sheep effect. In my study, I argue that this takes the form of criticizing and chastising of the Korean language abilities of overseas Koreans.

The above works outline the construction of a Korean ethnonational identity that conflates race, ethnicity, and nation. While Schmid (2002) traces a discursive genealogy of this conflation, G.-W. Shin et al. (1999) further support this, adding that not only is Korean ethnic nationalism transcendental of states, but that the black sheep effect serves as a social means of policing identity and membership. I contend that this idea of nation is also conflated within the context of diasporic identity, in the form of a national identity that transcends the nation-state. Additionally, I take a view that language is yet another aspect of Korean national identity, one heretofore taken for granted in much of the literature on Korean identity abroad, including in the context of Korean as a heritage language. As such, language becomes yet another aspect of diasporic Korean identity that comes under scrutiny, and thus may be used as one of the metrics in policing membership to the community.

An essential framework within which I view the place of overseas Koreans in Korea is the concept of ethnic return migration developed by Tsuda (2009). In his edited volume, Tsuda collects texts that connect members of ethnic diasporas around the globe to currently existing nation-states, making salient ethnic community members' desires to return to their ethnic homelands. In understanding how various generations of ethnic returnees may see themselves as part of a diaspora, Tsuda draws distinction between two types of return migration: (1) "the return migration of first-generation diasporic peoples who move back to their homeland" and (2) "*ethnic* return migration, which refers to later-generation descendants of diasporic peoples who 'return' to their countries of ancestral origin after living outside their ethnic homelands for generations" (p. 1). In order to reconcile the idea of "return" amidst multiple conceptions of "homeland," Tsuda draws distinction between *natal* homelands, in which first generation emigrants were born and to which they return, and *ethnic*, or *ancestral* homelands, to which descendants of emigrants may return.

Tsuda's collection of studies that examines the similarities in motivation and experiences of ethnic return migrants of various backgrounds: ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and their migration to Germany, ethnic Russians from the former Soviet socialist republics and their migration to Russia, ethnic Japanese from Brazil migrating to Japan, ethnic Koreans in China migrating to Korea, and, as a special case, ethnic Jews and their migration to Israel.[3] Tsuda links these examples of ethnic return migration as sharing the following traits:

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[3] Tsuda notes that ethnic Jews and their migration to Israel is not a "return" ethnic migration according to the base definition; however, the pattern of movement is nonetheless comparable to others in that it still constructs the "return" of Jewish people to what is arguably a foreign homeland.

> Most ethnic return has been primarily a response to economic
> pressures (i.e., diasporic descendants moving from developing
> countries to richer ethnic homelands in the developed world).
> Other important factors that influence the migration are ethnic ties
> to ancestral homelands, a nostalgic desire to rediscover ethnic
> roots, and the efforts of homeland governments to actively
> encourage their diasporic descendants living abroad to return
> "home" through preferential immigration and nationality policies.
> (2009, p. 3)

Although the participants in my study hail primarily from developed countries in the West (one

from Russia), thus curtailing the effects of economic pressure as reason for return ethnic

migration,[4] all of my participants share Tsuda's latter traits; all were motivated by senses of

ethnic ties to Korea, all exhibit a "nostalgic desire to rediscover ethnic roots," and nearly all have

benefited from preferred resident status through the Korean government's overseas Korean visa

status (F-4). Despite these ties, Tsuda and other authors in his volume show that returnees are

essentially returning to a foreign country.

Tsuda's understanding of ethnic return migration is the exact experience that the

participants of my research have lived. With the exception of the overseas Korean adoptees, the

vast majority of participants were born outside of Korea. In addition, aside from one participant

from the United States who never naturalized as a U.S. citizen, all chose freely to move to Korea

to experience life there. In Tsuda's volume, while differences in culture, class, and legal status

are the focus of many of the works, language use and education issues are only mentioned and

are not the focus of any of the studies. It is in such a way that I extend research on the experience

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[4] Although ethnic Koreans from the West generally do not face economic "pressures" to migrate
to Korea, there are economic incentives, particularly in the English-teaching market (J. Cho,
2012; Jeon, 2009, 2012; J. Lee, 2010; J.-K. Park, 2009). That said, Seol and Skrentny (2009)
describe economic pressures experienced by ethnic Koreans from China who migrate to Korea.

of ethnic return migration by focusing explicitly on the relationship between language, identity, and life in Korea as an ethnic homeland.

1.3.4. HIERARCHICAL NATIONHOOD

Seol and Skrentny (2009) argue that while in the past membership to nations has been looked at as horizontal—each member holding membership equal to others—ethnic return migration to Korea demonstrates how states may prefer members of the ethnic group over other non-citizens in immigration policy, yet simultaneously draw unequal distinction between members of the ethnic group. Seol and Skrentny call forth Anderson's (1991) understanding of the imagined nation as "always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 1991, p. 7), in which all members "are, in theory, equal to one another" (Seol & Skrentny, 2009, p. 148). They take as their example the concept of "second-class citizenship" invoked in U.S. civil rights debates, which is discursively framed as oxymoronic to (equal) citizenship. Although there may exist legal inequalities among citizens of the same nation, for example across gendered understandings of personhood, Seol and Skrentny

> wish to distinguish and highlight the sociological significance of the hierarchical nationhood phenomenon from the discriminations and rights denials that are common in many if not all states. These rights denials usually come about based on beliefs in some ethnicity-, race- or gender-based inferiority, inadequacy or stigma. (2009, p. 151)

They focus on a phenomenon in which governments and people recognize some key trait as uniting members of the *ethnie* and yet simultaneously exert other forms of hierarchized nationhood.

According to Seol and Skrentny, this hierarchical nationhood manifests itself in two key dimensions: (1) a legal dimension, in which the state differentiates between citizens ("top-tier members") and non-citizen co-ethnics (Seoul and Skrentny's term for ethnic Koreans from

abroad, also "co-nationals") by offering opportunities for citizenship, co-ethnic visas, or work permits, and (2) a social dimension, in which top-tier members acknowledge kinship, yet discriminate based on informal distinctions drawn between themselves and other co-ethnics. In the Korean context, this takes the form of differentiated immigration policies toward Korea's two largest groups of co-ethnic immigrants: *joseonjok*, ethnic Koreans from China (the largest group of co-ethnics living in Korea, numbering 237,000 in 2006), and Korean Americans from the United States (21,000 in 2006) (Seol & Skrentny, 2009, p. 152).[5] On the one hand, the history of *joseonjok* immigration to South Korea has included temporary work programs, established in 2002 and 2007, and the Industrial Technical Training Program, implemented in 1991. Although these programs were not limited to *joseonjok*, they highly favored *joseonjok* over non-ethnic Koreans for work in so-called "3-D jobs" (dirty, difficult, or dangerous) (p. 153). Meanwhile, ethnic Koreans from developed countries in the West qualified for the F-4 visa, instated in 1998 when the Korean National Assembly passed the Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans (p. 157).

According to Seol and Skrentny, herein lies the biopolitical, discriminatory hierarchy between *joseonjok* and Koreans from the West: Temporary work visas and training program visas are generally tied to an employer or to a particular field of work, whereas the F-4 visa grants freedom within the labor market, economic rights, and access to public programs such as national healthcare, and essentially only exclude the rights to vote and hold public office. Although exclusion of *joseonjok* from the F-4 visa is not explicit, the Act on the Immigration and

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[5] Seol and Skrentny also note that *joseonjok* make up the largest group of immigrants to Korea, followed by Han Chinese, who number 145,000. Approximately 10,000 North Koreans, who number 23 million in total, have been able to make their way to South Korea, where they are recognized as South Korean citizens (Seol & Skrentny, 2009, p. 152).

Legal Status of Overseas Koreans states that the F-4 visa may be granted to those with at least one grandparent who is a former citizen of the Republic of Korea. Most ethnic Koreans from the West fall into this category. Of a current estimated population of 2.3 million Korean Americans, only about 5,000 immigrated to the United States before the Republic of Korea was founded in 1948. Meanwhile, nearly all of the approximately 2 million *joseonjok* are descendants of those who emigrated to Manchuria during the period of Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945). Although the Act was amended in 2004 to include all overseas Koreans, irrespective of their lineage's date of emigration, the amendment included a provision that limited employment to skilled labor. Thus, the majority of *joseonjok*, unskilled, were once again excluded from this visa category (Seol & Skrentny, 2009, pp. 153-158).

Overall, Seol and Skrentny's framework of legal status falls well in line with Tsuda's transnational view of ethnic kinship; however, they add important dimensions of legal and social discrimination. Although ethnic Koreans from abroad are given preferential treatment over other non-Korean citizens in receiving visas to perform manual labor and 3-D jobs, even greater rights and freedoms are granted to co-ethnics who can perform skilled labor. Although receiving greater benefits than other immigrants, F-4 visa holders still experience some limitations in access to public life vis-à-vis Korean citizens. Thus, we see an overall hierarchization of nationhood that places Korean citizens in Seol and Skrentny's "top-tier," followed by skilled co-ethnic non-citizens from the West, then unskilled co-ethnics from non-Western countries, all of whom hold a place above non-co-ethnics.

1.3.5. Communal trauma in the Korean diaspora

Without a doubt, the overseas Koreans I interviewed in Korea between 2007 and 2010 were drawn to Korea by a combined sense of ethnic kinship to Korea as well as racial othering

experienced in their countries of upbringing. Numerous works have substantiated such ties within the frameworks of communal trauma in Korean history, all of which can be traced back to circa 1950, the time during which U.S. military imperialism on the Korean peninsula, Korean mixed blood, and transnational adoption began their intertwined legacies.

G. M. Cho (2008) writes of legacies of "the Forgotten War" (the Korean War, 1950-1953), and coins the term *diasporic haunting*, which she adapts from the psychoanalytic term *transgenerational haunting*. G. M. Cho combines ethnography, biography, creative writing, and historiography to synthesize narratives of psychic trauma. In doing so, she draws psychologically visceral connections between Korea's war-torn past and members of the Korean diaspora, people who may never have experienced the War themselves, yet nonetheless feel its traces in their lives. G. M. Cho focuses on the lingering trauma of the estimated one million Korean women who had either been forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese Imperial government during the Second World War, or worked in South Korea as sex workers for U.S. servicemen. She then connects this lineage of trauma to the estimated 100,000 Korean women who married U.S. GIs and immigrated to the United States. The result is a work that hovers around but cannot pinpoint what exactly these ghosts of the past are; nonetheless, it calls attention to the lingering traumas that haunt diasporic memory.

M. Lee (2008) documents a history of discrimination, marginalization, and vilification of mixed-race Koreans in twentieth-century Korea, while contrasting this with the ethnic affiliation displayed toward high-profile mixed-race Koreans abroad, like former U.S. National Football League star Hines Ward. The historical subjectivity of mixed-race Koreans in Korea was one shaped by gendered, patriarchal legal discourses on the family. Perhaps most notable here was the institutional denial of legal status to most Amerasians (the children of U.S. servicemen and

Korean women), who did not have Korean fathers, long the only conduits of Korean citizenship. In addition, race-based discrimination in Korean society has led to higher rates of unemployment, unstable employment, and debt among Amerasians in Korea. As M. Lee situates this subjectivity within a gendered, patriarchal, militarist context of state-led modernization and nation building, she "contends that their 'otherness' is an outcome of the intensions, contradictions, and insecurities of national governance which coheres around discourse and legislation on the family" (2008, p. 56). It is this legislation on the family and discrimination that helped spark the history of Korean international adoption, a system in which Amerasian children were categorized along with the disabled (p. 60).

E. J. Kim (2010) looks at the transnational community of now adult overseas adopted Koreans that has formed both on- and offline. What began as a series of online listservs has become a number of regional and national organizations for overseas adopted Koreans to meet one another, find support, and develop communities in their countries of adoption. These include Arierang in the Netherlands, Korea Klubben in Denmark, AK Connection in Minnesota, Asian Adult Adoptees of Washington, Racines Coreenes in France, Adopterade Koreaners Föreningin in Sweden, as well as the International Korean Adoptees Association. E. J. Kim's focus is twofold: (1) to create one of the first comprehensive records of the development of overseas Korean adoptee organizations; and (2) to understand from a sociological perspective how a series of online forums developed into a means to understand individual and communal subjectivity within the framework of "'counterpublic,' a form of performative 'world-making'" (2010, p. 5). In addition, E. J. Kim's work also compellingly weaves together multi- and transnational narratives of overseas Korean adoptees developing their own unique spaces for subjectivity and membership to a global Korean diaspora.

In addition to E.J. Kim's work, there is a plethora of research that links the overseas Korean adoptee experience to Korea and legacies of trauma. Park Nelson (2007) examines the politics of passing among overseas Korean adoptees in the United States, examining their in-betweenness as "'White' Koreans." Hübinette (2005, 2007, 2009, 2010) examines the subaltern position of overseas Korean adoptees as racialized, commodified bodies, and connects the history of transnational Korean adoption to ideas of human trafficking and an international market in which infants are bought and sold. Specifically, Hübinette (2007) examines issues of transracial adoptee subjectivity, using Spivak's (1988) concept of the subaltern to shed light on the "out-of-place" position of overseas Koreans that had earlier gone unspoken of in Korean studies. He also looks at media constructions of "global Koreanness," specifically as they pertain to marginalized members of the Korean diaspora (Hübinette, 2010) and the racialized bodies of Korean adoptees in Swedish families (Hübinette, 2009). Donigan (2007) discusses psychological factors that influence overall feelings of adaptation by adult overseas Korean adoptees who choose to live and work in Korea long-term, finding correlations between feelings of ethnic affiliation to Korea and more successful experiences of adjustment to life in Korea. Higgins and Stoker (2010, 2011) discuss Korean as a HL among adult Korean adoptee women who live in Korea, finding that as these women's Koreanness is challenged in regard to their Korean language abilities, they find comfort in forming a community of others on the margins of Korean society, namely, the overseas Korean adoptee community in Seoul.

Whether discussing trauma, documenting the marginalization and discrimination of mixed-race Koreans through history, or demonstrating an intense, continued scholarly interest in examining the relationship between overseas adopted Koreans, Korean history, and return to

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Korea, all of these texts demonstrate a visceral desire to explore history and trauma in the context of the Korean diaspora as it relates to today's members.

1.3.6. CONTESTING & CONTESTED MEMBERSHIP

Together, the above studies demonstrate the ways in which those who feel a connection to the Korean diaspora share a sense of connection both to other members of that diaspora, and to Korea and its history. While Tsuda (2009) discusses ethnic return migration and the ties that pull descendants to an ethnic homeland, Seol and Skrentny (2009) discuss the ways in which hierarchical nationhood stratifies understandings of membership to the nation. Although G. M. Cho (2008) is the only author to use the term "diasporic haunting," Hübinette (2006), M. Lee (2008), and E.J. Kim (2010) all join her in their discussions of Korea's traumatic past: the Korean War, poverty and famine, and human trafficking (both in the form of forced sexual slavery, prostitution, and international adoption). Scholars such as Park Nelson (2007), Hübinette (2007), Donigan (2007), E. J. Kim (2010), and Higgins and Stoker (2010, 2011) contemplate the ways in which overseas adopted Koreans from the West negotiate subjectivity both in the countries of their upbringings and in Korea as return ethnic migrants. Each of these issues in Korean history finds its roots in the tumultuous history of the Korean Peninsula of the 20th century. Each finds its modern-day manifestations in the descendants of this past. The last of the Korean "comfort women" still protest weekly outside the Japanese embassy in Seoul, although their numbers are dwindling. The U.S. military still maintains a substantial military presence in South Korea and a strong strategic alliance with the South Korean government, with a reported 26,000-29,000 U.S. armed forces service members stationed in Korea between 2006 and 2009, and 37,354 as of September 30, 2011 (K. Kim & Gil, 2013; "US stations more troops in S.

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Korea," 2013); transnational adoptions are still taking place, with the 2006-2009 numbers fluctuating between 1,000 and 2,000 per year (E. J. Kim, 2010, p. 21).

On a final note, both Doolan (2012) and M. Lee (2008) tie together a number of works in problematizing the neologism *Kosian*, a combination of "Korean" and "Asian" created to describe the children of "multicultural families," or *damunhwa kajeong*. These families are, for the most part, the results of marriages between rural Korean men and Southeast Asian women, and the issue is perhaps the greatest cultural concern of the beginning of the 21st century in Korea. As of 2008, 250,000 of the 1,000,000 "foreigners" living in Korea were international marriage migrants (*gukjaekyeolhon iminja*), and 15% of births in Korea were to mixed couples. Projections indicated that this figure would double by 2020 (p. 58). As such, the issue has given way to important questions of Korean racial and cultural identity, as the place of international marriage migrants in Korean society and their language abilities—as well as those of mixed-race children—have come under scrutiny. Complicating the issue, M. Lee discusses the position of "Kosians" in contemporary Korean society within the context of gendered nation building and patriarchal family law. Similarly, Doolan traces notions of Korean pure-bloodedness, U.S. military imperialism, overseas adoption, and gendered citizenship and family law to position Amerasians as representations of an effeminized, (neo-)colonized national imaginary, distanced from understandings of Koreanness. Conversely, "Kosians" represent Korea's masculine domination of Asia, and multicultural families—most headed by Korean fathers—are the target of cultural assimilation policies and constructed as part of the national identity of a developed, multicultural Korea.

It is within this space of felt ties to Korea, communal trauma, and contested membership

to the Korean diaspora and nation that I examine as an extension the place of Korean as a

heritage language.

1.4. KOREAN AS A HERITAGE LANGUAGE

Although from a postmodern perspective, concepts of nation, race, and language are

understood as social constructs, this by no means negates their salience as social phenomena.

Indeed, in a postmodern critique of the construction of language, Makoni and Pennycook (2005)

argue that language, albeit "invented," is still an important lens through which to examine the

metadiscourses that create unequal relations of power. They write:

> It is not enough to acknowledge that language has been invented,
> nor that linguistic metalanguage constructs the world in particular
> ways; rather, we need to understand the interrelationships among
> metadiscursive regimes, language inventions, colonial history,
> language effects, alternative ways of understanding language, and
> strategies of disinvention and reconstitution. (p. 138)

Indeed, it is essential that we question preexisting notions of "language" and "heritage

language." Rampton (1990), in a similar vein of thought, questions the terms "native speaker"

and "mother tongue," and with them biological and ethnic framings of language abilities and

repertoires (cf. Cameron, 2007, below). According to Rampton, these terms draw essentialist

links between languages and genetic endowments, or birth into a particular group. With such

basic premises taken for granted, further generalizations follow—of "native competence," its

applicability to only one language per person, or the binary native-non-native—and ignore the

sociolinguistic contexts in which languages are learned and used. Rampton proposes an

amelioration in terminologies of *language loyalties*, in the forms of *language inheritance*

(loyalties within social groups) and *language affiliation* (loyalties across social groups) to allow

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for broader possibilities in conceptualizing language users' relationships to language. Questioning the constitution of "languages," "heritage languages," and the essentialist ties between language use and genealogy are at the core of this study, in which we see strong tendencies toward assumed connections between Korean ethnicity and Korean language.

Given the above understandings, in this section I examine discourses that construct heritage languages (HL) as a necessity among those who "should" be speaking them, including Korean among ethnic Koreans. I examine essentialist discourses surrounding language preservation, arguing that these discourses on the global and communal levels parallel heritage language maintenance discourses at the individual and familial levels. These ideologies construct language as the locus of culture and identity, and I connect this ethnolinguistic essentialism to the Korean-as-a-HL discourse, or the notion that Korean language ability is requisite to Koreanness. Finally, I counter this essentialism by arguing that language shift is the result of individual and familial shifts in valorizations of certain forms of linguistic capital, and point to new possibilities in understanding language and identity in Korean pedagogy.

1.4.1. THE BROAD SCOPE OF "HERITAGE LANGUAGE"

In a widely cited definition, Valdés (2001) describes a HL speaker in the United States as "someone who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken and who speaks or at least understands the language and is to some degree bilingual in the home language and in English" (p. 38). From my personal experience this would seem the general understanding of HL as it applies to language pedagogy at the primary and secondary levels in the United States, a funds-of-knowledge approach that looks at HL ability from a perspective of existing linguistic repertoires. However, given my discussion of diasporic Korean identity and the felt connections of overseas Koreans to the transnational Korean community, I have come to understand this

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ethnic tie to language as holding such a significant bearing on investment that it must be attended to in understandings of "heritage language." Below, I examine two broad surveys of HL research undertaken by Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) and Wiley (2005), drawing final conclusions based on the work of J. S. Lee and Shin (2008).

Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) takes an extensive look at the overall scholarship and discussion of what "heritage language" has come to entail in the U.S. context, as well as the plethora of related terms that have come to represent the same or similar ideas in other countries. These include *heritage language* (in the United States and various countries), *native language* (in the United States and various countries), *ethnic language* (in the United States and various countries), *ancestral language* (in the United States), *allochthonous language* (in South Africa), *immigrant minority language* (in the Netherlands), *community language* (in Australia, UK, and various countries), *First Nations languages* (in Canada), and *immigrant languages* (in Canada and various countries). These terms, although frequently shared across a variety of national contexts, index individual countries' and communities' relationships with immigration, indigeneity, plurality of language use, and dominant language ideologies (Jaffe, 2003; Lippi-Green, 2011; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Silverstein, 1996). Across these contexts, HLs are generally understood as languages that are spoken at home by immigrant or minority language families, but are generally not taught in formal institutions. Whereas terms such as "immigrant language," "community language," and "native language" seem to point to their preexistence in linguistic repertoires, "ethnic language," "allochthonous language," and "ancestral language" seem more to point to pre-immigration pasts, and "First Nations language" can describe an indigenous language irrespective of any individual's proficiency.

Similarly, Wiley (2005) notes that: "The *heritage language* label is used to refer to immigrant, refugee, and indigenous languages, as well as former colonial languages; nevertheless, there is no consensus that it can be used as a one-size-fits-all brand" (p. 595). Wiley settles on the mixed branding "heritage language/community language" ("HL/CL") but explores problems with both terms. Drawing from Baker and Jones (1998), Wiley notes critique of the term "heritage language" as pointing to the past, noting that in Australia and Europe, the term "community language" is used, which he claims focuses on the "here and now," on the agency of the community itself (Wiley, 2005, p. 596). This understanding, though, also relies on there being a "community" of which to speak, i.e. that the language be an active element in the linguistic repertoires of community members.

Returning to Van Deusen-Scholl (2003), she also characterizes HL learners broadly as "a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to nonspeakers who may be generations removed, but who may feel culturally connected to a language" (p. 221). Here, the non-funds-of-knowledge aspect is introduced in a "feeling" of cultural connection. However, in further elaborating her understanding, Van Deusen-Scholl draws distinction between "heritage learners" and "learners with a heritage motivation":

> Heritage learners are students who have been exposed to another language in the home and have either attained some degree of bilingual proficiency or have been raised with a strong cultural connection to a particular language through family interaction. Learners with a heritage motivation—sometimes labeled pejoratively as *heritage seekers*—may perceive a cultural connection that is more distant than that of, for example, first- or second-generation immigrants. … [They] seek to reconnect with their family's heritage through language, even though the linguistic evidence of that connection may have been lost for generations. (p. 222)

In a similar approach, Wiley (2005) defines "heritage language" with breadth, basing this broader understanding on discourses of language revitalization efforts:

From the perspective of language revitalization efforts, ethnolinguistic identity and a sense of affiliation are particularly important. Some people with hereditary ties and a desire to reconnect with an ancestral language may lack proficiency in the language. Thus, identity must be considered apart from language proficiency. (p. 596)

This understanding of ethnolinguistic identity offers an alternative to funds-of-knowledge-based understandings of "heritage language," in which the litmus test for defining a HL centers on prior exposure to and level of proficiency in the language. This dichotomy is similar to Tsuda's (2009) understanding of the difference between "return migration" and "ethnic return migration," which are rooted in place of birth and sentiments of ethnic affiliation, respectively.

For the purpose of this thesis I draw upon a holistic understanding of HL, one that falls closely in line with the definition put forth by J. S. Lee and Shin (2008) in regard to Korean as a HL. J. S. Lee and Shin examine "heritage language" in the Korean context and "define Korean heritage language learners as those who have an ethnolinguistic affiliation to the Korean heritage, but may have a broad range of proficiency from high to none in Korean oral or literacy skills" (2008, p. 2). Such an understanding of "heritage language" opens possibilities for examining the role of ethnic affiliation as a motivation in language learning. It understands the will to develop Korean as a HL as originating in a sensed connection to the Korean diaspora, rather than a function of previous exposure to the Korean language. Although this understanding complicates a more straight-forward pedagogical utility of "heritage language" as it pertains to learners' linguistic repertoires, or funds of knowledge, I argue that it holds important implications for learners' imagined Korean-speaking communities, and consequently their investment in the Korean language.

My understanding of linguistic essentialism takes root in research on language ideologies (discussed in detail in Chapter Three), specifically as they pertain to language endangerment discourses. Building on Makoni and Pennycook's (2005) understanding of languages as discursive constructs, research in linguistic essentialism has pointed to metadiscourses that have made it difficult to untangle concepts of languages (modes of social interaction) and peoples (social groups).

Cameron (2007) argues that discourses of language endangerment are often situated within problematic frameworks that look at endangered languages as biologized, akin to endangered species in a fragile global ecology. Cameron argues that this organicist view shares the same genealogy as Nazi "race science"—indeed, that Nazi views of language were the basis for views on race.[6] As Cameron describes, the "fetish for the mother tongue," the "native speaker," the arbitrary yet naturalized connections between peoples (*Völker*) and languages, and hierarchies of languages are all present in Nazi language ideologies (p. 278). Although Cameron specifically notes that she is not likening preservationists to fascists, she does draw connections between these ideologies and discourses of linguistic and racial purity, separatism, essentialism, and exoticization. Via synecdoche, endangered languages come to embody entire cultures and peoples—and vice versa. This, according to Cameron, "helps to strengthen the argument that the survival of a culture's worldview is dependent on the preservation of the language in which it has

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[6] To clarify, Cameron asserts only that she traces organicist discourses to Nazism to call into question assumptions that language researchers themselves have about language; by pointing to a problematic past, we must question all that we know and take for granted in regard to language. She writes: "Nazism built on already-established traditions of linguistic thought, and to portray the linguistics of the Third Reich as a wholly aberrant chapter in the discipline's history is to deny the continuing influence of certain ideas on our ways of thinking" (p. 277).

traditionally been expressed" (p. 274). She notes as well that preservationist discourses construct speakers of endangered language as lacking agency and in need of saving, similar to HL maintenance discourses, as I demonstrate below.

On the essentialist tie between peoples and languages, Spitulnik (1998) discusses representation among various ethnolinguistic communities in Zambian radio airtime. The allocation of time by language supports a number of unquestioned metadiscourses: what counts as a language, who speaks what language, who belongs to which ethnolinguistic community (especially given the high rate of multilingualism in Zambia), and what linguistic representation signifies in a country of 73 ethnic groups and over 70 language varieties.

Jaffe (2007) discusses ideologies of preservation and standardization of endangered languages, taking Corsican as her case study. Jaffe shows the ways in which discourses of endangerment require that languages be essentialized, homogenized, and made static artifacts for commodification as "endangered languages." Rather than this, Jaffe suggests a "'polynomic' model of linguistic identity that makes variation and variability the centerpiece of practices of identification" (p. 57), pointing toward the syncretic (mixed, flexible) linguistic repertoires of Corsicans who speak and mix Corsican and French.

Furthermore, in a study of multiple complimentary schools (HL schools) in the UK, Blackledge and Creese (2010) find as well a disjuncture between the language policies of these informal schools, their administrators, and parents, vis-à-vis the multilingual day-to-day lives of the children attending the schools. Wiley (2005) also notes issues of "mismatches" between the forms of heritage languages taught in HL classrooms and those that may actually be spoken in the home. Similar, yet more scathingly, Makoni, Brutt-Griffler, and Mashiri (2007) sharply conclude that "mother tongue" education in Africa:

> Leads to the ironic phenomenon in many parts of Africa … that 'mother tongues' as they are used in schools are less and less the home languages of the students educated through them. What is euphemistically labeled 'mother-tongue education' thus becomes a vehicle for mother tongues in search of speakers. (p. 47)

These texts, along with that of Lippi-Green's (2011) work on the ideologies of Standard American English and Silverstein's (1996) work on the conceptualization of the United States as a "monoglot" state, all call into question standard and dominant language ideologies. As languages are discursively constructed within a synecdochic relationship in which one language comes to represent one people, it becomes understood that preserving a language is essential to preserving a culture. This, in turn, can have the effect of narrowing everyday perceptions of individuals' agency in language use.

1.4.3. HERITAGE LANGUAGE RESEARCH & THE DISCOURSE OF DEFICIT

There are two ways in which ethnolinguistic essentialist discourses translate into the Korean-as-a-HL context: (1) Research on HL maintenance and language shift often frames intergenerational and individual language shift as an issue of "loss," leaving behind a void in which social and cognitive benefits are framed as missed opportunities, and (2) Research that focuses on Korean as a HL draws frequent conclusions about the language(s) that Korean Americans as a whole speak; "Korean American" discourse is naturally understood as consisting of both English and Korean. As researchers discuss the first issue, they unwittingly take a deficit approach, assuming that languages are something "whole" to be acquired in full; they are linguistic repertoires that should be unvaried among adult native speakers without respect to other social factors, and such an imagined, educated native speaker standard serves as the general benchmark for competency in a language. The ethnolinguistic essentialist aspect of this is that as researchers discuss HL maintenance among Korean Americans, they inadvertently reinforce ties

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between ethnicity and linguistic repertoires that assert that Koreans unquestionably do or should speak Korean.

In a widely-cited and highly ideologically-charged study of intergenerational language shift among immigrant and American Indian children and families in the United States, Wong Fillmore (1991) argues that "the loss of a primary language, particularly when it is the only language spoken by parents, can be very costly to the children, their families, and to society as a whole" (p. 323). Although I do not question that inability to communicate effectively among members of a household is important, I problematize the way in which this shift in communicative competence is framed. Wong Fillmore alternates terminology, framing the phenomenon negatively as "erosion" and "loss" and calls for "protection from language shift" (p. 332). Children are painted as having little agency, as social forces seem to coerce changes in their linguistic repertoires; they "enter elementary school while they are still vulnerable to the assimilative forces operating on children" (p. 340) and this results in children "dropping their home languages" (p. 341) due to the "powerful forces for assimilation" (p. 342). Here, Wong Fillmore also makes use of Lambert's (1981) term "subtractive bilingualism," in which second languages replace first languages as children are exposed to two languages. In addition, "home language" proficiency is measured by parents, who were asked whether their children "speak the home language as well as children their age should" (p. 339). Wong Fillmore frames her study as an urgent call for action in the face of the breakdown of language minority families. Rather than viewing such trends as shifts in children's primary language from one code to another, or focusing on lived bilingualism—however in flux—the inability of parents and children to communicate with each other effectively is the result of powerful outside forces that seem to prey on the marginalized statuses of language minorities. Shifting linguistic repertoires are

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framed as loss while first language competence is measured subjectively, in regard to what children's abilities "should be."

Merino (1983) describes the methodology she used in a study of first language attrition (Spanish) among Chicano children, undertaken in two phases. The first phase followed "normal language acquisition in balanced bilinguals." Two years later, in the second phase, she found that "while performance in English continued to improve for the sample as a whole, performance in Spanish production deteriorated to a significant degree" (p. 277). Here, although Merino notes that "the original intent was not to study loss but to focus on the acquisition of two languages simultaneously" (p. 278), the manner in which she contrasts "normal" acquisition by "balanced" bilinguals with "significant deterioration" paints these bilinguals as in a state of decay. Indeed, in questioning why "language loss" had not been covered more thoroughly in the preceding literature, Merino admits herself that "the concept is by its nature a negative one" (p. 278).

Similarly, in outlining the qualities and peculiarities of "heritage grammars," Benmamoun, Montrul, and Polinsky (2010) gloss their understanding of "heritage speaker" as "speakers of a language who interrupted or otherwise incompletely acquired their first language" (p. 1) and draw direct comparison to the theory of "poverty of stimulus," or the notion that a lack of sufficient language input means learners cannot adequately acquire language. Benmamoun et al. go on to add that "Despite the fact that heritage speakers are given the same early linguistic exposure as native speakers, the interruption of their acquisition limits their grammatical competence, and this problem worsens by attrition as time passes" (p. 1). Again, a "problem" arises from the "interruption" of the teleology of language acquisition to its imagined, full state.

The deficiency standpoint can also be seen in M. Jeon's (2008) study, in which she writes that "immigrant children may *turn their backs* on their heritage language during K-12 schooling"

(p. 65, italics added), and that "Many second generation Korean Americans in this study never had an adequate opportunity to learn Korean" (p. 66) given parents' focus on English, or that "lack of Korean-language resources prevented children from properly developing in Korean" (p. 66). Here, any agency that immigrant children have is constructed as one of abandonment. Otherwise, they lack "adequate opportunity" which "prevents" them from "properly" developing Korean.

Community HL attrition also carries negative social implications according to researchers. S. Sok (2012) points to various studies that demonstrate "important psychological and developmental benefits for language-minority children such as higher self-esteem (Cho 2000), higher academic achievement (Rumberger and Larson 1998; Lee 2002), and better relationships with family members (Tannenbaum 2005)" (p. 5-6). In backgrounding her study, S. Sok, too, frames intergenerational HL attrition among Korean Americans as "loss" (p. 13). G. Cho (2000) looks at HLs as a community asset, one that provides "cognitive, social, and cultural benefits" including "greater understanding and knowledge of cultural values, ethics, and manners … Moreover, HL development has been shown to contribute positively to the betterment of society" (p. 369). As such, G. Cho falls into the same trap of framing those who have not developed their HL as having missed opportunities, leaving the implication that those without HL knowledge know less about "cultural values, ethics, and manners" and that, subsequently, society as a whole is at a loss. Although she defines HL as "the language associated with one's cultural background" (p. 369)—defining the term from an individual perspective—she discusses HL maintenance only at the levels of the community and family.

In discussing their research on a private HL Korean course, Cho, Cho, and Tse (1997) write, "the existence of HL courses is one indication of the speed with which language minority

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(LM) families and communities are shifting to English and leaving behind the heritage language"
(p. 106). As in the above cases, there is a tone of regret. Tying ethnolinguistic essentialism to the
Korean case, Cho et al. describe one student in particular: "teachers expected students to have
basic proficiency in the language before enrolling and because he was a beginner, all he 'could
do [was] endure the 1-2 hours and go home more frustrated'" (p. 110). To clarify, Cho et al. note
that this was a private Korean heritage language program, and that these students were a "group
of adults attempting to develop their HL proficiency" (p. 106). Absent from the description of
the program are any notes as to what was expected from students in regard to language
proficiency as measured by task-based, grammatical, or skills-based (reading, writing, speaking,
listening) benchmarks. Thus, "basic proficiency" is left arbitrary, creating a potential disjuncture
between proficiency-based expectations on the part of instructors and undefined "heritage"-based
expectations of students.

In addition, studies that discuss language use among Korean Americans also walk a fine
line in regard to what expectations they hold of "Korean American discourse." A. Kang (2003)
examines codeswitching strategies among Korean American counselors at a Korean American
culture camp. She describes the ways in which these counselors either utilize or avoid Korean
familial terms and hierarchy in strategies of dis/affiliation and in performing dispreferred
discursive actions. Although her overall argument on the use of familial terms in these localized
settings is well-supported, A. Kang claims that her study "provides an interactional account of
conflict negotiation strategies in Korean American discourse" (p. 299). Similarly, J. Song (2008)
examines codeswitching in young, bilingual Korean American children as a means of evading
Korean social hierarchy, also labeling his study one that focuses on "Korean American children's

language socialization." In both studies, a general understanding of Korean American discourse as inherently bilingual goes unquestioned.

Through interviews with four adult Korean adoptee-returnees (KADs) in Korea, Higgins and Stoker (2011) discuss these women's use of Korean as a "heritage" or "additional" language as it affects "their settlement success, social recognition, and sense of ethnic and cultural belonging in the country of their birth" (p. 399). The authors note that "a major theme that emerged from the data was the frustration the women felt as a result of the rather high expectations that Koreans had for their "'innate' language ability" (p. 404). In relation to one informant in particular, Lori, they note: "Koreans treat her ethnicity as a common-sense basis for her language proficiency, and they fully expect her to have a deep desire to speak Korean fluently and to take on Korean behaviors because of it" (p. 404). Lori makes an observation about the expectations put upon her as an ethnic Korean, an in-group member, in contrast to those put on "foreigners," or out-group members: "But other foreigners it's like a free pass— they never have to learn Korean and Korean people never care. Korean people don't expect foreigners to learn Korean at all. In fact they say to foreigners they say 'Why do you need to learn Korean? Why study Korean? You don't need to learn Korean'" (p. 404). Similar to the broad, ethnic-affiliation-based understandings of "heritage language" discusses above, Korean heritage serves both as a motivation to learn Korean and to seek connection with the Korean community. At the same time, however, it also serves as a standard through which other members of the community (here, native Koreans in Korea) view and judge heritage learners' proficiency vis-à-vis other foreigners (cf. G.-W. Shin et al., 1999, and the black sheep effect).

The preceding texts demonstrate a number of assumptions in regard to Korean as a HL and of HL maintenance in general. First, HL maintenance is nebulously discussed at varying

levels, without distinction; at times HL ability is discussed in terms of communities, at times of society as a whole, at times of families, and at times of shifts in the linguistic repertoires of individuals over time. Second, the benefits of speaking a HL are generally left undifferentiated from the cognitive benefits of bi- or multilingualism in general. Third, as social and cognitive benefits of "HL maintenance" are emphasized, such a discourse creates a void in which "HL loss" comes to be understood as a set of missed opportunities with negative consequences for individuals and society as a whole. In addition, each of these studies focuses on either HL maintenance in educational settings or grammatical measurements of home HL acquisition, pointing to a preference for standard variety acquisition and grammaticality as the metrics for proficiency. Rather than frame HL education and maintenance as *additive* to the current linguistic repertoires of individuals, studies focusing on loss serve to discursively construct a deficit standpoint, one in which learners must "catch up" in order to (re)gain what has been lost, neglected, or abandoned. Finally, studies focusing on Korean note that some ethnic Koreans have no proficiency in Korean, yet these same studies exhibit assumptions that Koreans are or should be bilingual to some extent, reinforcing the ethnolinguistic essentialist assumptions that Koreans do or should speak Korean.

1.4.4. SHIFTING LINGUISTIC CAPITAL: KOREAN VS. ENGLISH VS. MULTILINGUALISM

A number of contemporary scholarly works in the fields of language education and linguistic anthropology have worked to demonstrate the ways in which linguistic capital can constitute a good for exchange in the linguistic market. Irvine (1989) discusses the contemporary breakdown of the Saussurean signifier/signified dichotomy, arguing against a clear-cut segregation between the linguistic sign and the material world. As such, language serves as a medium for economic activity, a marker of social strata in a social division of labor, and as a

good for exchange in and of itself. Such strains of thought have transferred into linguistic

anthropological studies of language shift and language ideologies within the community of

transnational Koreans. Most focus on the tension that exists between ideologies of English as the

global language, intergenerational Korean language maintenance, and new modes of

multilingualism as linguistic capital in the Korean diaspora.

J. S.-Y. Park (2011) discusses the commodification of English ability in the form of

standardized test scores and their role in the South Korean labor market as a means of access to

white-collar jobs. He frames the issue as one of continued class inequality, in which the upper

echelons of society hold the power to define what "good" English is. As the understanding of

"good" English ever inflates, the promise of English as a means to access better employment is

deferred. J. S.-Y. Park and Bae (2009) as well as S. J. Park and Abelmann (2004) and J.-K. Park

(2009) discuss the social significance of *jogi yuhak*, or "early study abroad," a phenomenon

popular in Korea that entails sending pre-university children abroad with or without family

members for either short- or long-term sojourns to learn English in a "cosmopolitan striving in

the global order" (S. J. Park & Abelmann, 2004, p. 645). J. S.-Y. Park (2010) also traces similar

sentiments through the "neoliberal logic of human capital development" (p. 22) in narratives of

"success" in the Korean conservative press. These narratives construct successful learners'

accomplishments as based in the "subjective, human qualities of the speaker," thus erasing

classist constraints on access to English learning and justifying the neoliberal narrative of

success. J. Song (2012) discusses the ways in which Korean graduate student parents studying in

the United States "negotiate between foregrounding their roles as moral and intellectual elites vs.

acting as materialistic parents" (p. 203). In one family, the mother emphasizes her knowledge

and graduate studies in bilingual education to deemphasize English as she teaches her child

Korean at home, only to extend their stay in the United States to improve her son's English. In another, the parents deemphasize the hunger for English, yet then demonstrate a strikingly similar zeal for their son's learning of Chinese, which they describe as "the language of the 21ˢᵗ century" (p. 213). Discussing the scale of the English education market in Korea, J.-K. Park (2009) cites estimates on the rise of spending on English learning and testing from approximately $10 billion in 2000 to $15 billion in 2005. These studies demonstrate the power of English in the neoliberal linguistic marketplace, and the significance of the pursuit of this linguistic capital in Korean society.

An ever greater number of researchers are highlighting ways in which Korea's so-called "English frenzy" is not only being questioned, but redirected and reshaped through neoliberal valorizations of multilingualism. Lo and Kim (2012) examine how "the locus of modernity and cosmopolitanism is moving away from the U.S.-oriented overseas Korean (*gyopo*) and towards the figure of the elite transnational returnee (*saldaon saram*)" (p. 255). Whereas English was once prized above all else, now prized are the multilingual repertoires of *saldaon saram*— literally "people who have lived (elsewhere) and then came"—whose fluent Korean marks them starkly as in-group members to the Korean nation but whose proficiency in English adds the proper amount of cosmopolitanism. J. Cho (2012) describes the same passé air to the power of English as he describes the lives of Korean American adult males working in Korea's English teaching market. Using their linguistic capital as native English speakers, these men are able to "reassert their patriarchal privilege as Korean men" (p. 218) and, although they regard the United States as home, they defer returning, as doing so would mean giving up that privilege. Meanwhile, as more transnational Koreans—namely, Kim and Lo's *saldaon saram*—return to Korea from abroad, their linguistic capital loses value. H. Shin (2012) examines how Korean

study abroad students in Toronto construct themselves as "new transnational subjects with hybrid identities that are simultaneously global and Korean" (p. 184). Rather than the "'authentic' English [that] has become a key source of symbolic capital in Korean class distinction as a marker of elite bilingual status" (p. 184-185), these students created their own version of transnational linguistic elitism through stylization, combining "contemporary Korean youth slang, hybrid forms associated with their transnational lifestyle, and familiarity with both Korean and English texting" (p. 192).

In discussing intergenerational language shift, M. Jeon (2008) finds that Korean immigrants in the United States exhibit language ideologies that fall on a continuum within the context of global educational and economic migration. On one end lies *assimilationist* (English-only) language ideologies and, on the other, *pluralist* (bilingual Korean-English) language ideologies. Assimilationist language ideologies are reflected in the desire of one Korean father for his children to learn the globally and locally dominant language, English, at the expense of Korean. Pluralist language ideologies are reflected in interviews showing that senior Korean ESL learners and Korean learners viewed knowledge of only English as disadvantageous, with bilingualism the most beneficial linguistic repertoire. M. Jeon shows that fluctuating impressions of the relative value of linguistic capital translate into intergenerational and life-cycle shifts in linguistic repertoires, most commonly from Korean to English and, now, to multilingualism.

The above texts demonstrate how the linguistic repertoires of individuals and families are subject to change in line with shifting valorizations of linguistic capital. Just as Norton (2003) describes in her discussion of investment, imagined communities transcend both space and time, and Korean families and individuals demonstrate this as they cross borders and invest time and money in education. Such an understanding allows us to view Korean attrition over generations

or in individuals not as a "loss," but as the result of shifting valorizations of some forms of linguistic capital over others. In turn, this distances Korean from being viewed as an essentialized aspect of Korean identity.

1.4.5. HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNING AS AN EXPRESSION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

In addition to new ways of interpreting individual, familial, and community language shift, another possible answer to ethnolinguistic essentialist discourses in HL learning lies in Avineri's (2012) concept of *metalinguistic community*. Examining learners' secular engagement with Yiddish in the United States, Avineri defines a metalinguistic community as one "of positioned social actors engaged primarily in discourse about language and cultural symbols tied to language" (p. ii), and notes that this model "is especially fitting for participants who experience a strong connection to a language and its speakers but may lack familiarity with them, due to historical, communal, and/or personal circumstances" (p. 2). These "historical, communal, and/or personal circumstances" parallel my discussion of Korean diasporic national identity and trauma, and relate as well to the circumstances that affect language shift in individuals, families, and communities. These circumstances also underscore the significance of *heritage motivation* (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003), as Avineri notes that the primary emphasis of metalinguistic communities lies in *nostalgia socialization*, "a public attention to and affective appreciation of the past as a way to understand one's place in the present" (p. 2). It is within such an understanding that I seek to frame learners' engagement with a HL not at a means to achieving greater identity options in the target language (although this can be the case), but as an expression of ethnic identity. Whereas many overseas Koreans note that native Koreans' perceptions of their Korean language fluency serve as measures of their Koreanness, in this work I argue that the act of engaging with Korean—either as a means for communication in daily life

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or as an artifact of study—demonstrates their feelings of connection to the Korean diaspora and Korea.

1.4.6. New options for identity in Korean heritage language pedagogy

Two years after M. Jeon (2008) introduced her continuum of language ideologies she expanded on these ideas, drawing broader connections between modes of ethnic identity and understandings of the role of Korean as a HL. M. Jeon (2010) points to the third space existence of Korean American youth who grow up in the United States and may or may not be bilingual. She notes that identities are restricted by understanding HL education and motivation as either *primordial* (having intrinsic ethnic value) or *instrumental* (as a means to better job prospects or of developing national human capital). She writes:

> a dichotomous view of ethnicity as *either* primordial *or*
> instrumental limits possibilities of negotiation and construction of
> ethnic identities by positioning Korean American students into an
> either/or position … a view of ethnicity as a continuum, as an
> alternative to the dichotomy, opens up space for the negotiation
> and construction of *new ethnicities*. (p. 43)

M. Jeon's concept of "new ethnicities" is an important vein of thought that seems a solution to the dilemma left behind by studies that hint at ethnolinguistic essentialist ties between Korean Americans and Korean (cf. Cho et al., 1997; G. Cho, 2000; J. Song, 2008, above). Although many studies find positive correlations between HL proficiency and perceived ethnolinguistic community affiliation, neither causality nor solutions are offered.

Higgins and Stoker (2011) also call for broader recognition of ways of being Korean, in particular, of Korean adoptee-returnee (KAD) women's "liminal, yet authentic, identities" (p. 410). Their understanding of liminal identities includes acknowledging these women's "roots," or their ethnic and birthplace ties to Korea, as well as their "routes," or the life trajectories that led to their overseas adoption to the United States, socialization there as marginalized members

of primarily White communities, and their return to Korea, where they are also marginalized as less-than-full-fledged members of Korean society. In understanding KAD women's place in contemporary Korean society, Higgins and Stoker point to the formation of KAD identities and social networks, "third places" in which they may reify collages of belonging. They write:

> The narratives of the KAD women suggest the need for Koreans to expand the identity options for 'being Korean' to *all* members of Korean society and clearly advocate for the inclusion of their own KAD third place as a legitimate Korean (and American) identification … Rather than seeing KADs and other dislocated/relocated peoples as constantly on the 'outside,' these third places provide zones of social inclusion in new societies forged by the dislocation and relocation of people, culture, and languages. (p. 409-410)

Thus, Higgins and Stoker question static notions of citizenship, ethnicity, and linguistic identity, calling for an expanded conceptualization of belonging.

The same reframing of Korean identity and openness to "in-betweenness" was the conclusion of H.-Y. Jo (2001). H.-Y. Jo notes that after her ethnographic work in an intermediate-level Korean language classroom at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champagne, she learned that for ethnic Koreans "becoming an English speaker does not necessarily mean the loss of ethnic identity, and that learning Korean (a 'heritage' language) does not necessarily lead to homogenous ethnic identity formation" (p. 26). H.-Y. Jo questions ideologies of standard Korean; even the "authentic," native Korean speakers from Korea (the teaching assistant for the course and the researcher herself) were at times unable to identify officially correct, standard verb inflections. Additionally, H.-Y. Jo outlines two ways in which personal and familial histories of migration are reflected in the speech of Korean Americans. She points to (1) the abundance of English loan words in contemporary Korean, as opposed to the frequent use of

Japanese words in the past,[7] and (2) the shifting definition of standard Korean and its positioning vis-à-vis "dialects." As Koreans abroad were once mostly disconnected from the primary community of speakers,[8] shifts in the understanding of standard Korean and "dialect" (as it relates to personal history) are not necessarily reflected in their Korean. As H.-Y. Jo challenges the idea of Korean-born, Korean-raised, Korean-educated, "perfect" speakers of Korean, she argues for an understanding of overseas Koreans' linguistic repertoires as reflections of their personal histories, rather than as "mistakes." As such, H.-Y. Jo advocates for an understanding of these Koreans' language and ethnic identity as existing in what she labels a "third space."

J. Shin (2009) examines varying identities, including race, gender, L1 and HL status, and international/domestic student status in an intermediate Korean language class at the University of Western Ontario. In what she calls a critical ethnography of a multilingual, multiethnic Korean language classroom, J. Shin argues that "peripheral students' coping strategies are strongly tied to their investment into certain aspects of Korean language and culture, as well as their desire to gain symbolic resources in the Korean language" (p. ii). Here, the students on the periphery were the Chinese international students who made up one third of the class and whose interest in Korean pop culture served as their main reason to invest in learning Korean. These students represent the transnational flow of education and human capital from East to West, from developing to developed country, and of China's rising upper-class. They also represent a

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[7] Many loan words frequently used by members of older generations are of Japanese origin, a remnant of the Japanese colonial period. As a contemporary reaction to this part of the nation's history, many of these loan words from Japanese are not only dispreferred, but are banned from public radio in favor of Korean terms.

[8] Admittedly, this has changed significantly, first through the increased popularity and accessibility of Korean satellite broadcasting and, now, the near ubiquity of media available via the internet.

subculture at an Anglo university where their authenticity as matriculated students is challenged both as non-native English speakers and as non-Canadians. Additionally, they are positioned differently than both 1.5 and second generation Korean Canadian students, who may not fit the stereotype of White Canada racially but, in the eyes of the Chinese international students, are considered Canadian based on their abilities in English and Canadian cultural capital. To offset these differences, the Chinese students utilized coping strategies that included silence when students fluent in English took the floor (when the class codeswitched into English), and "safe house styles of negotiation" (p. 115), which included arranging themselves together toward the back of the class, speaking in Mandarin with one another, and cultivating their interests in Korean popular culture, a symbolic resources in the Korean language and culture classroom.

For the young adults in the above studies, the Korean language learning process for young adults is one lived through the experience of being a person of Korean ancestry and identifying as Korean in some way (or, in the case of J. Shin's study, of being a marginalized member of the student community yet still investing in Korean). Whether questioning the validity of standard Korean vis-à-vis home forms (H.-Y. Jo, 2001), links between genealogy and language (Higgins & Stoker, 2011), trajectories of bi- or monolingualism (M. Jeon, 2010), or valorizations of classroom languages (J. Shin, 2009), each of these studies calls into question former assumptions about Korean language study, putting new focus on inclusivity. In terms of Korean ethnic identity, while H.-Y. Jo (2001; see also H.-Y. Jo, 2002) describes these experiences as a "third space," Higgins and Stoker as a "third place," and M. Jeon (2008, 2010; see also M. Jeon 2005) as "new ethnicities," each of these scholars calls for an understanding of non-normative ways of connecting with Korean and, more broadly, for a greater sense of inclusion in Korean language pedagogy, in Korean society, and in the Korean diaspora.

1.5. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have tied together a number of studies that underscore the significance of expanding inclusion within Korean language pedagogy, specifically in the HL context. By first outlining ways in which identity and SLA converge, I have shown that facets of identity are significant in language learning. In my discussion of national and personal identity in the diasporic Korean context, I have shown that not only has the Korean imaginary conflated race and ethnicity with national identity, but that this understanding includes assumptions of Korean as a given in the linguistic repertoires of ethnic Koreans. Problematizing this conflation are my discussion of hierarchical nationhood and diasporic Koreanness within the context of ethnic return migration, and a sensed connection on the part of overseas Koreans to the transnational Korean community. As it is frequently assumed that members of this community can or should speak Korean, the place of non-Korean-speakers within the diaspora comes into question, despite their sensed ties to Korean language and culture. As I have shown in my discussion of HL research, ethnolinguistic essentialism has also meant the integration of a discourse of loss and, subsequently, a deficit approach, in which not knowing one's prescribed HL means great consequence for individuals and society. In order to move away from this understanding, I have used research on language shift within individuals, families, and communities to frame such trends within the context of shifting perceptions of the relative value of linguistic capital. This repositioning replaces blame or pity with notions of individual (and familial) agency in a quest for linguistic capital and new identities. In addition, Avineri's (2012) metalinguistic community is a promising model in which to understand HL learning as an expression of ethnolinguistic affiliation, rather than viewing HL competence as a measure of ethnic authenticity. Finally, with

these understandings of language shift and identity as a response to Korean ethnolinguistic essentialism and deficit approaches to HL research, I have pointed to new directions in Korean-as-a-HL research that seek to open new spaces for identification as Korean.

SEEING THE IMAGINED: ON NARRATIVE ANALYSIS &

IDENTIFYING EXPRESSIONS OF IMAGINED COMMUNITIES

2.1. INTRODUCTION

As ideations, imagined communities may seem all but elusive. If we are to seek better

understandings of how learners conceptualize their target language communities and, even

further, how they view themselves fitting into those communities, how do we locate and

understand them? In this chapter I examine the occurrence of two storytelling sequences that

occur in my interview data. Within these narratives two types of reported speech appear: (1)

reported speech attributable to people met in real life, through lived experience, and (2) reported

speech not attributable to any one person from any one moment. This second form of reported

speech tends to follow laminating statements such as "Koreans say …" or "They're always like

…" and raises important questions of authorship and responsibility within the framework of

Goffman's (1981) production format. With this framework in mind, I label such statements the

animation of *aggregate figures*, reported speech attributable to no individual met in real life, but

that generalizes about "what Koreans say" and "how Koreans are."

Although similar to expressions of stereotypes in general, these aggregate figures are

employed in the narratives I examine in two distinct ways. First, through the progression of

interview topics—from participants' experiences growing up in their home countries, to deciding

to move to Korea, to experiences working there—the topic at hand is shaped by the co-operative

actions of interviewer and interviewee. As interviewees offer their impressions on aspects of life

in Korea, they often utilize such moments opportunistically as a springboard into a narrative of

personal experience, as an abstract to and transition into a narrative sequence that supports the impression. Second, in the telling of these narratives participants deploy the reported speech of aggregate figures unobtrusively, animating the imagined speech of generalized "Koreans" in a narrative otherwise pinpointable to one moment in time. This process is recursive; as interviewees utilize the topic at hand to transition into a narrative that highlights an impression of life in Korea, they also evaluate, interpret, and frame their understandings by deploying discursive embodiments of their impressions. It is in this animation of aggregate figures that I argue one may see representations of imagined communities. These are understandings of life in Korea and "Koreans" that may be based on a number of direct, lived experiences, yet have come to represent overall, aggregate understandings of people and place. As such, they are far more than anecdotes about what has happened once, but serve as expressions of the conclusions individuals draw from their experiences—conclusions that can be recursively deployed in the act of storytelling.

2.2. ON NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

Blommaert and Jie (2010) view narratives, or "anecdotes," as possibly the richest data that can be analyzed. They stress that interviews are conversations in which interviewers take part just as interviewees, and argue that within anecdotes

> people produce very complex sociocultural meanings. It is through
> an anecdote that we see what exactly they [interviewees]
> understand by a particular term, how our questions resonate in
> their own life worlds, how relevant it is, how their own life worlds
> are structured, which influences they articulate. We also see, by
> attending to anecdotes, that they have *cognitive, affective*
> *(emotional) and argumentative* functions. (p. 52)

Blommaert and Jie claim that anecdotes, although often looked at as tangential, provide knowledge about participants' life experiences and how they organize, frame, and evaluate them,

and it is exactly the "affective" and "argumentative" functions they mention that I examine in this chapter. Organization is crucial to Blommaert and Jie, who stress the importance of examining *coherence* in narratives, while calling for a broad understanding of "coherence." As they note: "There is always *some form of* coherence in texts: some ordering of textual components, some structuring of arguments, some use of communicative resources to mark and distinguish certain parts of a text from others" (p. 71). My argument below focuses on the understanding of textual coherence provided by Labov (1972), however, I wish to make clear as well *why* this coherence is important. Blommaert and Jie connect coherence to *truthfulness*, the manner in which texts are received as carrying social significance. This "truth" is not objective, but rather a mutually constructed understanding of what an anecdote brings to an interaction. Blommaert and Jie write: "'truth' is not a property of texts or utterances, but it is an interactionally constructed judgment of value … 'truth' and 'truthfulness' are textual properties that are attributed to texts on the basis of the reception of texts" (p. 71). Indeed, I see my participation, Blommaert and Jie's "interactionally constructed judgment of value," as taking three forms: (1) my dialogic participation in the interviews as conversations, including my questions, backchanneling, and demonstrations of affiliation; (2) my framing of the interviews as worth hearing—through requesting interviews and encouraging anecdotes in them; and (3) my analysis of the narratives that came about, and my framing of their truthfulness as both telling of participants' experiences in Korea and important to developing an understanding of the multiplicity of overseas Koreans' experiences in Korea. With this understanding of the weight of anecdote and anecdote as an object of study, I now move on to the more structural aspects of my analysis.

2.2.1. LABOV'S NARRATIVE SYNTAX

In Labov's (1972) study of "black vernacular style" (p. 355), Labov creates a taxonomy of components of what he calls *narratives of personal experience*, "in which the speaker becomes deeply involved in rehearsing or even reliving events of his past" (p. 354). According to Labov, such narratives are spoken accounts of lived experience that are constructed with the utterance of a minimum of two temporally ordered clauses.

Narrative syntax is still discussed by scholars of linguistics and ethnography 40 years after its inception as a means of working to understand the structure of storytelling. One common critique of Labov's research on narrative is that the data of his study were the result of "elicited" recounts of personal experience. That is, to obtain these narrative sequences, interviewers strategically[9] executed in their conversations with participants what Labov called the "danger-of-death" question, in which the interviewer asks, "Were you ever in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed, where you said to yourself—'This is it?'" (Labov, 1972, p. 354). As responses were told, interviewers refrained from interjecting in ways that might lead the narratives astray, but did aid in their momentum.[10]

Thirty-four years later, Labov (2006) stood by his understanding of narrative syntax and added to it his concept of *pre-construction*, a cognitive process in which tellers of narratives decide how far back in a sequence of events they must go in order to sufficiently background their narratives. To do this, storytellers begin with the tellable event, the "punch line," which

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[9] Labov (1972) writes: "Our technique does not utilize fixed questionnaires, but a schedule of topics with some transitions and questions specified in exact detail. It should be noted that the placement of the danger-of-death question is an important point. Ludicrous results are obtained when students introduce it in a mechanical way in the style of a conventional interview" (p. 354).

[10] In Labov's analysis, interviewers' questions and interjections are transcribed in parentheses, the lines unnumbered.

Labov labels "e_0." They then count back in a string of normally *un*reportable events, "e_{-1}," "e_{-2}," etc., until they reach a point that they feel is sufficient to background their narratives and begin the story.

2.2.1.1. LABOV'S NARRATIVE SYNTAX – COMPONENTS

Labov (1972) states that the structure of narrative is one that has "a beginning, a middle, and an end" (p. 362) and generally include the following structural components: There may be an *abstract*, "one of two clauses summarizing the whole story" (p. 363), after which there may be an *orientation*, clauses that "identify in some way the time, place, persons, and their activity of the situation" (p. 364). Next, and necessarily, there are *complicating actions* and *results* or *resolutions*, which make up the main content of the narrative and the minimum essential components "if we are to recognize a narrative" (p. 370). In addition, there may be a *coda*, "one of the many options to the narrator for signaling that the narrative is finished" (p. 365) and which, if done well, "leaves the listener with a feeling of satisfaction and completeness that matters have been rounded off and accounted for" (p. 366). Finally, there may be *evaluation*, or "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its raison d'être: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at" (p. 366). Interestingly, not only can evaluation serve to frame the entirety of a narrative, but Labov describes how it frequently takes the form of *free orientation clauses*, "evaluation by suspension of the action" (p. 374). Labov writes: "the most interesting thing about orientation is its *placement*. It is theoretically possible for all free orientation clauses to be placed at the beginning of the narrative, but in practice, we find much of this material is placed at strategic points later on" (p. 365). This strategic placement can be employed for evaluative effect, and Labov explains categorically how free orientation can be used as evaluation, including: external evaluation (e.g. "It was mortifying."), and various forms

of embedded evaluation, including quoting the narrator's or others' thought processes of the time (e.g. "I felt mortified." or "The others were mortified."), quoting one's speech from the narrated time (e.g. "I said, 'This is the most mortifying thing…!' "), quoting others' speech in the narrated time (e.g. "The others said, 'How mortifying!'"), or evaluative action (e.g. "I was speechless.") (p. 370-373).

Labov summarizes the roles of these narrative components as follows:

> A complete narrative begins with an orientation, proceeds to the complicating action, is suspended at the focus of the evaluation before the resolution, concludes with the resolution, and returns the listener to the present time with the coda. The evaluation of the narrative forms a secondary structure which is concentrated in the evaluation section but may be found in various forms throughout the narrative. (1972, p. 369)

Using this understanding of the components of a narrative, the narratives I examine below fit well. There are codas, or summaries of experiences, orientations that situate experience in particular times and places, details of these experiences that could serve as Labov's complicating actions, evaluations, and codas that summarize the results of experience and bring the narrative into the present in the form of an overall understanding of the past as it relates to life in the present, life in Korea in general. This stands in contrast to some critiques of Labov's narrative syntax that purport that the interview format is unnatural, and that as elicited storytelling sequences the data that led to his components might be adulterated vis-à-vis naturally occurring discourse. The storytelling sequences I examine are not initiated by a "danger of death"-type question; although I provided the interview questions in advance and suggested to interviewees that anecdotes may make their interviews more interesting, during the interviews storytelling sequences are initiated freely, opportunistically, and by the interviewees' own volition.

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2.2.2. ON REPORTED SPEECH

In analyzing expressions of imagined communities, I will point out instances of the use of reported speech and animation, analyzing these phenomena with Goffman's (1981) *production format*, which breaks down the act of reporting speech as a lamination of various agents.[11] First, there is the *animator* or *sounding box*, the person emitting an utterance in the moment (in this case, the interviewees). Next, and of great importance to my analysis, is the *figure*, a character created in the act of storytelling or, more precisely, in the act of reporting speech. The figure is significant in that it is generally tied to an *author*, or the party from whom the quoted material ostensibly originated. Many of the figures animated in my participants' interviews have no pinpointable author, in instances such as "Koreans always say …" For this there are two implications: First, in the absence of an author, the figures animated are not concrete figures, no specifiable people seen or met in real life; rather, they are *aggregate figures*, figures that represent conglomerations of experiences with various people across time and space (whether met, seen, or heard of). Second, the presence of a figure speaking and acting without an author calls into question the role of the *principal*, the final party of Goffman's production format. Goffman describes the principal as

> someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed
> to what the words say … one deals in this case not so much with a
> body or mind as with a person active in some particular social
> identity or role, some special capacity as a member of a group,
> office, category, relationship, association, or whatever, some
> socially based source of self-identification. (1981, p. 145)

More concisely, C. Goodwin (forthcoming) defines the principal as the "party who is socially responsible for having performed the action done by the original utterance of that talk" (p. 19).

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[11] Goffman's production format being thoroughly complex, my understanding of it draws directly from the works of C. Goodwin (2007, p. 18-20) and M. H. Goodwin (1990, p. 232-234).

However, if figures may appear in narrative sequences without authors attributed to them, or as generalizations, does this mean there is no principal? If so, who is, then, socially responsible for the utterance?

The answer may lie in conceptualizing reported speech as the fundamental creation of a new social action. M. H. Goodwin (1990) notes that an animator "both enacts the talk and the speaker being quoted, and simultaneously comments on them" (p. 233). By calling upon an array of multimodal semiotic resources to demonstrate or depict, rather than describe, speakers have the ability to animate in one short utterance what C. Goodwin describes as a "socially consequential image of another speaker" (forthcoming, p. 20). This line of thought is supported by Labov's (1972) discussion of free orientation clauses as a narrative resource for framing, C. Goodwin's (forthcoming) understanding of laugh tokens as providing commentary on reported speech, or in Vološinov's (1986) understanding of quoted speech as inherently novel, by virtue of its removal from the original source and context. In other words, in the act of laminating some other layer of affect (e.g. evaluation), interpretation (e.g. framing), or meaning in general (e.g. affiliation, sarcasm), a new action is created. As such, reported speech represents an opportunity to call into existence a figure that does not exist, a figure onto which the stance of the animator has been added, and a figure who has been reframed in such a way as to have social significance as mediated by the storyteller. It is in this creation of new action, I argue, that the responsibility lies. As storytellers animate aggregate figures, they forge social commentary on the imagined community represented—here, "Koreans."

2.3. DATA ANALYSIS

2.3.1. MONICA'S NARRATIVE: "KIM NE KIMBAB"

Monica, in her mid-twenties at the time of the interview, was born in Korea and, as an infant, immigrated with her parents to Iowa, where her father attended graduate school and later worked in academia. She grew up one of few Asians in her town, speaking only Korean at home. After high school she attended art school in Maryland where she developed her first Korean friends and learned even more Korean, having the opportunity to interact with more Korean speakers of her age, who had come from Korea more recently. After working for a year as a set designer in New York, Monica left her job and with it her working visa (she is a Korean citizen). Optimistic to explore the opportunities that the country of her citizenship could offer, Monica moved to Korea to be a musical actress. After a year of training and performing, Monica found a new career in broadcast journalism. She became an English writer for a Korean culture program at a bilingual radio station aimed at exporting Korean culture, and eventually went on to found her own online magazine and small media corporation.

In the conversation directly preceding the narrative sequence I examine, I had suggested two options for discussion: (1) Monica's perceptions of her Korean proficiency vis-à-vis her knowledge of Korean cultural norms and (2) *Seoulist*, the online magazine that she founded. This interaction is found in lines 1-19 (see full transcript, Appendix A), after which Monica responds in line 20 with "Let's talk about Koreanness." By introducing the term "Koreanness" herself, we see the way in which Monica frames "Korean ability" and "saaviness in regard to Korean culture" as "Koreanness" in general. In lines 21-35 I had reiterated Monica's past, in which she spent the majority of her formative years in the United States, yet still she came to speak Korean very well (lines 27-28). This led to the question of whether people in Korea know that Monica

was not raised in Korea when they interact with her (lines 33-35). In lines 37-51 Monica

describes in general how she was received in the past: At first it was her mannerisms, unusually

bright demeanor, and slightly awkward way of speaking that set her apart from others (lines 39-

47). Koreans' general reaction to this was that they would look at her strangely (line 51). Here,

the implication is that even as her cultural competency developed, Monica's manner of speaking

set her apart from what may be perceived as normal Korean behavior, making her an oddity vis-

à-vis Korean norms.

In making a series of general comments on life in Korea, Monica lays a groundwork onto

which she can opportunistically base her narrative.

Monica:	Umm (.) so in the beginning I:: (.) you know people looked at me stra:ngely::. And then later when I got a little more accustomed to Korean culture and the language? (.) people later started assuming that I was (.) kind of like, dumb? (.) Or like (.)
Chris:	((laughs))
Monica:	No, they really did! Be*cause* they're like "Okay, she looks Korean, she speaks Korean fine, but she like, doesn't understand this word? Is she like, stupid?" I literally thought a lot of people- like en en I: (.) just became a little self-conscious a- about that. *For example* I can't read Chinese characters. (.) Right?

Here Monica explains the ways in which perceptions of her shifted, saying that as she became

accustomed to the language and the culture, she came to speak Korean "fine." This "fine,"

however, is given in the context of Monica quoting what she has perceived to be Koreans'

reactions to her: "Because they're like: 'Okay, she looks Korean, she speaks Korean fine, but she

doesn't understand this word. Is she, like, stupid?'" According to Monica, at this point in the

interview (and in her life), gaps in her lexicon had become the main issue; although she *sounds*

to Koreans as though she speaks Korean fluently, she does not have as broad and complex a

grasp of the Korean lexicon as might be expected of a reasonably educated Korean of her age. In

conveying this sentiment through the deployment of reported speech, Monica utilizes "people"

and "they're like." In doing so, her reported speech is attributable to no individual Korean, but rather the aggregation of many Koreans. Thus we see that her imagined Korean community is one into which she does not unproblematically fit. Indeed, she goes on to note how this affected her: "And I just became really self-conscious about that." Here, not only can we see an incarnation of Monica's imagined community, but we see as well the direct repercussions to her feelings of non-acceptance.

Monica's statement, "And I just became really self-conscious about that / For example, I can't read Chinese characters, right?" are essential to transition into her narrative. They accomplish this in three ways: (1) They serve as an abstract that foregrounds the narrative; (2) They show that Monica's inability to read Chinese characters is one aspect of a greater problem, not always passing as a normative member of Korean society; and (3) The problematic nature of this lack of knowledge is one that leaves her self-conscious, affecting her overall feelings of acceptance in Korea. These lines are implemented opportunistically to initiate the narration of a tellable event, fitting Labov's definition of an abstract, which summarizes the main content of a narrative as well as foreshadows why the narrative to come is tellable.

Once the narrative is introduced with the two-line abstract, Monica moves into the orientation as follows:

Monica: *For example* I can't read Chinese characters. (.) Right? And so (.) umm (.) there's a:: (.) famous:: (.) uh kimbab fastfood chain called "Kim Ka Ne Kimbab." A:nd (.) thuh:: (.) Their si:gnage or their logo is "KI:M KA:: NE" but the "KA" is in Chinese, and so:: it's also a different color, I believe it's red? Whereas "KIM" and "NE" is: (.) in black. So for me, from a visual standpoint, and also, as a Korean who doesn't read Chinese, I always read it as "KIM NE KIMBAB."

This Labovian orientation provides information that is not part of the temporally ordered sequence of events (the actions and complicating actions), but rather information that

foreshadows later evaluation. Here, Monica notes that the restaurant of which she is speaking is "famous," an important detail in contrasting others' knowledge of the restaurant's name with her lack of knowledge. In explaining the signage (see Figure 1, below), Monica calls attention to the difference between *hanja*, Chinese characters, and *hanjaeo*, Chinese character-based vocabulary used in Korean but written in Hangul (the Korean alphabet). Although estimates put the prevalence of *hanjaeo* in the Korean lexicon at somewhere between 60-70%, *hanja* themselves are seldom used in Korean writing, save for academic contexts and a few high-frequency characters, such as "beauty" (美), "day" (日), "year" (年), "North Korea" (北韓), or "house," in the meaning of "family" or "household" (家)—the character in question here. These high-frequency characters are generally used in either print advertising, signage, or newspaper headlines. In addition to the question of orthography, Monica also frames the signage from the standpoint of a visual artist, someone for whom the aesthetic (color, style) is a salient way of viewing the world. Just after this she also frames herself as "a Korean who doesn't read Chinese characters," an important aspect of *in situ* identity expression in discourse as well as the intersection of framing and identity in conversation (Kang, 2008); Monica identifies herself as Korean, simply one who does not read *hanja*.

FIGURE 1. KIM KA NE KIMBAB: THE LOGO

Below is the logo of "Kim Ka Ne" ("Kim's Place"), the *kimbab* fast food chain in Monica's story. (1) indicates in black Hangul that this is the sign of the Daehakro (a neighborhood in Seoul) location. (2) indicates the full name of the chain: "Kim Ka Ne Kimbab" (the "Ka" in *hanja*, the rest in Hangul).

(3) indicates in small, black Hangul: "A famous house for kimbab on-the-spot." Interestingly, (4) is a mere parenthetical repeat in *hanja* of what comes before in Hangul, "famous house."

Finally, the words most relevant to Monica's narrative are (5). The first word, "Kim," is written in black in Hangul, as is the third word, "Ne" ("'s place"). The middle word, however, in red, is the Chinese character for "home," making for a more direct translation of the name something akin to "The House of Kim's Place."
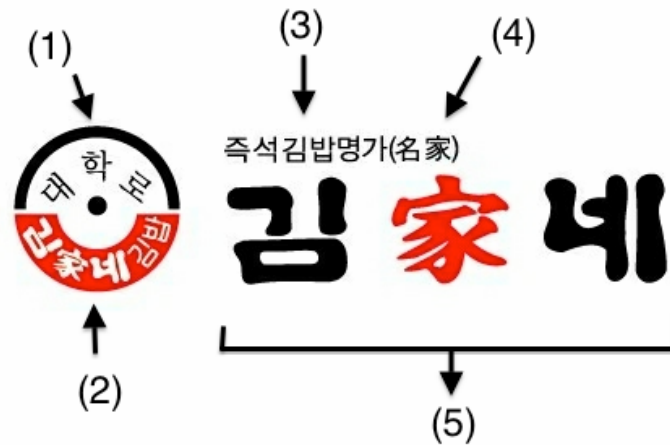
In line with Labov's (2006) work in pre-construction, Monica traces the narrative backward in time from the reportable event (the punch line of the story still to come), to the beginning of the temporally ordered sequence of events.

Monica: I walk into KIM KA NE, or, back when I used to call it KIM NE KIMBAB, one day, and usually I always get the *modeum* kimbab (("everything kimbab")), which is like the more expensive one? It's like, it's like *sam cheon won* or something, right? ((about three dollars))
And then this one day I like didn't have enough *ca:sh* for like, my: (.) bi:g kimbab that I always get, so: (.) I had to get the most original, basic kimbab, which is called the Kim Ka Ne Kimbab, but

even on the menu it says KI:M, Chinese character, NE:, KIM, BAB.

Labov (1972) stresses the importance of narratives as "temporally ordered" (p. 360), going so far as to say that "Because … they refer to an indefinite number of occasions … clauses containing *used to*, *would*, and the *general present* are not narrative clauses and cannot support a narrative" (p. 361-362). Such clauses include Monica's "and usually I always get the modeum kimbab (("everything *kimbab*"))," and constitute Labov's free orientation. Monica uses this free orientation to frame this day as exceptional in that she "didn't have enough cash" to pay for the "more expensive" *kimbab* that she usually buys, a fact that forced her to compromise and order "the most original, basic kimbab," which happened to carry the same name as the restaurant.

Given this backgrounding—Monica's orientation and backtracking to a normally unreportable event (walking into a restaurant)—Monica is in a position to tell the punch line of her story, the moment at which she first uttered what she believed to be the name of this restaurant in front of a native Korean audience, her friends and the restaurant workers.

Monica: And so I ordered, like, "KIM NE KIMBAB han joolyo." (("One roll of Kim Ne kimbab, please.")) And … they looked at me … and I couldn't place it at first? And then the people I was with started cracking up and like fell over on the floo:r.
Chris: ((laughs))
Monica: And the::n (.) all of a sudden I hear all the ajummas (("older women")) like ((talking in this 'n stuff)) and it started at the cashier, went into the restaurant, and then, (.) by like (.) you know, like, five seconds later, the ajummas in the joobang (("kitchen")), like, in the kitchen in the back, were like, "*Kim ka ne kim ne kimbab ireuhkae((neun))*." (("'Kim Ne' instead of "Kim Ka Ne?!")) And they're all *lau:ghing* at me:!
And I was sooo like, (.) dumbfounded I didn't know what to do:, except to defend myself, you know? What do you do when you're caught in those situations, so, you become very defensive, so: (.) in my:: perfectly normal Korean, I said "*I'm not a Korean! I'm not a Korean! I don't read Kore- I don't read Chinese characters!*" And like you know it's just like, very funny if you think about it. It's

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just me saying in English, like, I:: don't speak English. Quit making fun of me.

Chris: Ri::ght, ri::ght, but you're saying it perfectly?

Yaeri: Yeah, so I just remember I'm like, *"Jeo hanguk saram anieyo! Jeo babo aniyeyo!"* (("I'm not a Korean person! I'm not an idiot!")) And everyone was just like (.) still laughing at me.

Given Monica's earlier orientation regarding the true name of the restaurant, by this point in the narrative's telling it should be clear (1) that "kim ne kimbab" is not the correct name of this "famous" restaurant's signature dish and (2) why an entire restaurant is laughing at her order, which could be likened to someone walking into one of the United States' most prevalent fast food chains and ordering a "Big Marc." Interestingly, Monica's animation of herself as saying "I'm not a Korean!" seems to contradict her earlier statement in the context of the interview, "as a Korean who doesn't read Chinese." Also, in setting a scene in which "everyone," including the "ajummas … in the kitchen in the back," were laughing at her, she furthers the impression of herself as odd or laughable in the eyes of Koreans.

Finally, after an insertion sequence in which I ask when she finally learned what was so amusing about her order, and her response that only after the laughter ended did one of her accompanying friends explain to her what was funny (see full transcript), Monica draws connection between this narrative and her general feelings of integration in Korea in a coda:

Monica: I've had a lot of instances where I:: u:m: (.) mess u:p or slip en- (.) but I find that i-it you know people:? (.) um, to a certain extent they:: (.) you kno- we say kwuiyeopke bwajo. Like, they're like, "Oh that's cu::te" (.) you know, like if I was a- *pure* Korean and I did that they would be like "Oh my go::sh, what an idiot," like (.) "don't talk to me?" (.)
Bu:t uh: (.) I find that there's: tha:t (.) kind- I'm: *o:ne* degree removed from: li:ke (.) *the rest* (.) like, so for example I can use it to my advantage, (.) so when- (.) when I mess u:p? like instead of people being upset at me they might say like "Oh:, well she's not from here:," or, "Oh::, she's like, America:n." And *so::* in *tha:t* sense? (.) *yea::h* you can even~even exploit*t* your:, uh:: ignorance to a certain extent.

Chris: So: (.) I'm confused when people give you that kind of leeway, do
            you think it's like that (.) on a *us*ual ba:sis they look at you *a:s*
            someone who's not Korean?
Monica: I guess so:? And in that sense: (.) I don't think I fit in really
            anywhere, because it's like I'm not (.) I'll never be American but
            I'll never be *pur*ely Korean either. I don't think- (0.4) No matter
            how hard I tried, and even if I learned a:ll the words in the Korean
            vocabulary:? I don't think I could live that way, I just don't think I
            could be the Korean that everyone expects me to be? And I'll
            always catch people off gua:rd.

Monica states that instances such as this are ones in which she "mess[es] up and slip[s]," but that

Koreans often give her leeway when they know she is not from Korea or, as she puts it, she is not

"pure Korean." This Korean-but-not interpretation is supported by her animation of aggregate

Korean figures in the explanation of the leeway she is given: "'Oh, well she's not from here,' or

'Oh, she's like, American.'" Both statements seem to leave open some access to Koreanness.

Monica also notes what she believes would be the contrasting responses of Koreans if she were

"pure Korean": she would be looked at as an "idiot" with whom people would not want to

associate; if they learn that she was raised in America, however, they look at such incidents as

"cute," or, as the narrative implies, amusing.

Through the opportunistic insertion of a narrative of personal experience, Monica is able

to both highlight and add credulity to her overall interpretation of life in Korea as someone

negotiating acceptance. At the same time, as Monica intertwines into her narrative the animation

of aggregate figures, she is able to fluidly incorporate incarnations of her imagined Korean

community. This intertwining is unobtrusive, as Monica reports both the speech of figures that

exist (her order is hers, and the older women's repetition of her order is theirs), as well as the

speech of aggregate figures. Noteworthy as well is that these aggregate figures primarily appear

not in the complicating actions of her narrative, what "really" happened, but in the coda and

Monica's statements leading up to the abstract. In other words, by utilizing laminating structures

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such as "they're like," "they would be like," and "they might say," Monica is able to leverage her time and experience living in Korea to create aggregations of Koreans, figures she deploys in the narrative sections that speak more broadly to the overall experience of living in Korea as Korean-but-not. In turn, this reported speech adds credulity to Monica's overall sentiment that she does not "fit in really anywhere," and that even if she "learned all the words in the Korean vocabulary" she could not be "the Korean that everyone expects [her] to be."

2.3.2. JEN'S NARRATIVE: "WHY DON'T YOU SPEAK KOREAN?!"

Jen's narrative is also one that links ethnolinguistic assumptions that conflate race and language with experiences of judgment, but specifically from the standpoint of a Korean adoptee and Korean language learner. Jen is an overseas Korean adoptee in her early forties, adopted from Korea as a young girl by a White family in Colorado. After graduating from college with a degree in journalism she worked for a newspaper in Idaho for a year before moving to Korea to teach English at a *hagwon*, or "cram school." After a few years teaching, Jen moved to Hawaii to earn a master's degree in Korean Studies at the University of Hawaii, Manoa, and, after finishing, returned to Korea on a Korea Foundation scholarship to study Korean for one year. She left the program to work fulltime as an English lecturer at a women's university in Seoul, where she had been working for ten years at the time of the interview. Although she had no involvement in the overseas adoptee community during her first Korean sojourn, during her lengthier second sojourn, Jen became heavily involved in Adoptee Solidarity Korea (ASK), an organization dedicated to raising awareness of the problematic causes and consequences of Korea's history of international adoption. The ultimate goal of the organization is to support ways of ending the practice of transnational adoption permanently through alternative support systems.

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Jen's narrative deals with the lingering memory of an instance in which she was publicly shamed for not being able to speak Korean. Discussing her second time in Korea, Jen mentions that it took her yet another few years to become involved in adoptee activism. When asked what had kept her attention up to that time, she replied that it was language school. In lines 4-58 (see full transcript, Appendix B), Jen discusses her history learning Korean at Yonsei—arguably the most famous Korean language school in the world—and the difficulty she had with the style of teaching there. In lines 21-42 she notes that her main difficulties were the memorization-heavy pedagogy and its focus on learning grammatical patterns. She equates this method to that of college logic courses, finding it similar to the manipulation of mathematical formulas (lines 32-39). She adds that this difficulty was ironic, given that she was in the "B section,"[12] which is generally for "slower" learners whose first languages are Western languages. In lines 60-73 Jen adds that she was in a romantic relationship with someone with whom she spoke English, implying that this led her astray from speaking Korean outside of school (and perhaps cut into her focus outside of instruction). In line 74 I ask Jen if these experiences affected her "overall desire to learn Korean," to which she replied that they did. This exchange leads her into the telling of her narrative.

As Jen explains her frustrations with learning Korean, she initiates a narrative that exemplifies her experiences being shamed by Koreans for her perceived lack of Korean.

```
74    Chris    *hh umm (.) and (.) did this affect your overall desire to learn Korean
75    Chris    i[n general?
76    Jen        [o:h totally
```

[12] Formerly known as the "B Course," now as the 8 Level Regular Course, this series is designed for Western language speakers and covers in 24 months material comparable to that covered in the 6 Level Regular Course, which is generally completed in 18 months. The Yonsei Korean Language Institute has a majority Chinese and Japanese patronage, generally tracked into the "A Course" (the 6 Level Regular Course).

77	Chris	okay
78	Jen	yonsei: was a bad expe:rience:
79	Jen	en::d um::
80	Jen	you know I had had several experiences being,
81	Jen	you know, actually,
82		(1.0)
83	Jen	my first couple of years here=
84	Chris	=[mm hm=
85	Jen	[um::
86	Jen	if you wan- (.) I-
87	Jen	I- kin tell you my first
88		(0.7)
89	Chris	you mean your very first or [your new first time,
90	Jen	[yeah my very first time
91	Jen	my most (0.3)
92	Jen	my first time of really (0.3)
93	Jen	feeling embarrassed or actually like (0.5)
94	Jen	basically kind of- (.) mo:rtifie:d?
95	Jen	unexpectedly?
96	Jen	was when uh::m (0.8)
97	Jen	*tt uh:: we went to: yo:ngi:- the- yo:ngi:n: (.) folk village

Jen's narrative begins with an offer to tell, which, condensed, becomes "If you want I can tell you my first, my most, my first time of really feeling embarrassed, or actually like, basically kind of mortified unexpectedly" (lines 86-95). Just as Monica initiated her narrative, Jen does so opportunistically, utilizing the preceding talk of frustration as an abstract and connecting it to a memorable event that she categorizes as embarrassing, mortifying, and unexpected. This narrative is made further relevant by Jen's utterances in lines 80 ("You know I had had several experiences") and 83 ("my first couple of years here"); although she does not finish these utterances, these free orientations clauses serve to incorporate an idea that it was *several* experiences such as the one to be recounted that affected her overall feelings. In line 97 we see the orientation and first action: "We went to the Yongin Folk Village." Before continuing, Jen breaks the events of the narrative to insert a number of free orientation clauses that explain that she was accompanied by coworkers and their adult students (see full transcript).

Interestingly, Jen's narrative includes only three actions. The first action is an otherwise untellable event, Jen's party's arrival at a folk village. This also serves as Jen's orientation and is followed by further free orientation, the explanation of the man's pin. Jen then continues to the complicating action as follows.

> Jen: And so we were going to the umm (.) folk village? And I remember:: um (.) the *gree*ter, (.) like some ajeosshi,[13] the greeter at the folk village, he had a little pin on? (.) his shirt? (.) that said "Idaho?" Which is where my parents are from?
> And so I think I said to him like, ((gasp)) "Oh!" you know, like, (0.8) "I'm from Idaho!" like, "Oh, look at your pin!" or something like that, and he was just *like* (0.9) ((gruff voice)) "Are you Kore:an?! Why don't you speak Kore:an?!"

The second event of the narrative is Jen's statement to the man that he was wearing a pin of the state from which her parents came. Directly following this is the third event, the man's questioning, "Are you Korean?! Why don't you speak Korean?!" The abruptness of the comment, emphasized by the preceding "just," (0.9) pause, and gruff tone with which Jen demonstrates, rather than merely describes the man's speech, serves to underscore the weight of this comment.

Jen focuses her narrative on the evaluation section. From the beginning of the orientation to the end of the coda, the narrative clauses themselves only constitute approximately one fifth of the narrative's total length. Once Jen tells the main complicating action, she continues with a concentration of free orientation clauses in an evaluation section.

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[13] The term "ajeosshi" is one the primary indexical value of which describes an "older man." Secondarily, use of the term when speaking English seems to index a number of sociocultural factors: (1) Koreanness (a non-Korean man would likely not be described in English as "ajeosshi"), (2) social hierarchies that include deference to elders, and (3) a stereotyped disposition on behalf of *ajeosshis* that, in my opinion, may include such elements as indifference to the needs and wants of the younger and an expectation of deference on the part of the younger to one's own wants.

Jen: Anyway he just went off on this, like, tirade fer (.) en- en- at the
         time it was in front of like, my friends who were kind of new
         friends? I didn't know very well? And he was sing- singling *me*
         out? (.) And I just remember being like- the Ko*re*ans that were
         there were very im- like also: (.) embarrassed? And then I just
         remember feeling like (.) sha:med in front of my sort of- (.) people-
         that-I-want-to-get-to-kno::w friends, e:n- and he was- (.) I felt like
         he you know he was bera:ting me: which is now I- I mean I know
         now that- that just-he was being just a Korean ajeosshi, right? But
         like sayi:ng you know, "Why don't you speak Korean" in front of
         a::ll (.) these people::?
         […]
         And um: (0.8) I just remember being like (0.5) just really taken off
         guard, (1.0) feeling: (.) like totally:: (0.2) sha::med by this person,
         (.) and ju:dged by this person, a:nd (.) just lik- (.) kind of mortified.
         (.) And that's the first time I really fee:l (.) I fel- remember feeling
         tha:t wa::y (.) u:m: (.) and I didn't really understa::nd, (0.4) even
         why I felt that way:: (.) or::, or whatever but- (0.3) *yeah*:: that's:: (.)
         I mean obviously I can still remember that experience?

Jen's use of the word "tirade" both intensifies the story through repetition and, in conjunction

with what seems to have been the beginning of a time reference, "fer" ("for" some unnamed

period of time), serves to suspend the sequence of events to emphasize the intensity and duration

of the man's chastising. Likewise, Jen's embarrassment (her own quoted feeling) is intensified

with the free orientation clauses that describe the audience of this "berating": *Jen* was singled out

and chastised in front of her "people-that-I-want-to-get-to-know friends," who were "also very

embarrassed" (others' quoted feeling). With her statement, "I know now he was just being like, a

Korean ajeosshi," Jen animates her present-day self as someone who, if confronted similarly

today, would not allow such comments to affect her so deeply. Along the same lines, Jen's

statement "I didn't really understand even why I felt that way" indicates her progression in self-

realization, that her involvement in the adoptee community has helped her understand the ways

that her racial, ethnic, and linguistic identity converge.

Finally, Jen transitions into a coda that connects this narrative to her life in Korea, to the situation of many overseas Koreans living in Korea, and, consequently, to the purpose of the interview.

> Jen: 'Cause you know I think you can go:- Especially if you hang out with White peop-ple:: (.) you can just be like oh:: you kno::w, like a lot of adoptees are like oh well I'm just like them, (.) and I think I had that attitude, (.) but umm (.) then when I was singled out, (.) um (.) knowing tha:t- it's:- the whole idea "Are you Korean," and you *know* you're *Korean*, but then, (.) you know they're- (.) basically:: (.) you know, you can- it can be in*ter*preted that they're: (0.3) making a judgment on- the very essence of your identity, or what it means to be Korean, and they're questioning your validity as a Korean person. And of course you know, (.) that's (.) can be really hurtful and offensive, especially as an adopted person because it's not like (.) you can't help it. And then they start saying things like, "Well why didn't your parents teach you Korean?!" It's like, "Why do I have to tell my life history to every stranger that asks me?"
>
> […]
>
> Those kinds of experience you know everybody has them, (.) every adoptee has them, (.) probably every gyopo has them, too, (.) um (.) you know people aren't like that as much anymore but you know this was (.) 15 years ago, (.) um (.) and uh:: (.) you know I think I also::, um (.) I internalize*d* so many things about language which I think a lot of adoptees do:, because we have (.) we internalize this other, this expectation from our teachers, or from other Koreans, that be*cause* we are:: (.) Korean, (.) um: (.) that we should have some residual knowledge of the language (.) or the language is somehow truly "within your bloo::d"

Here Jen explains her perceptions of Koreans' understood connection between language and genealogy. She indicates that these experiences that "every adoptee" and "probably every gyopo" has are likely internalized "from our teachers, or from other Koreans"—an idea that the Korean language "is somehow truly 'within your blood.'" Whereas Jen's reported speech in the complicating actions is pinpointable to either herself or to the greeter, at the end of her coda she seems to be quoting speech from aggregate Korean figures, "our teachers" and "other Koreans." She first notes these aggregate figures' view that "we should have some residual knowledge" of

Korean, then seems to meld her own speech with theirs as she says the language is "somehow truly 'within your blood.'" By this point, at the end of her coda and narrative, Jen has brought together three major points: (1) this experience of being mortified was one that has remained with her, but is not uncommon; (2) her imagined Korean community views language and genealogy as inherently connected, and lets this be known; and (3) experiences such as this one have affected her overall experience learning the Korean language.

Just as Monica had done with her narrative, Jen adds credulity to her broad impressions of life in Korea and her "overall desire to learn Korean" through the opportunistic insertion of her narrative, in which she intertwines the animation of figures both encountered and imagined. As such, the opportunistic initiation of this narrative fits the interaction well, substantiating Jen's frustration with learning Korean through a series of points on discouragement. As the narrative serves to exemplify Jen's views on Korean learning and Koreans' thoughts on language, Jen is also able to unobtrusively insert members of her imagined Korean community into her narrative in the form of aggregate figures.

2.4. Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter I have tied together theories of narrative analysis and reported speech to achieve one primary goal: to locate one possible locus of visibility for the expression of imagined communities. I have shown that as interviewees animate aggregate figures—here, "Koreans" in general—they employ reported speech attributable to no individual from any one moment in time, generalized views on "what Koreans say" and "how Koreans are." What makes these aggregate figures distinct from mere stereotypes is their embodiment as figures within a narrative of personal experience. As participants discuss their thoughts on Korea, they

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opportunistically initiate narrative sequences that highlight those thoughts. Indeed, these narratives add credulity to participants' opinions by virtue of being based on some lived experience. Yet, within these narratives—real-life occurrences meant to support overall impressions—we see that participants may also recursively employ embodiments of their impressions in the form of aggregate figures.

From this exploration of imagined communities and participants' views on life in Korea, a number of additional phenomena become of interest. First, storytelling sequences are initiated opportunistically, through the co-operative actions of interviewer and interviewee. As I, the interviewer, guide the succession of general topics, participants use their discussions of aspects of life in Korea as springboards into narratives that highlight their impressions, the preceding discussion serving as both an abstract to and transition into the narratives. Second, these narratives fit well Labov's (1972) narrative syntax, both in overall structure and forms of evaluation. These two points counter one of the major critiques of Labov's narrative syntax, that the data he examined in developing his framework were "elicited" in one-sided interviews, thus calling into question the applicability of the framework to naturally occurring conversation.

Finally, and of broader importance to our understanding of language teaching and learning, is an underscoring of the breadth of what imagined communities and investment can entail. Norton (2002) notes that when learners interact with the target language "they are also constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world" (p. 3). Whereas Kanno and Norton (2003) note that imagined communities are those "with whom we connect through the power of the imagination" and, in doing so, may "feel a sense of community with people we have not met, but perhaps hope to meet one day" (p. 241), Monica and Jen's narratives reveal that their imagined Korean communities include negative

affective aspects, feelings of exclusion or non-acceptance. Although I do not purport that Monica and Jen's overall impressions of Korea are negative—indeed, both Monica and Jen have freely chosen to live in Korea long-term—I highlight the problematic aspects of their imagined communities. Through examining these narratives, we see that as individuals accumulate experience—both positive and negative—with the target language community, it is the aggregation of this experience that comes to form overall, multi-faceted imagined communities, not simply the targets of aspiration, but imagined sites for the negotiation of belonging.

CHAPTER THREE

PROBLEMATIZING SITUATIONAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF KOREAN LANGUAGE ABILITY

AS A MEASURE OF ETHNOLINGUISTIC COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP

3.1. INTRODUCTION

If in interviews with overseas Koreans living in Korea we may see discursive manifestations of language users' imagined communities, and those imagined communities are aggregations of experiences both positive and negative, what is the personal significance of Korean in the day-to-day lives of overseas Koreans living in Korea? In this chapter I compare interview excerpts that deal with two topics: (1) Koreans' expectations of overseas Koreans' language abilities and (2) overseas Koreans' desires for, expectations of, and evaluations of their own Korean ability. Important here is Silverstein's (1979) concept of *salience*, or what we view as important in language and what that says about our thoughts on language. Silverstein derives this concept from a reflexive understanding of the relationship between linguistic ideologies and structure, in which observed patterns in language inform conscious understandings of norms, and this conscious understanding subsequently comes to reproduce the linguistic structures observed. In this sense, the arbitrary nature of what we discursively construct as salient becomes essential to understanding both language ideologies and the recursive processes by which our understandings of language build and reinforce the very structures we believe to be observing.

First, I outline definitions of the linguistic anthropological field of language ideologies, elucidating the progression of research from a structure-based form of inquiry to a linguistic-repertoire-based focus. In doing this, I shed light on the processes by which languages, language use, and individuals' linguistic repertoires become objects of metadiscourse and, consequently,

judgment. Second, and relatedly, I show that as ethnolinguistic essentialism is a lens through which groups' and individuals' linguistic repertoires are judged, an emerging emphasis in research has also been to highlight language shift as situated in local identity formation. Third, in examining four further interviews with overseas Koreans who discuss their use of Korean, I demonstrate that the varying needs and desires of overseas Koreans for their Korean language abilities conflict with Koreans' situational understandings of Korean ability as a measure of ethnolinguistic community membership. Whereas overseas Koreans perceive Koreans' judgment of their Korean proficiency as calling into question their authenticity as ethnic Koreans, I demonstrate that overseas Koreans have varying personal understandings of their own Korean language ability and the necessity of Korean in their daily lives.

3.2. LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES & SHIFTING LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES

In this section I examine definitions of "language ideologies" as a field of inquiry. What began as understandings of ideologies surrounding the structure and use of language have become more sociolinguistic discussions centered on perceptions of the role of types of linguistic capital within social groups. Even further, language ideologies has become a field of inquiry that examines linguistic repertoires as sites of struggle.

3.2.1. "LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES" DEFINED

Essential to my understanding of the connection between situational judgments of linguistic ability and ethnolinguistic community membership is the framework of language ideologies. Often credited as the founder of the field, Silverstein (1979) defines language ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 173). Rumsey (1990), working off of

Silverstein's understanding, describes language ideologies as "bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world" (p. 346). Errington (2001) describes Silverstein's understanding as the "reflexive relations between languages as vehicles of structured semantic content, and objects of metadiscourse" (p. 111-112). Here, of particular importance is Errington's wording of language as "objects of metadiscourse," in which languages are simultaneously discursively constructed and ideologized (cf. Lippi-Green, 2011; Makoni et al., 2007; Makoni & Pennycook, 2005; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Silverstein, 1996). Errington goes on to note the breadth of research being done in the field of language ideologies, including such topics as "the differential openness of language structure for metalinguistic objectification; the ways metalinguistic discourses can mediate social interests; the 'naturalization' of social difference through construals of language as embodying identity and community" adding that "contemporary 'facts' of linguistic and social difference are in this way understood as politically salient, invented linguistic traditions" (p. 110-111). Whereas earlier work tended to focus on the structural side of linguistic inquiry and ideology, Kroskrity (2010) notes the evolution of the field of scholarship as it has come to examine more and more thoughts and feelings on language use. According to Kroskrity, languages ideologies are "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states" (2010, p. 192). Kroskrity thus summarizes the broader range of interests in this field, where "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions" become the targets of focus, and the interests of social actors—individuals, ethnic groups, nation-states—become the lenses through which to understand how these objects are constructed and manipulated.

Irvine and Gal (2009) outline three semiotic processes found in contexts around the world

and through which our understandings of linguistic differentiation and ways to describe language

may be understood. *Iconization*, "involves a transformation of the sign relationship between

linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked" (p. 37). For the

purposes of my research, these can be seen in the iconization of "the Korean language" as a

standard language construct (Jaffe, 2007; Lippi-Green, 2011; Makihara, 2005, 2007; Milroy &

Milroy, 1985; Silverstein, 1996) that is inherently connected to Korean people, be they from

Korea or connected to the Korean diaspora (cf. assumptions of Korean ability in diasporic

Koreans' linguistic repertoires: Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997; Higgins & Stoker, 2011; Kang, 2003;

Lee, 2002; Song, 2008). Irvine and Gal's *fractal recursivity* "involves the projection of an

opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level" (p. 38). Fractal

recursivity can be seen in language ideologies that link standard language ideologies with

nations—the idea that in Korea people speak Korean (and are Korean) and that, for example,

people in the United States speak English and are "American." The recursive aspect of this

occurs when the linguistic repertoires of individuals are viewed in light of nationality; an

individual Korean must speak Korean, and an individual "American" must speak English, and

these constructs become lenses through which individuals may be viewed. Irvine and Gal's third

semiotic process, *erasure*, is one in which "ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field,

renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible. Facts that are

inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away" (p. 38).

Building on my previous example, Koreans who do not speak Korean and people from the

United States who do not speak English may either be written off as exceptions to a rule or

viewed as inauthentic members of those communities, directly relating to the black sheep effect

(G.-W. Shin et al., 1999). In concluding, Irvine and Gal propose a new focus in sociolinguistic research, *linguistic differentiation*, as an alternative to the study of groups that are ostensibly homogenous (p. 76).

3.2.2. SHIFTING PERCEPTIONS OF LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES

Within the field of language ideologies and as it pertains to ethnolinguistic essentialism, a number of scholars have questioned dominant language ideologies, shedding light on discourses that (1) construct speakers of devalued linguistic varieties negatively and (2) recognize multilingual, mixed, or syncretic forms of speech as meaningful sociolinguistic repertoires. Makihara (2005) describes shifts in the linguistic repertoires of Rapa Nui youth (the indigenous people of Rapa Nui, or Easter Island, Chile). These youth mix Rapa Nui and Spanish in syncretic speech to index cultural affinity both with more traditional aspects of Rapa Nui culture and with a generation of Rapa Nui who are also accustomed to this syncretic style. Once viewed as youths' rejection of Rapa Nui identity, Makihara argues that "by marking their Spanish with Rapa Nui, these children are at the same time using and investing in their competence and constructing and claiming as theirs … multiple Rapa Nui 'voices' … this in turn is transforming the ethnolinguistic identity of Rapa Nui" (p. 754). Makihara (2007) then describes the emergence of "purist Rapa Nui," a non-syncretic register that utilizes Rapa Nui only, and is used to delineate boundaries between Rapa Nui and Continental Chileans in formal political discourse on indigenous rights. While purist language ideologies in general may work to erase recognition of syncretic forms of speech, purist Rapa Nui as a register takes on iconized form, representing Rapa Nui identity in political discourse. Through fractal recursivity, uses of Rapa Nui as iconized forms of Rapa Nui identity are indexed both in syncretic forms (Makihara, 2005) and in purist Rapa Nui (Makihara, 2007). As such, Makihara indicates (1) the potential to accept

syncretic speech, once looked at either as deficient or as only spoken by those who reject their

ethnic identity, and (2) the potential for syncretic forms and non-syncretic forms to coexist.

Jaffe (2003, 2007) discusses linguistic essentialism in discourses of Corsican

preservation, illuminating and thus cautioning against the pitfalls that have arisen and may arise

in language preservation discourses. Jaffe (2007) claims that Corsican preservation movements

recreated Corsican "in the authoritative image of French" (p. 63), "producing orthography,

grammars, dictionaries and language-learning materials" (p. 63) and leaving Corsican

"constrained by dominant models of linguistic legitimacy" (p. 59). In this process, language is

viewed merely as code rather than as social practice, with language and community becoming

fixed, unproblematic constructs. In Corsica, the preservationist movement "tended to locate

'authentic' Corsican in a pre-contact past" (p. 65), attributing "authentic" Corsican only to the

elderly and devaluing contact forms, including codeswitching. These ways of thinking tend away

from examining evolving linguistic repertoires as reflections and modes of social interaction in

which power and authority are negotiated and identities and languages are in a state of constant

flux. Jaffe notes:

> In this framework, language shift and other forms of contact-
> induced linguistic change become, by definition, forms of cultural
> deficiency at both the collective and the individual levels. The fact
> that not all Corsicans speak Corsican undermines claims to have
> unique cultural identity and any other rights attached to that
> (including political self-determination). At the individual level, not
> speaking Corsican (or speaking it 'badly' or using mixed codes)
> can give rise to linguistic insecurity and, lurking in the
> background, a sense of cultural inauthenticity. (p. 63-64)

Examining this strain of thought through Irvine and Gal's (2009) semiotic processes, through

fractal recursivity dominant French language ideologies were transposed onto the standardization

of Corsican. "Pure" Corsican was iconized as a quintessential marker of Corsican identity while

mixed forms were iconized as deficient in an ethnolinguistic-essentialist context. This

iconization is then also transposed onto individual speakers through fractal recursivity, erasing the validity of mixed language use. In the end, Jaffe supports the growing Corsican metalinguistic discourse recognizing *polynomic* (multivocal) modes of speech, in which speakers' overall repertoires are valued as expressions of Corsican identity and locating language authority in the entire community of speakers (p. 65).

Although the focus of this chapter is not syncretic forms of speech among overseas Koreans living in Korea, I call forth these discussions of mixed and syncretic speech styles and the shifting understandings of their sociolinguistic roles in order to underscore the evolution of thought on identity and linguistic repertoire. Such work is supported by studies recognizing the multilingual repertoires of first generation immigrant youth in the UK vis-à-vis the community language preservationist ideologies of elders (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), mismatches between home language varieties and those taught in heritage or community language instruction (Jo, 2001; Makoni et al., 2007; Wiley, 2005), and the recognition of non-normative ways of being Korean in Korean pedagogy (Higgins & Stoker, 2011, 2011; Jeon, 2008, 2010; Jo, 2001). Here, I seek to demonstrate evolving understandings of non-normative, shifting linguistic repertoires, and their relation to ethnic identity. In doing so, and with regard to Silverstein's (1979) concept of salience, I look not directly at what Koreans view as the criteria for judging ethnolinguistic community membership; rather, I examine what overseas Koreans view as Koreans' views of their linguistic abilities as they relate to ethnic identity, again highlighting overseas Koreans' understandings of their imagined Korean community.

3.3. DATA ANALYSIS

3.3.1. SANDY: KOREAN AS ICONIZED CULTURE

I begin my discussion with Sandy, who was in her mid twenties when I spoke with her. A Korean American who spent most of her youth in Fiji, where her father ran a factory, Sandy was born in upstate New York and attended high school in Hawaii then college in San Francisco. She studied for a semester in Hungary before graduating and moving to Korea to teach English at a *hagwon*, or "cram school," a private, supplementary educational center. After working at the *hagwon* for a year, Sandy found work at Korea Broadcasting System, Korea's state-run media corporation (with multiple television, FM, and internet radio stations). There, she worked for a number of years as an English-language radio host. Sandy came to Korea with what she described as "baby Korean," having grown up with simplified Korean spoken to her by her parents but speaking English to her parents and with her siblings.

One interesting aspect of Sandy's story is that while at her first *hagwon* position, she met her boyfriend of a number of years. During their time together Sandy's boyfriend was required to perform his mandatory military service of approximately two years. Thus, by the time of the interview, approximately 40% of their relationship had essentially been long distance. Below, Sandy discusses why her boyfriend made a conscious decision early in their relationship to switch from speaking with her in English to speaking in Korean.

Sandy: This sounds *terri*ble but like- I understand what he's saying-, he said *he* wanted me:: to: learn to: be Korean. Um: (.) so one of the- the ways~is to- learn e- uh: you know the language, so yeah (.) I kind of have a problem with it, just because it sounds (.) bad when you tra:nslate it, but I just I kind of understand what he's trying to say~en (.) I'm *act*ually very thankful to him because, (.) you know, (.) f-~at the beginning I was actually kind of: wa:ry: 'cause I'd heard~a~lot~about, (0.4) you know Koreans dating *fo::reigners* to learn English? And so: (.) at first I was like, *is* he dating me

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because I, I speak English? And the:n (.) obviously it's not 'cause then like, he started (.) you know (.) teaching *me* Korean.

Sandy's boyfriend draws explicit connection between language and culture, "he said *he* wanted me:: to: learn to: be Korean." As Sandy laminates her own emphasis over "he" and "me" in the form of stress and lengthening, respectively, she contrasts her former worry that he might have been trying to use her to practice English. Sandy describes her boyfriend's desire for her to learn Korean as problematic, "just because it sounds bad when you translate it," perhaps as it would imply that she was not Korean enough to begin with. Nonetheless, she accepts it: "but I just I kind of understand what he's trying to say and I'm actually very thankful to him." The disjuncture between "what he's trying to say" and the potentially problematic wording is reminiscent of Hill's (2008) understanding of "personalist ideology," in which intentions behind speech are discursively distinguished from utterances, his *intention* (despite problematic wording) being that he wanted to help Sandy acclimate to Korean cultural norms. Sandy's worry also ties in ideologies of English language learning in Korea (Lee, 2010; J. S.-Y. Park & Bae, 2009; J. S.-Y. Park, 2010, 2011), as she questions whether her boyfriend was "dating me because I, I speak English?" In the end, however, Sandy explains that the problems they had in their relationship were due to culture, not language.

> Sandy: The major- the *cau*se::::: (.) the *cause* of the majority of our fights is (.) *cult*ural differences, just because he's never *lived* abroa::d? He hasn't even *trav*eled abroa:d, and that's (.) basically my whole life, being abroad in different countries. I just- feel like he doesn't (0.7) *kno*::w as much about the world? Not necessarily that he's *dumb* but he's just- you know he just doesn't *know*, (.) it's- (.) and it's *ignorant* bu:t- (.) not because he chooses to be it's~s just (.) because he just hasn't experienced anything abroad (0.7) AND (0.3) al*though* he's not a typical:: (.) old-*fash*ioned Korean? (0.7) he does: think he: ha:s- (.) er- he has to do certain things 'cause he's a *male*, en I have to do certain things because I'm a *fe*male— not that I have to *st*ay at home and you kno::w (0.4) *raise* the kids en all that stuff, bu:t,

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Chris: Any exa:mples?
Sandy: *hhh Abou:t being fe::male:? Uh::: (0.8) I can't think of a- any
           right now, but I- a- as fer:: his examples of (.) being a ma::le? (.) I-
           I- I think this is true for all cultures too, (.) you know as a male you
           can't talk about your problems (.) you have to endure everything
           on your o::wn, (.) but- (.) I think it's to a *hi*gher degree with him,
           (.) *o:ne* because he's Korean, (.) and *two~*because after the
           milita:ry (.) he feels like ((tough voice)) "No: I'm a ma::n now, I
           have to do everything on my own."

As Sandy explains, in spite of a years-long relationship in which her boyfriend helped her learn

Korean, and thus "learn to be Korean," in the end it was a separate set of differences of culture

and of personal history that fomented the majority of disagreements between the two. Under the

initial understanding, if Sandy were to learn Korean she would also learn *to be* Korean; yet, years

into a relationship in which they only spoke Korean, issues of differing concepts of gender roles,

differing life experiences, and general "cultural differences" were what made their relationship

tumultuous, calling into question the idea that Sandy learning Korean would equate learning

"how to be Korean."

3.3.2. VIKTOR: ON LOOKING KOREAN IN KOREA

Viktor is a fourth-generation Korean Russian, also known as *koryo-saram*,[14] from

Khabarovsk, in the Russian Far East. *Koryo-saram* emigrated from Korea to the Russian Far East

in the 19th century (Viktor's great-grandparents' generation), but the majority, including Viktor's

grandparents, were deported to Central Asia in the early 1900s under a Stalin mandate similar to

the U.S. mandate that ordered the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II.

Decades later, the Russian government offered resettlement incentives to groups once deported,

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[14] "*Koryo-saram*" is the term used for *gyopo* from the former Soviet republics. "Koryo" comes
from the name of the Goryeo Dynasty (Korea from 918 to 1392 A.D.)—the same origin as the
current name of Korea. "Saram" is a pure Korean (non-Chinese-based) word meaning "person."

and Viktor's parents took the opportunity to move back to the Far East. Three-to-four generations removed from Korea, Russian is the primary language used among the Korean Russian community, which stays connected through Korean cultural centers. It was through such an organization that Viktor learned of three-year Overseas Korean Foundation scholarships to earn masters degrees in Korea, which include one year of Korean language study and two years of graduate study. It was with such a scholarship that Viktor moved to Korea to study trade relations.

Viktor draws connections between ethnic heritage, appearance, discrimination faced in Russia, and a desire to live in Korea. When Viktor first came to Korea to learn Korean with his scholarship, he found part-time work as a cashier in a convenience store. Below, he tells of how customers were surprised by a person who looked Korean but spoke strangely.

> Viktor: W::hen they buy something erm: (.) and it was like uh:: (.) five tha- five thousand a::nd uh (.) f- four hundred and fifty won?[15] (.) and I would say like (.) chil cheon sambaek muo (.) oship won ibnida (("That'll be seven thousand three hundred like … fifty won.")), like (0.4) *totally* wro:ng numbers, (.) and they were ((chuckling)) like haha (.) *hh looking at me like (.) an idiot (.) like, "What's wrong with that guy?" ((laughs)) and this *girl* working with me:, she was like, "Oh sorry! She's- u::h He's u:h he's actually not Korean Kore:an, so he's fo:reigner so: please sorry him."[16] And then she's like, "Oh, it's actually like five thousand four hundred and fifty," and they were, "Oh yea::h? Oh really? Oh where are you from?" […]
>
> Chris: So- do you think- (.) when people found out you were from Russia what did they think?

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[15] The won is the Korean currency.

[16] As a native Russian speaker living in Korea, Viktor's primary languages were Russian and Korean. In fact, this interview was the first time I had ever spoken to Viktor in English, despite having known him for sometime. Although there are some errors in his English production, I make an effort to only clarify instances of strong ambiguity. I understand the meaning of "please sorry him" to be "please excuse him."

Viktor: We:ll they think like, "Oh:: really? Wo::w! It's amazing! So can you speak Ru:ssian?" Something like that, ((Chris and Viktor both laugh)) and I was like, "Oh ye:s:! I can speak Russian (.) because it's my mother language!"

For Viktor, looking Korean and speaking Korean incorrectly often meant looking "like an idiot." This, in turn, was something his coworker felt she must apologize for, giving the account that "He's not actually Korean Korean. He's foreigner so please sorry him." Upon being told that he is from Russia, some Koreans Viktor encountered were met with cognitive dissonance: a Korean face speaking incorrect Korean and claiming to be from Russia. In disbelief, some would ask if he was able, then, to speak Russian, to which Viktor responds sarcastically (perhaps only in retrospect), "because it's my mother language!" Ideologies that connect race, ethnicity, and language are so strong, however, that even those of marked identities—for example Viktor himself—can hold them. Viktor noted in his interview that while in language school, he remarked to his teacher once of how amazing it was that there were so many people who looked Korean but spoke French, Spanish, Portuguese, Afrikaans, English, that it was astounding. In response, Viktor's teacher told him: "You're amazing, too! You speak Russian!"

Viktor noted that as his Korean improved, his feelings of acceptance in Korea heightened.

Viktor: Yeah within one year:, my:: (.) Korean was like eh::: (.) intermediate level? (.) So: people could understanding what I'm talking but the:y: uh talking the:y: definitely *kne:w:* that I'm: foreigner. So they would say like, "Woori nara saram aninga bayo!" Like, "Oh::, I can see that you're not Korean," so: (.) But in two years (1.0) uh::: it eh:: cha:nged, because people said like, "Oh! You you::: (.) *hh you has to::: be: (.) to li:ved (.) in another country for a while?" ((both laugh)) Something like that, so *hh i- it was- it sounds like (.) Korean? (.) like (.) but like, Korean Kore::an, but: uh:: (.) with so:me kind of uh: foreign accent? Something like that so (.) and for me it was like, "Oh! (.) It means li::- my Korean's not so bad."

The comments Viktor mentions as coming from Koreans are quite common, right down to the diction. "Woori nara saram aninga bayo" roughly means "[You] don't seem to be an 'our-country' person." "[You] don't seem to be" is structured in a polite form appropriate for use with strangers, and this construction as a whole is a typical way of publically expressing some personal observation, making a response relevant to one's interlocutor. Comparing this with the second statement, that Viktor seems "to [have] lived in another country for a while," ties closely to Lo and Kim's (2012) *saldaon saram*, the modern, cosmopolitan Korean who has lived abroad and is, by implication, multilingual. Thus, whereas after only one year, Koreans would say something akin to "You're not from Korea, are you?" as Viktor's Korean improved, the statement became something akin to "You've spent some time abroad, haven't you?" Viktor's understanding of this transition is that his Korean had improved, marking him as less foreign.

Viktor also spoke to the prospects of long-term life in Korea, drawing connections between his improved Korean, experiences of being racially othered in Russia, and feelings of belonging based on racial appearance. Viktor mentioned that he felt "comfortable" in Korea, and I asked him why that was.

> Viktor: Becau::se I look like Korean? (.) and I'm in Korea. (0.7) Now for
> me:: in Russia it was the hardest part that, "You don't look like
> Russian." (1.0) And uh:: (0.7) uh:: even if you know Russian, if
> you speak Russian, if you:: (.) even if you:: was bo::rn in Russia
> (1.2) it's eh::: mean nothing (.) for Russian people. (.) You know
> for me:: it's like, (0.4) I al- I would always thinking about like, (.)
> "Oh: it's better to be:: Korean in Korea." (0.4) So:: eh:: and now
> when I'm Kore:an in Korea? (1.1) ((You kno::w)) I fee:l
> comfortable.

Although Viktor's comment here focuses on his appearance, it is only in the context of increased feelings of ethnolinguistic community acceptance that he developed the stance that it is "better to be Korean in Korea." Although talk of the discrimination he faced in Russia is undoubtedly part

of his reasoning, his conclusion seems to have much to do with comparing the relationships between language and appearance in each place. Viktor claims that "even if you know Russian, if you speak Russian, even if you was born in Russia, it's uh, means nothing for Russian people." This contrasts with the way in which his improved Korean allowed him greater access to being seen as Korean; rather than the "idiot" or foreigner he was perceived to be when his Korean was less fluent. The comments from Koreans that imply his membership to the ethnic Korean community as a potential *saldaon saram* enable a greater perception of acceptance to the Korean ethnolinguistic community.

3.3.3. ANGIE: FROM "CONVEYOR BELT FOR CONTENT" TO KOREAN FOR KOREAN'S SAKE

Angie was 30 when I spoke with her and had been living in Korea for approximately four years. A Korean American from Chicago, Angie has a near-perfect Korean American academic record: she attended Phillips Exeter Academy for high school, Yale University for her undergraduate studies, and then in her late twenties Seoul National University (SNU) for an MA in Korean Studies at the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS). After finishing Yale, Angie moved to the Bay Area where she worked for an Asian arts foundation and was one of the founders of *HYPHEN* magazine, a publication dedicated to Asian American arts, culture, and politics. Spurred by her grandmother's death and the thought of her parents inevitable retirement in Korea, where her mother had already returned, she decided it was important that she move to Korea to improve her Korean and become more comfortable navigating Korean culture. Although she had grown up speaking some Korean, her parents' high level of education and fluency in English meant that at home, Korean was, as she put it, "the language of set the table."

Angie tells a beautiful story of her time in Korea, one that involves delving into Korean as a pragmatic tool for learning and communication, but also as a highly affective linguistic

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artifact laden with personal value. Although Angie had initially gone to Korea in 2003 to stay for a year to learn Korean, to prepare herself for her inevitable future with Korea as the place of her parents' retirement, she returned to the United States after several months to participate in 2004 presidential campaigning. Disappointed by the outcome, she "escaped" its results by returning to Korea, where she lived with her mother. After spending some time in Korea, Angie desired for greater intellectual stimulus and applied for and was accepted to the SNU GSIS program in Korean Studies. Although she was proud of herself for succeeding in a program in which the core classes were taught in Korean, she was disappointed by the level of teaching and class discussion.

> Angie: I think (0.7) a:ll GSIS programs have the problem whe::re (0.6) because you're working in a language that's not ye:r- stro:ng? language? that- (0.4) what you actually: (0.4) what they can actually teach you or cover in cla:ss, (0.4) is pretty basic. […] I think I was disapo:inted? (0.3) a lot of the time, um because of that? […] I *did* take a couple courses outsi:de o:f: the school like in the history department (.) that were jus- with *reg*ular: grad student:ts:: um:: (0.8) but (0.6) given my language limitations? I was *mo:re* than happy to also take (.) courses in- *in English* through GSIS jus- cause:: (.) it would have been:: (.) I- I mean even now I feel the limitations of my Korean language ability *every* single da:y, and I was way worse the::n. I think I would have keeled over, (.) if I had taken all my coursework in Korean.

Despite expressing disappointment in the overall level of academic stimulus, rather than critique the program, Angie understands this as a function of accommodation, recognizing the differences in linguistic repertoires among students from various countries and Korean professors. Angie admits as well that although she explored the options available to her in "regular" graduate courses, she negotiated between her intellectual hunger and her linguistic ability. In the next excerpt, Angie acknowledges students' differing linguistic funds of knowledge as she negotiates sentiments of her own linguistic repertoire, effort, and progress.

Angie: I think(h):? If I wanted to:: (.) go into a *re*gula::r? department? I would have been under:prepared. I think it was oka::y, I was:: definitely *not* the best Korean speaker:: or reader:: by far:: (.) I mean, (.) uh::m (.) you know I spent every day being super jealous(h): of Chinese and Japanese students because of hanja ((Chinese characters)), right? I mean they could blow through a textbook reading so quick because: (.) you know they *kne:w* the vocabulary whereas:: (.) I was un:- *un*familiar with all the Chinese character::? origin words, but (1.0) you know I could have been more diligent? I could have learned more Kore:an? in the course of my studies? Uh:: (1.0) But I also think I did uh- you know, (.) I tried hard. I tried to learn as much as I could.

Having already noted that the level of coursework was not to her standard, yet that she accepted this as accommodation, Angie continues this line of thought by evaluating her potential performance in a mainstreamed Korean graduate program as "underprepared." She humbly notes that she "was definitely not the best Korean speaker or reader by far" and that she was jealous of Chinese and Japanese students in her courses who had come in with fluent knowledge of Chinese characters. Nonetheless, she comes full circle in her self-recognition, balancing the idea that she could have striven harder with an acknowledgement that she learned as much as she could.

In addition to these valuations of her Korean, her academic performance, and as Korean as a means of accessing information, as Angie's Korean progressed, so grew the affective value of her Korean ability. Here, she discusses speaking to her parents in Korean.

Annie: *Yes(h):: yea-* I never di:::d until:: (.) I ca::me to learn Kore:an? Um:: (.) and my mom's: sort of: (.) anecdote about it is that I came home after ↑two weeks::↑? of level two, at SNU, and I said, "*Umma*! Woori ban aeseo::, nae barame *jae::il* joayo!" (("In our class, my pronunciation at [sic] the *be::st*!")) Right? It was like my first complete sentence (.) as:~uh (.) an adult, right? U::m (.) *hhhh And I think-, you know, *ob*viously::: I still switch to K- to English: when I:'m (.) *flu:stered* er:: (.) whatever, all the ti:me:: (.) u:m:: (.) When I'm- I wanna make sure that I'm clea::r? Right? (.) Bu:t (0.6) I think being able to speak to them: in Kore:an:, (0.6) ↑has been awesome↑.
           […]

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↑I think yer-↑ (0.4) Kor*e::*a*n*: paren*ts:* really *do* want their kids to be Ko*re*an somehow, right? And so- pri:or to: (.) learning the la:ngua:ge? What they could hold out was "Oh but she really likes:: kimchi jjigae:: ((kimchi stew))" (.) Right? or "She really likes to eat *spicy:* foo:d." Right?~So now they can dangle out "*Oh and she speaks Kore:an* no:w, too," right?

Here, Angie's "first Korean sentence as an adult" is a moment worth remembering years later, for both her and her mother. She admits to switching to English when she feels "flustered," or, as she expands, "all the time … when I want to make sure that I'm clear." Here she balances her newfound affective connection with her mother against the pragmatic use of language as a means of communication and understanding. Angie then adds another layer of affect, explaining that for her parents, Angie's knowledge of Korean holds value as social capital wihtin their Korean peer group; whereas Angie's "Americanness" was once balanced out with her love of Korean and spicy foods, now this can be done by iconizing Angie's Korean language ability as a marker of Koreanness.

Still, there was also a certain push-and-pull when it came to living with her mother and negotiating her level of Korean. Below, Angie describes her mother's view of her language ability within a framework of infantilization.

Angie: A:nd: (0.4) O:H, so yeah, there wa- was~a- tha- that *tuss:le* at the beginning (0.3) whe:re (0.3) she would expect me ho::me (0.3) ↑you know↑, "Mo:m I'm gonna go on a sleepover" "Okay, be home by si::x." or like "Mom I'm goin to dinner" "Okay be home by *ei:ght*" (0.4) "No:: I- I::" and she you know would *ca::ll* me, and FINally I asked her I was like "↑Mom I'm-↑ you know I'm- I'm- I'm twenty fi::ve I- I'm oka:y" she's like "But you *sp*eak Kor*e:*an like a *fi::*ve year-old, ((chuckling)) what *five* year-old wanders around all night?" I'm like *hhh "But I don't- I- I don't *thi:nk* like a five year-old" like my ability to com*mu:n*icate may be:: (.) *atro:*cious? But- (.) I think I can handle myself ri:ght, (.) U:hm (.) so obviously that was an adjustment for both of u:s:

Despite the affective value of speaking Korean with her parents, Angie must still negotiate her

mother's pragmatic concerns regarding Angie's Korean ability, which for her raise issues of

safety. The distinction Angie makes is to acknowledge the difference between what she can *say*

and what she can *think*, thus solidifying a discursive consciousness that separates modes of

communicating from modes of thinking.

Lastly, in what is perhaps a final stage of her developing interest in and love of Korean,

Angie notes a tertiary shift to a view of Korean for Korean's sake, and an overarching

appreciation of her ability, flaws and all.

> Annie: ↑Now::↑, now my interests are maybe:: (.) being able to *s*::- to
> have the Korean language be more than just a con*vey:*or be:lt for
> co:ntent? I mean that's- that's what I read for in grad school, right?
> I just needed to know:: (.) the *facts* or the information that (.) was:
> (.) you know *in*: that book or in that article? (0.3) Um::~en tuh:: (.)
> I would *lo::ve* and I don't know if I'm going to devote the time to
> do this, but to be able to::: (0.3) you know- enjoy: poetry::: and
> fictio::n and sort of see:: I mea- cause I'm de*light*ed by:: Korean
> vocabulary words or turns of phrases? But *na*- I don't think
> because the writer in*te:nd*ed (0.3) it to be delightful but just
> cause~I'm:- (.) I find that particular word very a*mu:*sing, en:: the
> fact that I know it now in Korean now:: (.) makes me incredibly
> happy(h)? ((chuckle)) *hh °Right°.
> […]
> There's that site My Mom Is a FOB? (.) right, so it's sort of (0.3)
> you know, in a very loving fa:shion:: (.) kind of po:king fu:n a::t (.)
> °um° (1.3) kind of *MIS(h)us(h)e* o:f: English: or whatnot right?
> ((lipsmack)) *U:m:~*h (.) I think- I- (0.5) hopefully will actually do
> this with my mom, "My Daughter Is A Banana"? Because I *mess
> up* (.) in Korean all the ti::me (.) en I don- (.) I don't find it
> traumatic? >I think maybe I ↓di:d↓ in the beginning< but now I
> realize(h) (.) you know- it's the same thing with *Engri:sh:*[17] (.) or::
> you know >it's~jus~there's like kind of a< po:etry: in those
> mista:kes (0.3) right,

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[17] "Engrish" is a play on words based on a stereotypical "Asian" accent (see also: "mock Asian,"
Chun, 2004), in which speakers are understood to be unable to distinguish between the liquids "r"
and "l." It indexes "bad English," English "mistakes," which are likely the content of the website
Angie mentions, "My Mom Is A FOB."

Here Angie seems to acknowledge and transcend her former pragmatic framings of Korean as "a conveyor belt for content"; whereas she had worked so hard earlier to read texts and participate in academic discussion, she now points to other more creative endeavors on which she would like to embark. Her knowledge of Korean in and of itself is a source of happiness, and this joy extends even to the "poetry" of mistakes.

Angie's interview sheds light on a range of possible understandings of a learner/user's relationship with the target language. Over the course of her time in Korea, Angie's relationship with Korean evolved from its impetus—an understanding of her inevitable need for Korean as a tool for navigating her parents' future—to a tool for intellectual exploration, to an experience to be shared and enjoyed with her parents, and to the personal value of poetic mistakes. Throughout this process her experiences were laden with intellectual frustrations and triumphs, and personal, affective reactions, all assessed through a pragmatic, agentive lens.

3.3.4. BEATRIX: KOREAN, DUTCH, & ENGLISH AS SEPARATE SPHERES OF INTERACTION

Beatrix is a transnational Korean adoptee from a small town on the outskirts of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Although there were no Korean immigrants or other "foreigners" where she grew up, there were a few Korean adoptees—whom Beatrix consciously avoided to downplay her own perceived foreignness. It was not until the age of 24 that she went to her first meeting of Arierang, a Dutch organization for Korean adoptees. There, she met her eventual husband, and they visited Korea together to meet his birth family, the first time in Korea for both of them. After they married and had children in the Netherlands, they decided to spend a few years in Korea so that the family could spend more time with Korean relatives and so that the children could get exposure to Korea. Although Beatrix and her husband find living in Korea comfortable, and would like to live there permanently, Beatrix stated that the pressures of

childhood education there were too great, and that her children would have better educational opportunities in the Netherlands. In the summer of 2011, before moving the family back to the Netherlands, Beatrix and her husband were two of the first 13 overseas Korean adoptees to regain their Korean citizenship after the introduction of a dual citizenship law for overseas Korean adoptees.

Beatrix expressed a certain shame in not being able to speak Korean well—not for reasons of ethnolinguistic community identification, but for the amount of time she had spent living in Korea and working with the Korean language. In spite of this, her subject position as a mother, as someone with extended family to help her with the logistics of life in Korean, and as someone whose long-term plan was to return to the Netherlands, relieved some of this pressure.

Beatrix:	*hhh (1.5) I::'m:: s(h):o::: uh:: (.) em*bar*rassed when I tell: (0.5) people:: (.) I ↑started↑ st- (.) try:ing: to learn Korean in nineteen ninety f.::ou:r::? ((laughs)) a(h)n(h)d (h)I(h) st(h)i::ll don't speak Korean, fluently, (1.1) It's:: (.) yeah- it's one of the::: (.) most embarrassing things in ((laughing)) m(h)y(h)::(h) >*hhh< in my life:, yeah.
Chris:	I understa:nd, ((laughs))
Alice:	Yeah:: it's:: it's:: *s*(h)::o: *s:tu::*pid, I think. Sometimes I, really *fee::l stu*pid because I- (0.7) yeah (.) it's:: (1.3) it (1.1) it seems to be too difficult to::: to::, handle Korean, […] But(h) (.) um:: you know Koreans are always busy, so:: (.) we don:'t (.) mee:t the family a lot of times (0.6) s:o:: it's::: (.) yeah (1.2) if I *wa:n*t (.) um: (.) I can jus::~speak (.) English or Dutch::: (1.0) as only::: languages:: >in a day<, so:: (0.4) it's ((chuckles)) only when- when I::: really put a lot of effort in it (.) I can meet o:ther: Korean: (.) m::others here:: or:: (0.3) people here:: an:: ↑try to speak some Korean↑. (.) But if I (.) d-*don:'t::* have the guts or I don't have the energy to do that, ↑it's okay too↑. I can speak Dutch with my ki::ds, an:: (.) English to:: to friends, and that's (.) ↑that's okay↑.

Beatrix expresses shame and embarrassment regarding her Korean language proficiency, again, not because it makes her feel any less Korean, but because she has been working on learning Korean for so long. She resolves her embarrassment by noting the difficulty of Korean, and in

finding opportunities in which she can speak Korean. Here, Beatrix compartmentalizes the spheres of Dutch, the language of the family, English, the lingua franca for interactions with the outside world (mostly in expatriate social circles), and Korean, the language of interaction with some of the local people and extended family members.

I asked about the prospects for making lasting friends in Korea and in Korean. Beatrix noted two reasons for which this is difficult: (1) she mentioned the importance of what she called "philosophical conversation" (not quoted here), which she indicated she was not capable of achieving in Korean, and (2) the importance of personal history in developing close, lasting friendships. Beatrix compares her ties to close friends in the Netherlands with the prospects for making friends in Korea:

> Beatrix: Yeah::, for my:- for myse:lf it's not the sa::me feeling like I have with (0.4) I have two:: two:: (1.0) yeah best friends in- (.) in:: the Netherlands (1.0) a::nd I've shared so: many memories with them and so: many::: (.) *things::* and situations:: we can laugh abou::t an:- and cry abou::t (0.6) So we know so many things about each other, and (1.2) Yeah:: I- I- (0.3) *don't* have the feeling- I- (.) with~with the people I met here:: (.) yea- I can- I can build up (1.1) a similar bond with you:.

In addition to compartmentalizing the sociolinguistic spheres of Korean, Dutch, and English, Beatrix separates the importance of language from the importance of shared personal history in developing friendships. Although she had remarked that language was *also* a barrier to developing such social ties (not quoted here), she framed the significance of personal history as *more* important, thus creating a distinction between the two factors.

Finally, I asked Beatrix if she noticed cultural differences forming between herself and her children, who were attending Korean school where they spoke Korean all day.

> Beatrix: N::o::, I don::'t (.) think so:: because:: (0.3) my kids:: consider themselves really Dutch. (0.5) So::: although the:y s- the:y they speak Korean all day long with thei:r with their friends, and (.)

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uh::: they know the rules here in Korea, they know the hierarchy here in Korea *hhh uhm::: sometimes they explain to me "Okay mom I cannot say that to my:: *hyeo:ng* or:: *oppa*::" or::: (.) whatever, (.) uh::: (1.0) so they~n- (0.3) the:y the:y (0.8) yea::h (.) know exactly? (0.5) the differences? but they act like *Dut*ch: (0.9) ki::ds, when they with us:: so::,

Chris: So they've adapted really well,

Beatrix: *Yeah::* yeah yea- They can switch easily, yeah,

As she had done for herself above, Beatrix draws distinction between two sociolinguistic spheres for her children. Although her children "consider themselves really Dutch," and speak Dutch with her and her husband, they speak Korean fluently and "know the rules." She gives the example "sometimes they explain to me 'Okay mom, I cannot say that to my *hyeong* or *oppa*.'" These are familial terms meaning "older brother," and are used separately by boys/men and girls/women, respectively. They are standard referential terms for both biological siblings and older male friends, and index both closeness and hierarchy (cf. M. Kang, 2003). Thus, whereas Beatrix underscores her children's cultural competence in what can and cannot be said to social superiors (elders) in Korean, she notes their Dutchness as well: "they act like Dutch kids when they're with us. They can switch easily."

Beatrix's experiences exhibit an understanding of compartmentalized language use that does not greatly affect feelings of connection to Korea. After developing an interest in Korea earlier in life, Beatrix wanted her "pure Korean" children (as she put it in another section of the interview, not quoted here) to experience life in Korea, and to get to know Korean family members. Although disappointed that she was not fluent in Korean given the length of time she had tried to learn, she did not relate a lack of ability to feelings of inadequacy as a Korean. In fact, she expressed having come to terms with her patchwork of language abilities, that her abilities were adequate for the social realms she inhabited and that, indeed, those sociolinguistic realms were separate and marked by different languages. Finally, both Beatrix and her husband

exhibit strong affiliations to the Korean state—as a political entity and the country of their births—in the fact of recovering their Korean citizenship, irrespective of their Korean linguistic repertoires.

3.4. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Through the above interviews I demonstrate some of the ways in which overseas Koreans living in Korea view the role of Korean in their lives. For Sandy, speaking Korean in her relationship with her boyfriend meant both easing her worries that she might be being used for her English, but also that she was learning "how to be Korean." Nonetheless, she admits that the main issues that came between the two in their relationship were the result of "cultural differences" and differing life experiences, calling into question the discursive link between language and culture. In Viktor's case, uttering numbers incorrectly at a convenience store cash register meant awkward glances from customers, yet as his Korean improved, he perceived greater acceptance as an in-group member. Viktor juxtaposes the racial othering he faced in Russia with the dissonance of being a non-Korean-speaking Korean in Korea; although language is iconized as a derivative of race, whereas in Russia this led to Viktor's exclusion, in Korea it led to greater *in*clusion as his Korean developed. Angie takes a pragmatic view of Korean in her story: Whereas Korean is first envisioned as a necessity for her future, she goes on to evaluate her successes and shortcomings in Korean as a mode for academic endeavors, an artifact of familial and personal affect, and finally as a language to be enjoyed for its own sake. Finally, for Beatrix, although her lack of progress becomes a source of self-deprecation vis-à-vis the time she spent learning Korean, her end conclusion is that her linguistic repertoire fits the needs of her life

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in Korea, posing no threat to her Koreanness. Just as her languages are tied directly to compartmentalized social spheres, so are her children's.

By backgrounding these excerpts with a discussion of recent research in the field of language ideologies, I have shown that a number of studies have worked to counter notions of ethnolinguistic essentialism. Not only have standard language varieties been viewed as norms and, thus, metrics of ability, linguistic repertoires have often been looked at as measures of membership to an ethnolinguistic community. In transposing evolving understandings of the ways in which syncretic speech and identity can be understood, my goal has not been to invalidate the possibility that members of the Korean diaspora may feel connected to others through Korean, rather, it has been to show that speaking Korean is not requisite to identifying as Korean. Just as syncretic repertoires—once viewed as deficient vis-à-vis standard varieties— have come to be understood as new forms of interaction—novel and thus different, but no less valid than any other—here I argue that for overseas Koreans, Korean is one of many factors that affect feelings of acceptance.

Throughout this argument I have made no attempt to define "fluency," "proficiency," or "ability," and this has been deliberate. I believe the very idea of "fluency"—or, better, as what is considered adequate linguistic competence—is a situationally negotiated construct. As seen in my interviews, perceptions of levels of ability can fluctuate based on the nature of an interaction in a given moment. It is in understanding the situationally fluctuating nature of perceptions of adequate linguistic ability that leads me to problematize judgments of overseas Koreans' language use as a measure of ethnolinguistic community membership, and the ways in which such judgments overlook the life experiences and personal goals for life and language use of individuals.

CHAPTER FOUR

MIXED-RACE OVERSEAS KOREANS: RACIALIZED INTERPRETATIONS OF PHYSICAL

APPEARANCE & THE LANGUAGE OF FIRST APPROACH

4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I further problematize the positioning and acceptance of overseas Koreans

living in Korea by turning my focus to the experiences of mixed-race overseas Koreans who

have one parent of non-Asian heritage.[18] It is my position that in the convergence of concepts of

Korean pure-bloodedness (*hyeoltong*) and the unitary nation (*minjok*) (G.W. Shin et al., 1999),

racialized perceptions of physical appearance are an important factor for mixed-race Koreans as

they navigate interactions with the transnational Korean community. In describing these

experiences, I highlight what I describe as the *language of first approach*, or the language used

by "native" Korean strangers in Korea when first making contact with mixed-race overseas

Koreans. All of the below participants note that they are at times approached by Korean strangers

in English, the language of "foreigners." This, in conjunction with additional experiences of

having their Koreanness directly challenged by members of the community, leads mixed-race

overseas Koreans to understand their position in the Korean diaspora as one of cultural,

linguistic, *and* racial in-betweenness. This represents an important contrast with my discussion of

appearance and language use in previous chapters; whereas for "full" overseas Koreans, looking

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[18] I note that these mixed-race participants have one Korean parent and one non-Asian parent in
order to distinguish their potential range of experiences from those of mixed-race Koreans who
have one Korean parent and one other Asian parent—particularly an East or Southeast Asian
parent, as in the case of "Kosians"—as I believe this holds important implications for one's
ability to "pass" as Korean.

Korean often leads to high expectations of Korean language ability vis-à-vis perceived native speaker status, the perception of mixed-race Koreans' foreignness often leads to the opposite, expectations of little or no Korean ability. This is not to say that mixed-race Koreans are only looked at as outsiders—quite the contrary—below I demonstrate how discussing mixed-Korean "blood" can spark expressions of affinity and affiliation from Koreans. Still, these experiences overall add an important dimension to my discussion of overseas Koreans' multifaceted sentiments of acceptance and non-acceptance in imagined communities.

4.2. ON MIXED-RACE SUBJECTIVITY

As discussed in Chapter One, mixed-race subjectivity in the Korean context is one that has been shaped by concepts of "Korean blood," legislation on the family, and shifting patterns of colonial and neocolonial biopolitics. Schmid (2002) and G.-W. Shin et al. (1999) discuss the historical construction of concepts of Korean "pure-bloodedness" (*hyeoltong*) and the unitary nation (*minjok*), which, combined, have come to form in the Korean national consciousness an ethnic nation that is transcendental of states but unified by "blood." In the aftermath of the Korean War (1950-1953), the mixed-race children of Korean women and U.S. military personal were stateless children in Korea's patriarchal family registry system (M. Lee, 2008). This "Amerasian problem" was framed in the United States as a humanitarian issue (E. Kim, 2010), and gave rise to the institutionalization of transnational adoption from Korea to the United States. M. Lee (2008) also documents more contemporary discrimination that Amerasians raised in Korea face, discrimination in part due to the aforementioned legal ramifications of not having Korean fathers, once the only means to obtain Korean birthright citizenship. She notes that race-based discrimination has led to higher drop-out rates in schools and higher rates of

unemployment, unstable employment, and debt among Amerasians in Korea. Discourses questioning the place of mixed-race Korean-"Asian" children are also part of the current national debate on Korean blood and identity, embodied in the neologism "Kosian" (M. Lee, 2008; Doolan, 2012). According to M. Lee and Doolan, a postcolonial Korea, once emasculated by Japanese and U.S. militarisms and the "conquest" of the Korean woman, has found new forms of militarized and economic masculinity in East Asia. This has materialized in high rates of "international marriages" (*gukjae kyeolhon*) between Korean men and Asian woman, many of which are brokered. M. Lee and Doolan also critique public discourses in Korea that exhibit claims of ethnic affinity to high-profile mixed-race overseas Koreans, a trend that stands in seemingly hypocritical contrast to the situation of mixed-race Koreans in Korea.

Whereas these studies deal with the histories and positioning of mixed-race Koreans in Korea, only one study that I encountered discussed mixed-race subjectivity as it relates to heritage language (HL) learning and use and ethnic community affiliation. S. J. Shin (2010) finds in her U.S. study that some participants "used their knowledge of the HL to gain greater access to and legitimacy in the HL community [and that] some who never developed in their HL lamented not being able to connect with their HL-speaking parents and extended family members at a deeper level" (p. 216). These study participants included two mixed-race Koreans, who both claimed an ability to leverage racial othering in the Korean American community with their fluent knowledge of Korean. One even claimed greater knowledge of Korean than many "full" Koreans, effectively positioning herself as more authentic in terms of language within the ethnic Korean community than other second-generation Korean Americans.

These texts foreground my discussion of interview excerpts with mixed-race overseas Koreans living in Korea, who frequently experience racial othering as non-Korean "foreigners"

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in their day-to-day interactions. Nonetheless, given their class positions as educated mixed-race Koreans from the West who work in the English teaching or professional industries, they do not face the same educational and economic marginalizations experienced by mixed-race Koreans in Korea. What is shared is the experience of "difference" and in-betweenness, and below I demonstrate their situational interpretation by Koreans as at times foreign, at times Korean.

4.3. DATA

In this chapter I focus on the experiences of 10 mixed-raced overseas Koreans. Nine were U.S. citizens and one was a German citizen. Seven were women and three were men. Eight were Korean and White and two were Korean and Black. Nine had Korean mothers and one a Korean father. In discussing their experiences, I first examine interview excerpts in which participants discuss their perceived ties to the Korean diaspora, often stories of connections with their Korean identity from childhood. Next, I highlight the ambiguity with which they understand their appearances to be interpreted in Korea, connecting this to feelings of acceptance, prospects for English teaching, and Koreans' preconceptions of their linguistic repertoires. Finally, I connect this with implications for mixed-race overseas Koreans' imagined Korean communities.

4.3.1. ESTABLISHING IN-GROUP SENTIMENT

Vivid feelings of connection to Koreanness and desires to experience the culture of their Korean parents were the most palpable reasons for my participants' wanting to live in Korea. For most, a desire to learn Korean was a part of this motivation as well. Many expressed instrumental motivation in their desires to learn Korean, and these instrumental motivations often held direct connections to Korea: Marie participated in a two-year, U.S.-government-sponsored program for high-level Korean study, then moved to Korea, finding employment at a Northeast Asia policy

institute in Seoul; Matt wanted to learn Korean to enter the U.S. foreign service; Craig wanted to create a foundation for mixed-race Korean youth in Korea (and has since done so); Alexis, who works in banking, wanted to learn Korean to prepare for the collapse of North Korea, the result of which would necessitate professionals capable of building financial infrastructure there.

In addition to these indicators, all of the participants also noted exposure to Korean culture at young ages. This was predominantly in the form of food and related vocabulary. Three participants lived in Korea as children, albeit on U.S. military bases, known for some degree of cultural isolation. About half of the participants expressed desires to learn Korean as children, but in none of those instances did these desires materialize. Reasons included recommendations from teachers worried that it would impede English learning; lack of time or consistency on the side of the Korean-speaking parent; and failed attempts to attend Korean classes offered at Korean churches, the greatest barriers here being age differences between classmates and values that differed from those of religious institutions.

Alexis was one of those who had tried to learn Korean when she was younger. Here she tells of a short trip she took to Korea as an adolescent, during which she drew a personally salient connection between identity and language.

> Alexis: I remember our first night here, we had jetlag, we went late to get some *jajangmyun* [noodles in black bean sauce], and I don't know if I—I didn't like it very much before but it was quite tasty then, and I remember I went to go pay, I was like, "Dad, can I pay?" He said, "Sure." He gave me some money, I went up, and, uh, the guy said something in Korean, I was like, "I have no idea what the guy said." And I just, it just really hit me that seriously I don't know any Korean at all … I'm half Korean but I don't know … any—I don't even know how to say … any numbers.

Alexis connects her racial background as a "half Korean" person to the Korean language, noting that this was one of the moments in her life in which she felt that as a person of Korean

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background she should know at least some Korean. Although throughout this work I caution against ethnolinguistic essentialism, I hold fast to an idea that each individual should possess the autonomy to decide what should be part of one's linguistic repertoire. Alexis did try later to learn Korean at a Korean church, but her experiences there being racially othered only further alienated her from the Korean community.

Some participants spent time separated from their Korean parents. One interviewee, Cynthia, Korean and Black, expressed the manner in which her Black father asserted to her her Korean heritage in the absence of her Korean mother.

> Cynthia: My dad was very assertive about me being connected to me being Korean. He was the one that taught me how to use chopsticks. Like, I remember when I was younger he—and my dad's country—he said, "Giiirrll," he was like, "You don't need to forget where you came from." And he taught me with uh … a miller lite bottle cap and two pencils […] My dad was very strong about me knowing that I was part Korean, like I think that was an interesting thing because you know, he grew up in a segregated South and I think part of him was proud that I could at least … geographically pinpoint where I came from, and he couldn't. And so he definitely wanted me to hold on to that.

For Cynthia, cultural artifacts like chopsticks and the knowledge to use them serve as representations of Koreanness, and Cynthia links and contrasts both sides of her lineage by comparing Black America's history of displacement via slavery with the traceable migration of her mother from Korea. Both interviewees who were Black and Korean expressed that there was, either from outside or within themselves, a push to connect with Korean culture. When asked if there was any similar push to learn about and connect with Black American culture, both responded that it did not require effort, as access was already substantial.

A number of participants expressed that interpretations of their race as children complicated identity development. All interviewees reported being perceived as somehow

foreign, or different, based on their appearances. Two of the Americans who are Korean and White expressed that they were frequently thought to be Latina, and personally identified with the Latino community for the commonality of being neither Black nor White. In the following excerpt, Craig describes moving to a Black community in Chicago to live with relatives after living in Korea and Colorado. Here, he describes meeting a cousin for the first time.

> Craig: But when I go to the African America community, that's when people like, "Oh, Chinaman!" and, you know I remember going, when I first got there, we were going to the little penny candy store, and I remember we went by my cousin's house and I—he looked out the window and they were like, "Yeah, this your cousin!" And then he was like, "He looks Chinese!" you know, "Is he Black?!" And like, "Yeah, this is, you know, it's [Lenard]'s son," and stuff and I was like, "Well I'm half Korean!" He's like, "Ooooh! That's why you look Chinese?!" I said, "KOREAN!" ((laughs))

Craig expressly identifies himself as part Korean as he negotiates his identity with a member of his extended Black family. This negotiation of race was not unique to the Americans; Alexandra, Korean and German, noted that at times she, too, was looked at as an outsider in Germany. She received compliments on her German and, despite having been born and raised in Germany, would be asked how long she lived there, as people assumed she was an immigrant.

Seminal historical events can also come to create narratives of heroic national history, which in turn can become part of the discourse of ethnonationalism (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, pp. 186-188, 198-199). One instance of this was also observed in my data, in which Matt, Korean and White, who spent part of his childhood on military bases in Korea and Germany, describes his affiliation with Korean history as it pertains to the story of Admiral Yi Sun-sin, a military leader who conquered the Japanese by sea, commanding a ship designed in the form of a turtle, the *Geobukseon* ("Turtle Ship").

Matt:	When I went to the States, I remember being in elementary school and talking about how cool Korea was. […] And if we had to write a report, like in class, I always did a report on Korea and stuff like that. And it was really interesting. I remember living here in the 80s, and it was still that stigma of like, "Japan is evil." […] One of my favorite shows was like, Yi Sun-sin, the um, turtle, like Admiral Yi and the turtle ((ship))—that show … And I remember being like, five or six, watching this drama. They were showing like, the brutality of the Japanese, like, going into villages and cutting off people's noses and ears, and like, killing these poor people. I was watching that and like, "((gasp)) Oh my gosh, they're so evil!" […] So I went to the States and I would do reports on Admiral Yi and talk about the evils of the Japanese. ((laughs))

Matt not only expresses to other children in America his pride for having lived in Korea, but also the importance of a shared history with Korea. Colonial history plays an important role in Korean historical memory and Matt describes the connection to this history he developed through popular media watched as a child. His laughter at the end occurs for two reasons (omitted): (1) he explains that the Japanese are not all—as he once thought—evil; and (2) now, working as an English teacher, he sees and critiques this thinking among today's Korean youth.

Together, instances and topics such as these were recurrent in my data. Exposure to Korean culture, past desires and attempts to learn Korean, shared historical memory with Korea, and negotiations of race in the countries of their upbringing all served to establish a sense of otherness in their home countries and interests in Korea, its language, and its culture.

4.3.2. ON "LOOKING LIKE A FOREIGNER" & THE KOREAN GAZE

Across the board, the mixed-race overseas Koreans with whom I spoke expressed that Koreans perceived them at times as "foreigners,"[19] at times as somewhat-foreign, and at times as

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[19] The term "foreigner" (used both in English by Koreans and in its Korean form, *waigookin*—literally "outside country person") is a prevalent one. Throughout my experiences in Korea I found that many non-Koreans, including overseas Koreans, express a distaste for the classification. Nonetheless, many come to use the term themselves, as can be seen in my data.

Korean. Many of these experiences meant feeling as though their Koreanness was directly

challenged. In order to highlight the generality of participants' interpretations, and the potential

to influence their imagined Korean communities, I focus on interactions with Korean strangers.

Ann, Korean and White, explains her understanding of the Korean connection between

racialized understandings of appearance and Koreanness.

> Ann: One thing is like, this culture is really a lot about appearances … and … I think … like a lot of people will tell me … Once I met a woman who had traveled in France … and she met a little boy who was a Korean adoptee, and she said she had tried to speak Korean to him, and his parents were French they were in a very small town … and she said he couldn't speak a word of Korean he could only speak French. And she said … it made me very uncomfortable, trying to communicate with this little Korean boy. And like, kind of like that's the idea: a lot of people seem to tie like language and culture to like, your ethnicity, like the way somebody looks. Like, the more Korean you look, the more Korean you must be, the more like … you must know about Korea.

For Ann, this understanding of the connection between appearance and perceived in-group

membership is an important framework within which she understands Koreans' stares.

> Ann: People … still … are really shocked to see foreigners here. And … it's kind of hard and like it's very … I know like this isn't as common anymore, but you'll run into it, like people … like Korea being like a pure-blooded place. … An so like, it kind of I think it makes it harder for people to understand like where I'm coming from and what I'm trying to do and my goals here. So that does bother me, I mean it bothers me like, being stared at a lot. And I'm kind of already, I've already been sensitive towards that, so like it just makes it kind of worse like having to ride the subway and have people look at me and not know like, whether it's … if I look different, if I have something on my face, if it's because I have tattoos, if they're just like, staring into space … like, I never know what it is, because, like, I never know what people are thinking about me. And so that's always … kind of … I guess I'm sensitive towards that.

Important here is that Ann admits she cannot place herself into the minds of Koreans; if a stranger stares at her, she cannot know the reason, yet her understanding of how mixed-race appearance is interpreted in Korea becomes the lens through which she understands these stares.

Whereas Ann indicates that any staring makes her uncomfortable, Ted, Korean and White, frames his experiences of being stared at in comparison to the more severe alienation or harassment an imagined foreigner—White and fair-haired—might face.

Ted: I get a lot of weird reactions to be honest. Originally when I first came down to the countryside, you get a lot of the stares. Because I think I look … I don't look quite Asian … and I don't look quite American either, so … you get a lot of weird confused stares, but I think it actually served me pretty well because where a lot of people would get, you know, instantly labeled as a foreigner, a lot of people weren't quite sure about me, so I think I kind of got left alone a bit. And then the same thing's happened to me in other countries I've been to where I get left alone a lot more than people that are, you know, bright blonde hair or red hair or something.

Ted notes that he does not "look quite Asian," nor does he "look quite American." He compares his experiences to those of an imagined foreigner, one with "bright blonde hair or red hair or something," physical features different from the typical dark-haired Asian and from his own. Despite admitting that he is often stared at, receiving "a lot of weird reactions," in the end, Ted interprets his perceived ambiguity as something that allows him to be "left alone." Interesting as well is Ted's use of "you" to generalize his experiences. In statements like "you get a lot of the stares," Ted implicates that "the stares" he encounters are a cultural phenomenon that would be received by anyone who "looks foreign" in Korea.

For Matt, revealing mixed Koreanness leads to further, focused examination of his physical features. Even in the presence of a direct genealogical link to the community—members willing to vouch for his membership—he is still confronted with skepticism. The question below regards what happens when Matt tells Korean people he meets that he is mixed.

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Matt: Some people they don't believe it at first. They're like, "What?! Noo…" And then they're like staring trying to find out what features are Korean and stuff like that. And then sometimes they're like, "Whoa cool," and they seem to open up a little bit more. […] Sometimes if I'm with my aunt they'll ask my aunt, "Is he your … son …?" "No, he's my nephew." "Oh, okay … cool cool … He looks … foreign, though …?" ((laughs))

Although at first Matt notes that he is sometimes assumed to be the son of his Korean aunt, in these interactions it quickly becomes apparent that his difference is an issue of curiosity. Matt notes that even when stated directly, ties to his Koreanness can be met with skepticism. This is not to say that any disbelief is literal, rather, that stating a genealogical connection to Koreanness is often met with surprise so strong that it seems akin to disbelief.

Some participants expressed that whether they were perceived as Korean could vary depending on the day, their grooming habits, or their dress. Here, an example from Marie, Korean and White:

Marie: There are some people, who … think I'm … they can't even … understand why I would even … be related to Koreans at all, they just think I'm, you know, a total foreigner or White or whatever, and then there are other people who think I'm Korean and they ask me for directions or ask me about information on the street or in Korea or whatever … And then there's the sort of in-between … where, like, depending on who I'm with, or what I'm wearing, or if I'm wearing my glasses, or … if I'm, you know, whatever, like, any number of variable factors […] usually I'm like, either the foreigner or the Korean.

Although Marie does indicate that there are times when she is interpreted as Korean, the fact that at times the opposite is the case points toward her difference. I asked Cynthia, Korean and Black, if people can ever tell that she is part Korean when they meet her, to which she answered strongly in the negative, yet complicates this response:

Cynthia: Noooo. Even in America Korean people don't know I'm part Korean. ((laughs)) So even here I'm automatically a foreigner. Sometimes, you know, depending on how I look that day I wonder

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> if they think I'm from Southeast Asia […] And it's just funny because sometimes when my hair is straight—and I've seen Korean people that are … same shade as I am—and … people have come up to me just start talking Korean asking for directions and things like that and I'm like "I don't know" and they're looking at me like "What do you mean you don't know?!"

Cynthia adds an important element of transnational racialization to the discussion, noting that her Koreanness goes unseen by Koreans in the United States as well as in Korea. Although she notes that at times she is mistaken for Korean, adding that she herself has seen Koreans with the same skin tone as hers, she also notes in other parts of the interview that she does not "broadcast" that she is of Korean heritage, further implying that her Koreanness generally goes unseen.

4.3.3. ROUTINIZED REACTIONS

Alexis, Korean and White, indicates that interactions in which her race comes under question are so prevalent that her responses have become routinized. Here, I asked whether she tells Koreans with whom she interacts that she is part Korean.

> Alexis: I've been in Korea for six years, and … as soon as somebody gets an inkling that you're not, you know, what they think that you should be, which is completely foreigner, then you can see the wheels start spinning. And then the questions start coming, and I'm like, I know what questions you're gonna ask, like, seconds before you even ask them, so I'm just gonna tell you upfront that I'm half Korean and that'll save the both of us a lot of trouble … Which, I don't necessarily like the fact that I do that, but it's just so much easier.

It is unclear why Alexis does not like that she tells people she is half Korean. It could be that she is referring to professional situations in which such personal issues should not be addressed, or that in general she would prefer to keep such details about her identity private to non-friends. Nonetheless, as she emphasizes the number of years that she has lived in Korea, she supports her statements on the commonness of such questioning and on her ability to foresee the questions that inevitably arise regarding her background.

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4.3.4. The politics of appearance in the English teaching market

As an extension of my discussion of racial ambiguity, it is of note that in Korea the politics of appearance and the imagined foreigner play out in the English teaching job market. It is standard practice to affix a photograph to resumes in Korea, and although the politics of physical appearance are salient even to Koreans, in terms of judgments of "attractiveness," the racialized aspect of these politics plays an important role in being viewed as a legitimate speaker of English. This politics of "native speaker" status in teaching has been documented within frameworks of postcolonial theory and center-periphery discourses (Pennycook, 1998), perceived innate language abilities of "native speakers" (Rampton, 1990), counter discourses among nonnative-English-speaking teachers (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999), and, specific to the politics of race and appearance, Canadian ethnic minority instructors' perceptions that students view them as inauthentic Canadians and thus inauthentic speakers and teachers of English (Amin, 1997). Along these lines, below, Ann notes being turned down for English teaching positions because of her features.

> Ann: And I think the thing that confuses me the most is because … a lot of times when I go out, and I tell people I'm half Korean, they say you don't look Korean at all, but like somehow all of a sudden when I try to get a job people are like you look too Korean, and that's like … and I think that's one of the most ((laughing)) annoying things … it doesn't work in my favor either way in some ways.

In contrast, Alexandra, Korean and German, noted her foreign appearance as a benefit, granting her racialized cultural capital in the English teaching market. Despite being a non-native speaker of English in a market where native speakers are the standard, her perceived foreignness compensates. Interestingly, despite benefiting her, she still sees it as an annoyance.

> Alexandra: Plus, um, which kind of was annoying for me … because of the whole half Korean thing, is they didn't really see the Asian side of

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me and just saw me as a foreigner and as long as you look foreign,
it's okay.

Thus, the politics of appearance are not only prevalent in personal interactions, but also in the job market, an important aspect of life in Korea as it relates directly to one's ability to establish a livelihood and maintain it long-term.

4.3.5. On "the language of first approach" & challenging belonging

Mixed-race overseas Koreans understand interpretations of their physical appearances as ambiguous. Although sometimes perceived as Korean, they are frequently looked at as foreigners. Given the strong link between race and language in Korea, being seen as Korean means being understood to speak Korean; being seen as a foreigner means being understood not to speak Korean and, instead, English. Although overseas Koreans have opportunities to establish and cultivate deeper relationships with Koreans, initial interactions with strangers that occur on the day-to-day can form lasting impressions of how they believe themselves to be perceived in general. In discussing this, I call attention to what I term the *language of first approach*, the language Korean strangers choose to use when engaging overseas Koreans in first-time interactions. Take for example the following anecdote from Matt, who, after claiming that he infrequently talks to strangers, notes that when he does, he is suspicious.

> Matt: And if you do, it … you feel like sometimes they're there just to practice English. Like, I remember one time I'd moved to Ilsan and stuff then one time this guy—Korean guy—comes up to me, and he's like, in Korean, asks me, "Do you know which bus will take me to Yonsei?" And I was like, and then I responded in Korean, "Oh yeah you can take like one thousand … two thousand bus *duh duh duh duh duh* [yadda yadda]," and he goes, "Oh, I speak English!"—Then why are you asking me in Korean?! ((laughs))

Although Matt notes no offense or perceived othering in this interaction, it was still one to remember. Even though the man who approached Matt did so initially in Korean, it is clear that

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he still had a preconceived notion of who Matt was: an English speaker and, more likely, an English-speaking foreigner. Important is that this prejudice came about in only a few moments of interaction, yet still left a lasting impression with Matt. Likewise, Ted discusses being approached by strangers as a perceived English-speaking foreigner.

> Ted: Well, you definitely get pretty sensitive to it, just because, umm, especially after I developed a Korean ability … uhh, when you are dealing with someone you get a sense right away whether they want to speak to you in English, whether they want to speak to you in Korean, what their ability is either way, what their intentions are—because, you know, quite possibly they're trying to practice their English cause they know you're a foreigner, quite possibly they don't speak a word of English and they're just going to treat you on a regular Korean level, or, they label you as a foreigner and are gonna speak to you in Korean as they would speak to a baby in Korean. So you get, you know, you get a good sense of someone's empathy when you start meeting someone for the first time.

Ted's comment on empathy makes an important connection to participants' subjectivity; whereas Ann (above) noted that ideas of Korean pure-bloodedness made it difficult for Koreans to understand "where I'm coming from and what I'm trying to do and my goals here," Ted states that looking different can mean being labeled a foreigner, and thus spoken to as a baby, in spite of his advanced level of Korean.

The politics of language are also a salient factor in dating. Three participants directly discussed how socializing in Korean is an important way to better their Korean language abilities—when the opportunity allows. In the following excerpt, Craig describes the way in which first contact and dating intersect with his desire to improve his Korean skills.

> Craig: I wouldn't even date a girl if she wanted to talk to me in English. […] Now, you could say it was me being selfish, but I took it as, Well I'm Korean and I'm trying to get closer to my culture. You're Korean, you just trying to use English for whatever reason 'cause the culture says we need to know it. I kinda, I took it as being kind of selfish and saying you know my reasons for learning Korean is a little more noble than yours. And I have a goal I wanna use it for.

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You just tryin to learn 'cause whatever. I mean … 'Cause if you ask: "What's your goal?" ((whining voice)) "Oh I need it for a job!" "In Korean we need it for the test!" What's my goal? I'm tryin to open up my foundation. I wanna work in Korea. I wanna reconnect with my culture; I want to be able to teach at a university in Korean about my research. I mean … I'm not trying to compare, but I thought those are a little bit more noble goals. ((laughs))

Craig, like Ann and Ted, notes that being perceived as an English-speaking foreigner conflicts with his goals of wanting to learn Korean and "reconnect with [his] culture." What is more, he adds to this a level of nobleness, indicating that his goals for Korean involve a greater good than Koreans' goals for English.

4.3.6. OWNERSHIP OF IDENTITY & SENTIMENTS OF BELONGING

Throughout the above excerpts we see that identifying as a member of the Korean diaspora and being recognized by other Koreans as Korean do not always fall seamlessly in line with one another. Similar to Ann and Alexandra's statements about the English teaching market, Matt notes that in addition to appearance, verbal expressions of Koreanness are also situationally interpreted. Below, Matt tells a story from his first years in Korea, when he worked at a public school North of Seoul near the Demilitarized Zone, the area that separates North and South Korea, the world's most militarized border.

Matt: So I told my coteacher, I was like, "Dude, I was waiting for the bus, a convoy truck drives by, the soldier pointed his gun at me" this and that, and the next thing you know my coteacher's like, "I understand there's a cultural difference but this is wrong we gotta take care of it." So he calls the police, and the police come and the police are like, you know, "Why do you think he did it?" And I was like, "He probably thought it was funny … foreigner guy standing by the bus stop *duh duh duh duh duh*," and then my coteacher's like, "You know, yeah, his mom's Korean," and as soon as my coteacher tells them "oh yeah, his mom's Korean," they're like, the policeman: "You're not foreign, you're Korean!" ((laughs)) It's like, "Whyyy thaaank yoouuuu, now…" Is it—I'm Korean because of the situation, or…? Things like that, so it's kinda like, I sorta feel like, maybe, if the situation benefits them

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you're Korean but then if it doesn't … Maybe if all of a sudden I came here and I got busted for selling drugs or something, all of a sudden: "That American guy…"

This story of affiliation contrasts with Matt's earlier excerpt, in which he noted that even when he is with his Korean aunt his Koreanness may be questioned. Perhaps this is exactly what leads him to his final conclusion, that "if the situation benefits them, you're Korean, but if it doesn't [you're not]." Matt's understanding is not uncommon. Although I have focused on the language of first approach, an underlying theme within the interviews as a whole is that mixed-race overseas Koreans' Koreanness is frequently situationally interpreted, and frequently those interpretations point toward their foreignness. Whether in speaking with strangers on the street, searching for jobs, or discussing one's personal, genealogical connection to Korea, participants' understandings of how their Koreanness is interpreted by Koreans represent a patchwork of acceptance and non-acceptance as Korean. Here, Marie gives a final note on her understanding of being perceived as foreign and her feelings of acceptance:

Marie: It's somewhat frustrating to have people constantly think that you're a foreigner because that definitely carries connotations in Korean society, like … If you're a foreigner you're an outsider automatically, and so … you don't ever really belong at least, according to the Korean mindset. and I think that's hard because Korean society is all about belonging and all about being included in the group or being included in society and that's what's most difficult, or most frustrating is feeling like … sometimes you don't belong … But I think … that's also helped me come to terms with like maybe my own identity issues, if you have it, like, being a half-Korean and sort of being in between these two different worlds or different cultures and different countries, and I think, maybe it's helped me to realize that I just have to be more comfortable with who I am and, you know, less sensitive, or less upset by how other people perceive me and maybe just more comfortable with who I am, and what I feel like I can do, or what I can contribute, or where I belong. So … or maybe it's just a realization that I might not ever belong anywhere, but that's okay, too, as long as I find a place where I feel happy and feel a sense of comfort then maybe that's enough.

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Here, although Marie admits to being "constantly" interpreted as a foreigner, she points not only to an understanding of her own third-space existence, but to the importance of her own, subjective understanding of belonging. It is in such a place that, in spite of mixed feelings of acceptance and non-acceptance, she expresses that she must eek out her own space for "a sense of comfort."

Finally, Craig connects many of the ideas discussed above and connects them to overall prospects for and thoughts on Korean learning. Here, he describes the variance with which his appearance can be interpreted, the subsequent differences he experiences in the language of first approach, and his view of his Korean ability.

> Craig: And so when I first came to Korea I kept my hair shaved really low, you know, just a fade … and mainly because … I, I didn't really want my afro to kinda make me stand out, and then living here I realized that I do stand out. So I let my hair grow out. And so now these days I realize that it wasn't so much about my features but also how I carried my body, and how I … did things?
>
> The last two years have been amazing, because people just talk to me in Korean now. I get a few like, ignorant, ignorant people that that will try to talk to me in English or something like that and I have to tell them I'm Korean. Then they'll be like, "Oh where are you from?" or "Why do you speak like that I thought you were this …"
>
> But I mean … in the past people would ask directions and they would ignore me … but now these days they'll see me and they'll just ask me in Korean and I—we'll just have this conversation. And they always say "Oh your Korean's so good!" I'll be like, "Well I am Korean!" And they just kind of … ignore that, like, "Oh ookay …" Just kinda like, "Yeah you're funny …" you know.
>
> But my experience has been so different these days—I'm not as upset. I used to get upset when people would talk to me in English when they saw me. And then I realized … it's because when I'm with foreigners and talking with foreigners, they'll talk to me as I'm a foreigner. But when I'm by myself … and, in my Korean

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mode if you wanna call it or with my other Korean friends they'll talk to me in Korean.

So … I guess because of my unique features, who I am associated with when they see me, a lot of times will determine how they approach me with the language. It gets a little awkward after they find out that I'm not Korean … I- I used to use this: When my Korean is so good, that they never say I speak Korean well, that's when I know I speak Korean well. But because they say I speak Korean well, that means that it's not good enough, it's good enough because they think I'm a foreigner.

Craig's conclusions represent a mixture of sentiments. On the one hand, he claims that whereas in the past he tried more to blend in physically, like Ann, he has come to the conclusion that standing out is inevitable. On the other hand, he notes that in more recent years it has been an empowering experience to be spoken to more frequently in Korean by Korean strangers. His conclusion is mixed as well: although he notes that compliments on his Korean actually index his perceived foreignness, he is still optimistic when it comes to learning Korean.

4.4. CHAPTER CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have sought to further complicate the position of overseas Koreans living in Korea by focusing on the experiences of mixed-race overseas Koreans. Through the above excerpts, I show that in addition to my previous discussion of "looking Korean" leading to expectations of Korean language ability, those who do not "look Korean" become the objects of the Korean gaze. This curiosity takes other forms as well, when mixed-race Koreans are understood as foreigners and approached by Korean strangers in English. Although I note that this is not uniformly the case, all participants noted that it was sometimes the case. In better understanding this aspect of the return migratory experience, we may better understand the multifaceted nature of feelings of non-acceptance. As mixed-race overseas Koreans often

understand their differing physical appearances as holding baring on their daily interactions, we see how their differing appearances may be used as metrics in Koreans' judgment of their membership to the ethnic community. As such, mixed-race overseas Koreans understand their position in the Korean diaspora as one questioned, amidst understandings of cultural, linguistic, and racial in-betweenness. This understanding, along with direct challenges and affirmations of their Koreanness by Koreans, come to form distinct repertoires of experience, thus complicating their potential sense of belonging to their imagined Korean communities.

UNDERSTANDING IDENTITY: INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE AS A LENS INTO THE MULTIPLICITY OF LEARNER IDENTITY & INVESTMENT

5.1. THE WEIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE

Overseas Koreans living in Korea hold varying perceptions of their linguistic repertoires and of the role of Korean in their lives, yet they experience situational judgments of their Korean language ability by Koreans. These are common occurrences that can have both negative and positive consequences for overseas Koreans' sentiments of belonging. For Jen, not saying "I'm from Idaho" in Korean to a stranger at the entrance of a folk village meant being chastised, leaving her a memory of mortification still vivid 15 years later. She explains that such experiences are part of a pool shared by overseas Koreans in Korea: "everybody has them, every adoptee has them, probably every gyopo has them, too," and, indeed, that they are significant to sentiments of acceptance: "we internalize this … expectation from our teachers, or from other Koreans, that because we are Korean … that we should have some residual knowledge of the language, or the language is somehow truly 'within your blood.'"

For Viktor, language and ethno-racial appearance are connected in two important ways. On the one hand, despite his fluent Russian and having been born, raised, and acculturated in Russia, Viktor viewed his physical appearance as a cause of exclusion. In contrast, when he first arrived in Korea, his lacking Korean skills vis-à-vis his Korean appearance led to cognitive dissonance for Koreans. As his Korean improved, however, his Korean appearance led to heightened acceptance, but only in conjunction with his improved Korean ability. Similarly, Monica, who "looks Korean, speaks Korean fine," was not immune to feelings of disparagement.

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She, too, felt at times that discrepancies in her vocabulary or literacy meant being viewed as, at worst, an idiot and, at best, an outsider. Her conclusion was that her bicultural background left her feeling as though she could never "fit in really anywhere, because it's like I'm not, I'll never be American but I'll never be purely Korean either."

For Beatrix, her compartmentalization of sociolinguistic spheres meant that her overall linguistic repertoire was sufficient for her needs—as a Dutch expatriate in Korea, as a mother of "Dutch" children who "can switch easily" between Korean and Dutch, and as a woman with Korean relatives. Despite her self-deprecation in regard to the amount of time and effort she had put into learning Korean, her abilities met her needs. For Angie, her desires for Korean were ever-evolving. From a desire to be able to meet basic needs in Korea given her parents impending retirement there, to the Korean skills required of graduate study, to finding personal enjoyment in nuance, her desire to learn Korean never ceased, but the direction of her needs did. For Sandy, her well-intentioned boyfriend wanted to teach her "how to be Korean" through speaking Korean, yet she notes that their disagreements were generally based on differences of "culture" or life histories. Thus, despite ethnolinguistic essentialist connections between language and culture, in the end, we see they can be separated, pointing toward a linguistic false consciousness.

For the mixed-race overseas Koreans in this study, I find that their perceived race plays an important role in various aspects of sentiments of belonging to the Korean diaspora. First, many note feeling strong connections to Koreanness from young ages, and at times this connection was based on feelings of being racially othered in the countries of their upbringings. Second, mixed-race Koreans believe themselves to be perceived by Koreans frequently as non-Koreans. This takes the form of mixed-race overseas Koreans' understandings of the Korean

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gaze, the language of first approach by Korean strangers frequently being English, rather than Korean, and in direct confrontations in which their identities are questioned.

5.2. OVERALL FINDINGS

In the preceding chapters I have sought to develop inquiry in three areas. First, I have connected research on Korean national identity, diasporic haunting, and ethnic return migration to paint a complex, multi-faceted picture of Korean diasporic identity. In the interviews we see that overseas Koreans feel visceral ties to Korea that led them to choose to live and work there long-term. To this I add my discussion of identity and language learning, in the form of investment, and ethnolinguistic essentialism and deficit approaches in heritage language (HL) research. Here, I have shown that although overseas Koreans are invested in their current and future identities as members of the Korean diaspora, their Korean abilities are often used by Koreans as measures of their current and prospective memberships. Together, I use these strains of thought to shed light on the intersections between ethnic affiliation, overseas Koreans' Korean language use in Korea, and on language learning and use as sites for negotiating belonging.

Second, by examining interviews I collected with overseas Koreans living in Korea, I have shown that their imagined communities represent collections of experiences both positive and negative, complex representations of push-and-pull that come to form mixed sentiments of acceptance and non-acceptance. Within a framework of G.-W. Shin et al.'s (1999) understanding of the black sheep effect, in which "strategies of policing the in-group are inherent in the maintenance of coherent and manageable social identity" (p. 475), we see that situated instances of overseas Koreans' use of Korean are often understood as objects of ethnolinguistic judgment. Whereas "full" overseas Koreans are made to feel inadequate vis-à-vis the imagined native

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standard against which they are measured, mixed-race overseas Koreans are frequently viewed

as "foreigners" and othered by Koreans' expectations of little-to-no knowledge of Korean

language or culture. For many of the participants, end conclusions on imagined communities

include mixed feelings of acceptance and non-acceptance. While participants believe that they

may never be "fully" accepted, they acknowledge and accept a third-space social positioning.

Such an understanding does not defy Norton's concept of investment, but rather stands in

concordance with the mixed nature of imagined language communities. As Norton (2002) writes:

> When we *invest* in a second languages, we desire a wider range of
> identities and an expanded set of possibilities in the future.
> Conversely, if we are not invested in a particular target language, it
> may be as a result of limited options for identification and
> possibility. Investment, then, is not a fixed personality trait, but a
> construct that attempts to capture the relationship of the learner to
> the larger, changing, social world. (Norton, 2002, p. 4)

Norton seems to place some responsibility for lack of investment in language learning in learner

perceptions of limited options for identifying with the target language community. Although this

may seem the case in some interviews—both Jen and Beatrix stopped taking Korean classes—it

may not be that participants have given up on learning Korean; rather, they have shifting

perceptions of what level of Korean is necessary in their lives, given their goals, activities, and

understandings of integration into Korean society.

Third, by tying together understandings of ethnolinguistic judgment, deficit approaches in

HL research, and studies in language ideologies on shifting linguistic repertoires as new forms of

social interaction, I have sought to emphasize the importance of understanding identity in the

Korean teaching context. We have seen overseas Koreans' linguistic repertoires include Russian,

English, German, and Dutch, and these repertoires represent personal histories, geographies, and

families. As such, rather than allow language ability to be viewed as a measure of Korean

identity, HL learners' engaging with Korean can represent an *expression* of ethnic identity and

affiliation. This might be better understood as a form of *metalinguistic community* (Avineri, 2012), in which learners are socialized into practices of appreciation for the history and affinity a language can represent, a process in which learners engage not only in language learning, but in discourses about language and related symbols. Just as S. J. Shin (2010) finds in her study of mixed-race HL learners, there is a "need for greater attention to individuals who do not fit the traditional profile of the heritage-language learner" (p. 215), whatever their backgrounds.

From these three arcs of inquiry—ethnic identity and ethnolinguistic essentialism, investment and imagined communities in the Korean HL context, and alternatives to ethnolinguistic essentialism—I have sought to expand possibilities for identification in Korean HL pedagogy. Oftentimes Korean HL pedagogy is looked at as filling-in gaps in already-proficient speakers' funds of knowledge to better meet imagined native speaker standards. Learners are imagined as having grown up speaking Korean in the home and are thought to have had exposure to the culture as well. However, numerous scholars have already begun to open a discursive space that may offer a wider range of possibilities for identification in Korean pedagogy. Whether general expansions of the definition of "heritage language" to include sentiments of ethnic ties, rather than merely funds of knowledge (Avineri, 2012; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003; Wiley, 2005), transferring this to the Korean HL context (J. S. Lee & Shin, 2008), or third-space subjectivity in Korean language learning (H.-Y. Jo, 2001, 2002; Higgins & Stoker, 2010, 2011; M. Jeon, 2005, 2008, 2010; J. Shin, 2009), these studies all point to a need to expand on the traditional understanding of the HL learner profile.

5.3. Implications for Korean language pedagogy

Here, I suggest concrete ways to conceptualize integrating broader understandings of investment into Korean language pedagogy.

5.3.1. Incorporating a "pedagogy of inquiry"

Nelson (1999) discusses non-normative sexual identities in the ESL classroom and proposes a progression from "pedagogies of inclusion" (Britzman, 1995), in which pedagogy is conceptualized as needing "authentic" images of minority identities, to a "pedagogy of inquiry." This pedagogy of inquiry mirrors the progression of queer theory in general, which, drawing on Butler's (1990) *performativity*, seeks not to fight for the rights of oppressed groups, but rather to create a discursive consciousness that questions how relations of power and normativity themselves are constructed through language and action. Whereas pedagogies of inclusion may seek to include images or textual representations of non-normative identities in pedagogy, Nelson views this mission of legitimation as problematic; not only might it serve to reinforce non-normative, minority statuses, but the search for legitimization may unwittingly delegitimize other identities. Nelson gives an example and asks: "How is 'a lesbian' to be represented in curricula or materials? Which characters or characteristics will be included, which excluded? If these representations come only from the target culture, are they sufficiently inclusive?" (p. 376). Thus, in the language classroom, Nelson suggests that "instead of trying to make subordinate sexual identities seem natural or normal … a queer approach to pedagogy asks how linguistic and cultural practices manage to naturalise certain sexual identities but not others" (p. 378). Noteworthy here is that a pedagogy of inquiry focuses not solely on understanding the production of subordinate identities, but of dominant ones as well.

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To be clear, I am not arguing against a pedagogy of inclusion. Indeed, the developing of pedagogical materials would seem to necessitate that the characters in them be imagined, their names and appearances chosen, and their stories authored. What I am arguing, however, is that a pedagogy of inclusion alone is not the answer. What follow are five broad suggestions for implementing a pedagogy of inquiry in Korean language teaching.

5.3.2. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR KOREAN LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

A pedagogy of inquiry can apply to a range of identities; gender, sexuality, nationality, race, and ethnicity may all come under the scrutiny of questioning. Below, I offer five recommendations with examples on how the production of Korean and overseas Korean identities might be problematized in the Korean language classroom.

(1) *Inquire, don't assume.*

In regard to personal histories, avoid making assumptions about how learners identify, about their goals, or about individual learning trajectories. For example, given my understanding of a Korean HL learner as someone who feels a strong ethnic- or heritage-based investment in Korean, assuming that a Korean HL learner speaks Korean at a certain proficiency because Korean was spoken at home—or, worse, because one or both parents "are Korean"—ignores the learner's individual learning trajectory. If time, money, and effort have been expended by the learner, having those written off to ethnicity, or assumptions about home language use, can be dismissive and disparaging. This goes the same for assumptions that genealogical ties to Korea are HL students' motivation for learning Korean. Experiences with feelings of othering in home countries or broad "Korean American" or "Pan-Asian" identities, for example, can also be forms of HL motivation.

In order to better understand student identities, I suggest utilizing learner profile questionnaires at the beginning of a course. Although these are already commonplace in many language programs, I suggest two expansions. First, have students take their time. Rather than filling out these questionnaires in the final minutes of a first class meeting, have students take them home so that they might have more time to think about the questions. Second, rather than simply asking, "What Korean classes have you taken before?" and "Why are you learning Korean?" ask multiple questions together, such as, "What motivates you to learn Korean? Do you feel a personal connection to Korea? Are you interested in traveling to Korea after this course? Do you ever use Korean outside of Korean classes?" By prompting learners with questions on a greater range of possible motivations and forms of exposure, learners not only have the opportunity to express such forms of motivation, but know that their instructor is interested in hearing about them.

(2) *Incorporate a vocabulary of inquiry, and with it an idea of inquiry as classroom practice.*

Just as encouraging target language use in the classroom requires empowering learners to use the target language for metadiscursive acts—such as asking what a word means, saying that one does not understand, requesting that something be written on the board, etc.—so must language instructors empower learners with the means to question the assumptions, images, and messages that appear in the classroom. Teaching learners to recognize structures such as "verb stem + *-eo/-a/-hae + ya dwaeyo*" ("must + active verb/descriptive verb") as lexical chunks early-on can be an important tool for questioning the assumed inherentness of virtually any concept, especially in conjunction with an adverb such as *kkok* ("for certain," "absolutely"). The same is true for structures such as "noun + *-cheoreom boyeoyo*" ("to look like + noun"). Using these as interrogatives, perhaps in conjunction with phrases as simple as "*Wae keureohkae*

saenggakhaeyo?" ("Why do [you] think that?"/"Why does it appear that way [to you]?") can be useful for questioning assumptions. Through a process of repetition, the use of such structural tactics for inquiry can normalize a classroom practice of inquiry, and subsequently socialize learners into that practice.

(3) *Incorporate a pedagogy of inquiry as frequently as possible, as opportunities arise.*

As alluded to above, inquiry is not just a teaching method, but a social practice requiring a process of socialization. By seizing every opportunity to question the assumptions behind statements made in the classroom, instructors can not only instigate discussions that highlight and problematize those assumptions, but can also work to create a culture of inquiry within the classroom, one that can be reproduced by learners. What is more, this can be done within the context of activities already occurring, and lessons already in use.

Take for example the use of a Korean commercial for a street navigation app, in which a "Korean" and a "foreigner" appear. The "foreigner," a tall White man with glasses, approaches a "Korean" woman and asks for directions in English. The Korean woman, startled, does not speak English well, and instead takes out her smartphone and uses the street view function to show the man the way. Using basic commands, "Go here," "Turn here," she is able to show the man step-by-step how to get to his destination. In this instance, someone well-versed in cultural critique may want to ask, "How is race being constructed in this commercial?" or "How is the female figure being depicted here?" Instead, we could ask, "Who are the people in this commercial?" Assuming someone responds with "foreigner" or "Korean," an instructor could easily ask *what it is* that brings someone to use those labels, asking "How do you know that?" or "What does a 'foreigner' look like?" This could lead to fruitful discussion about what languages Koreans and foreigners are presumed to speak or not speak, and can be easily connected to the learners

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themselves. Have they ever met a Korean person who spoke English well? Could they themselves ask or give directions in Korean? Even without a knowledge of queer theory or performativity, by soliciting responses from learners in simple wording, underlining the difference between what we "know" and what we see, we can question representations of the linguistic repertoires of "Koreans" and "foreigners" in the media.

(4) *Internalize inquiry; ask yourself: What are the assumptions behind my own questions?*

Inquiry as a discursive resource can be used in regard to any topic, but I would like to highlight how it plays a part in discussions that involve ethnicity, race, and individual culture. Take for example a Korean class in which there are Korean HL learners who are known to have had home exposure to Korean cultural artifacts. At times it may seem only natural to segue into discussions of Korean food, Korean media, or Korean traditions by building off of the experiences of those students. "Do you eat a lot of Korean food at home?" or "Do you watch Korean TV?" are typical examples. Opening opportunities for learners to articulate their Korean cultural capital can be a reaffirming moment in which "novices" become "experts." However, if we tend toward only allowing learners with home exposure those opportunities, we may limit such affirmation for others. By extension, in multiethnic contexts such as that of the United States, assumptions about "American" culture may serve to exclude the diverse backgrounds of students with non-normative "American" home cultures. Also, in situations in which overseas adopted Koreans are in the class, if this facet of identity is unknown, we may unwittingly make assumptions about the home culture or families of people who "look Korean" or "have a Korean name." Conversely, if this facet of identity is known, we may try to tread so lightly around the topic that we erase it. As such, it is important to ask ourselves as educators: "Are there types of questions I ask more to some students and less to others? Why is that? What do I understand

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about X student's knowledge in comparison to Y student's knowledge?" Such questions can be important checks and balances to discover and taper assumptions we might make about what students do or do not know.

(5) *When in doubt, seek information.*

As mentioned above, a pedagogy of inquiry can be used to question assumptions that appear in the language classroom regarding any number of topics, from ethnicity to home culture, goals for learning, previous exposure to the language, race, gender, etc. Still, none of the above recommendations are meant to seem absolutes. I am not arguing that we should never show racialized material in class (indeed, all material can be viewed as racialized), nor do I claim that we should not discuss home life or previous exposure to Korean culture. Instead, I propose that we integrate a pedagogy of inquiry into all levels of instruction, from learner profile questionnaires at the beginning of a course, to lesson planning, to classroom comportment, to the introspective act of asking ourselves what assumptions lie behind what we say. A pedagogy of inquiry does not require that instructors "have the answers"; instead, it encourages instructors to pose thoughtful questions and, when in doubt, seek information on relevant topics by asking students outside of class or further informing ourselves on issues of identity. By integrating a pedagogy of inquiry into the materials and lessons we already use, we relieve ourselves of the burden of revising entire curricula. By integrating inquiry as a form of social practice, learners may then internalize questions, recycling them among each other and beyond the classroom.

5.4. FINAL THOUGHTS

Expectations of language educators are already great. Between planning lessons, teaching, grading and editing student work, assessing benchmarks, advising, performing

administrative duties, etc., how can we expect instructors to incorporate even more "duties" into the job of teaching? The answer may be simpler than we think. As mentioned above, a pedagogy of inquiry can be implemented relatively fluidly into activities and lessons already in use. Indeed, Nelson (1999) notes that, "on a practical level, inquiry may be more doable than inclusion [inserting non-normative identities into pedagogy,] because teachers are expected not to have all the answers but rather to frame questions, facilitate investigations, and explore what is not known" (p. 377). Thus inquiry takes the burden of "having all the answers" off of the instructor, and places the work of inquiry onto the collectivity of the class. For learners, inquiry and postmodern perspectives are not as difficult as they may seem. They do not require that we wait until "advanced" or "superior" levels where students toil away reading Foucault, Butler, or "authentic texts" in the form of cultural critique in the target language; rather, they are means of comportment on the part of the instructor and a socialization on the part of learners. In addition, by taking a stance that language educators are *facilitators* of learners' exploration of new ways of communicating, not only may we create more student-centered classrooms, but we can incorporate a pedagogy of inquiry that reproduces itself among students.

As we learn language, we are not simply studying a subject on which to be tested, but acquiring means to connect with other human beings, to express our identities, and to develop them. The actions of educators can serve both to expand possibilities for identification and restrict them. A pedagogy of inquiry seems a step toward expansion, and I hope to see this way of "doing pedagogy" gain traction in the Korean teaching context, so that all learners of Korean may have fruitful, affirming experiences.

Introduction, transcribed in conversation analytic style:

```
 1   Chris      so i::=
 2   Chris      =there are a couple things I wanna talk [to
 3   Monica                                            [mm:
 4   Chris      we're gonna get to both of them but I wanna (.)
 5   Chris      see which one you wanna talk about first (.)
 6   Chris      one I wanna talk about ho:w: (.)
 7   Chris      um (.)
 8   Chris      Korean ability: [an also just your: (.) u:m:
 9   Monica                     [mm hmm
10   Chris      kind of: (.)
11   Chris      sa:vviness o:r: lack of saaviness i[n regard to Korean culture
12   Monica                                        [mmm hmm
13   Chris      ha:s helped you get along uh:=
14   Chris      =with Korean people=
15   Monica     =mm hm
16   Chris      um:
17   Chris      and also of course I wanna talk about seou:li:st=
18   Monica     =mmm
19   Chris      so which one do you wanna talk about first.
20   Monica     ((high pitch)) let's talk about K(h)UHRE:ANN:ess:
21   Chris      okay
22   Monica     mkay=
23   Monica     =°ri::gh::t
24   Chris      SO:- of course=you know we're talking about how (.)
25   Chris      you[:::
26   Monica        [mm hm?=
27   Chris      =spent- (.) the vast majority of ye:r formative years=
28   Chris      =in the united states an:: you: speak Korean very well?
29   Chris      and then you come here?
30   Chris      um: (.)
31   Chris      I'm °curious you know (.) were there:? (.)
32   Chris      how bout this (.)
33   Chris      do people know: that yer no:t- (.)
34   Chris      that you weren't rai:sed? in korea?
35   Chris      when they talk to you?
36              (0.4)
```

37	Monica	in the beginning they di:d?
38	Monica	becau:se uhm: my::=
39	Monica	=like certain mannerisms? u:m:=
40	Monica	°the the=
41	Monica	=even the way I: I LOO:K in~th- sense that like (.)
42	Monica	I:m (.) *p*erhaps a little more BRIGHTER? to STRANGERS? (0.7)
43	Monica	than I am (0.5)
44	Monica	than I'm supposed to be? (0.7)
45	Monica	um::
46	Monica	and my- the way I spoke (.)
47	Monica	I think it was a little bit awkward
48	Monica	°um: (0.7)
49	Monica	*s*(h)o: in the beginning,=
50	Monica	=I::
51	Monica	y~kno~ppl~yu(h)- looked at me a little stra:ngely::
52	Monica	and then later: (0.5)
53	Monica	u:m-=
54	Monica	=once I go:t uh little bit more ac*cus*(h)*t*(h)omed~t(h)o:
55	Monica	korean culture and the language?
56	Monica	people later started~assuming that I was: (.)
57	Monica	kinda like dumb? (0.5[)
58	( )	[*tt
59	Monica	or l[ike,
60	Chris	[uh huh huh huh [*heh *heh ha ha *heh *heh
61		
62	Monica	[*no* they rea:lly di:d
63	Chris	[HA HA *heh *heh °*hee
64	Monica	[*BECAUSE* THEY'RE LIKE
65	Monica	okay she looks korean she s[peaks korean *fine*,
66	Chris	[uh *huh*:
67	Monica	[but she like doesn't understand this word?
68	Chris	[uh *huh*:
69	Monica	[is she like stupid?
70	Chris	uh *h*[*uh*:
71	Chris	uh huh huh [huh *heh *heh *heh *heh *heh
72	Monica	[I LITERALLY THOUGHT a lot peop-=
73	Monica	[=like~en~i: just became really self-conscious=
74	Chris	[°*heh *heh *heh *hhh
75	Chris	=[uh *huh*: [mm hmm
76	Monica	[about that [because um::
77	Monica	for example I can't read chinese characters?=
78	Chris	=*mm::*=
79	Monica	=Ri:ght?

The narrative proper, transcribed in paragraph style:

Monica: Monica: *For example* I can't read Chinese characters. (.) Right? And so (.) umm (.) there's a:: (.) famous:: (.) uh kimbab fastfood chain called "Kim Ka Ne Kimbab." A:nd (.) thuh:: (.) Their si:gnage or their logo is "KI:M KA:: NE" but the "KA" is in Chinese, and so:: it's also a different color, I believe it's red? Whereas "KIM" and "NE" is: (.) in black. So for me, from a visual standpoint, and also, as a Korean who doesn't read Chinese, I always read it as "KIM NE KIMBAB."

Chris: Oooh my god I've been doing that, too!

Monica: Y[ou had no idea?

Chris: [This whole time!= I always thought it was "KIM NE"

Monica: No:::!

And you know- you know how I found out?

And so I ordered, like, "KIM NE KIMBAB han joolyo." (("One roll of Kim Ne kimbab, please.")) And … they looked at me … and I couldn't place it at first? And then the people I was with started cracking up and like fell over on the floo:r.

Chris: ((laughs))

Monica: And the::n (.) all of a sudden I hear all the ajummas (("older women")) like ((talking in this 'n stuff)) and it started at the cashier, went into the restaurant, and then, (.) by like (.) you know, like, five seconds later, the ajummas in the joobang (("kitchen")), like, in the kitchen in the back, were like, "*Kim ka ne kim ne kimbab ireuhkae((neun))*." (("'Kim Ne' instead of "Kim Ka Ne?!")) And they're all *lau:ghing* at me:!

And I was sooo like, (.) dumbfounded I didn't know what to do:, except to defend myself, you know? What do you do when you're caught in those situations, so, you become very defensive, so: (.) in my:: perfectly normal Korean, I said "*I'm not a Korean! I'm not a Korean! I don't read Kore- I don't read Chinese characters!*" And like you know it's just like, very funny if you think about it. It's just me saying in English, like, I:: don't speak English. Quit making fun of me.

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Chris: Ri::ght, ri::ght, but you're saying it perfectly?

Monica: Yeah, so I just remember I'm like, *"Jeo hanguk saram anieyo! Jeo babo aniyeyo!"* (("I'm not a Korean person! I'm not an idiot!")) And everyone was just like (.) still laughing at me.

             […]

             I've had a lot of instances where I:: u:m: (.) mess u:p or slip en- (.) but I find that i-it you know people:? (.) um, to a certain extent they:: (.) you kno- we say kwuiyeopke bwajo. Like, they're like, "Oh that's cu::te" (.) you know, like if I was a- *pure* Korean and I did that they would be like "Oh my go::sh, what an idiot," like (.) "don't talk to me?" (.)

             Bu:t uh: (.) I find that there's: tha:t (.) kind- I'm: *o:ne* degree removed from: li:ke (.) *the rest* (.) like, so for example I can use it to my advantage, (.) so when- (.) when I mess u:p? like instead of people being upset at me they might say like "Oh:, well she's not from here:," or, "Oh::, she's like, America:n." And *so::* in *tha:t* sense? (.) *yea::h* you can even~even exploit:*t* your:, uh:: ignorance to a certain extent.

Chris: So: (.) I'm confused when people give you that kind of leeway, do you think it's like that (.) on a *us*ual ba:sis they look at you *a:s* someone who's not Korean?

Monica: I guess so:? And in that sense: (.) I don't think I fit in really anywhere, because it's like I'm not (.) I'll never be American but I'll never be *pur*ely Korean either. I don't think- (0.4) No matter how hard I tried, and even if I learned a:ll the words in the Korean vocabulary:? I don't think I could live that way, I just don't think I could be the Korean that everyone expects me to be? And I'll always catch people off gua:rd.

---------- END TRANSCRIPT ----------

Introduction, transcribed in conversation analytic style:

1	Jen	Well I:[: you know I *spent a yea:r::*
2	Chris	[before you started
3	Jen	um::
4	Jen	I spent a yea:r: at (.) uh (.) eohakda:ng=
		((language school))
5	Chris	=uh huh=
6	Jen	=where-I dropped out by the way
7	Chris	oh okay
8	Jen	I quit=
9	Chris	=uh huh=
10	Jen	=a[nd um …
11	Chris	[why?
12	Jen	cause I hated it
13	Chris	okay
14	Chris	[why? (.) actually
15	Jen	[and (.) I hated Korean, I *hat*ed studying Korean=
16	Chris	=uh huh
17	Jen	It was **ver**y difficult for me=
18	Chris	=mm hm
19		(.)
20	Jen	I:- I think (.) for me the:: (0.2) the pedagogy o:f:-
21	Jen	teaching Korean in this country was very unsuitable for **my:** le[arning style?=
22	Chris	[uh huh
23	Chris	=in what wa:ys,
24	Jen	I'm not- I'm not very good at memorizing things
25	Jen	I can't even memorize things in English=
26	Chris	=mm [hm mm hm
27	Jen	[honestly (.) let alone (.) Korean
28	Jen	and so for me studying grammar patterns repeatedly,
29	Jen	[remind]ed me of like (.) being in logic class an-=
30	Chris	[mm hm]
31	Chris	=mm hm=
32	Jen	=like (.) taking introduction to logic in (.) college
33	Jen	it's all about- you know- this very left-brai:n sort of-
34	Jen	wa- way of looking at patterns of language like

35	Jen	it's like a *for*mula, it's like a math- to me:
36	Jen	the way Korean was taught at *yon*sei (.)
37	Jen	you know
38	Jen	it's like you have to memorize this math formula and then just-
39	Jen	plug in the verb and conjugate the verb
40	Jen	en fer me **hh* I just (.)
41	Jen	I found that really hard (.) **tt*
42	Jen	I was um (.) it was hard for me,
43	Chris	mm hm=
44	Jen	=like the grammar?
45	Jen	[it was hard
46	Chris	[what level roughly were you in arou[nd that time
47	Jen	[well I was in the *B::*
		section=
48	Chris	oka:y=
49	Jen	=which is the *slo::w* se[ction
50	Chris	[yea:h:: mm hm
51	Jen	and so I quit at B level five ((soft laugh))
52	Chris	okay, which is like intermediate
53	Jen	oh god!=
54	Chris	=r[ight?
55	Jen	[but yeah I think I just passed because,=
56	Chris	=uh huh=
57	Jen	=I dunno (.) yeah
58	Jen	I didn't like my experience at yonsei at [all
59	Chris	[mm hm mm hm
60	Jen	and then also at the time I was involved in um::
61	Jen	this relationship that was also kind of a dis(h)tr(h)act(h)[ion
		((laughs)) and so: um:=
62	Chris	[mm
		hm okay
63	Chris	=with whom you spoke English,
64		(1.0)
65	Chris	right?
66	Jen	yeah,
67	Chris	oka:y,=
68	Jen	=they- they- they- ye:s:
69	Chris	you spoke English
70	Jen	we spoke English together but it wasn't (.)
71	Jen	a native English speaker
72	Chris	oka:y
73	Jen	but anyway, yeah
74	Chris	*hh umm (.) and (.) did this affect your overall desire to learn
		Korean
75	Chris	i[n general?
76	Jen	[*o:h total*ly

77	Chris	okay
78	Jen	yonsei: was a bad expe:rience:
79	Jen	en::d um::
80	Jen	you know I had had several experiences being,
81	Jen	you know, actually,
82		(1.0)
83	Jen	my first couple of years here=
84	Chris	=[mm hm=
85	Jen	[um::
86	Jen	if you wan- (.) I-
87	Jen	I- kin tell you my first
88		(0.7)
89	Chris	you mean your very first or [your new first time,
90	Jen	[yeah my very first time
91	Jen	my most (0.3)
92	Jen	my first time of really (0.3)
93	Jen	feeling embarrassed or actually like (0.5)
94	Jen	basically kind of- (.) mo:rtifie:d?
95	Jen	unexpectedly?
96	Jen	was when uh::m (0.8)
97	Jen	*tt uh:: we went to: yo:ngi:- the- yo:ngi:n: (.) folk village
98	Chris	Okay::?

The narrative proper, transcribed in paragraph style:

Jen: My most (.) my first time of really (.) feeling (.) embarrassed or actually like (0.7) basically kind of- mortifie:d unexpectedly? Was when um (.) We went to the Yongin Folk Village, (.) So a bunch of teache:rs from my hagwon and me (.) and they were with:: some of their students who were like, Daeli:m, you know (.) corporate people (.) And so we were going to the umm (.) folk village?

And I remember:: um (.) the *gree*ter, (.) like some ajeosshi, the greeter at the folk village, he had a little pin on? (.) his shirt? (.) that said "Idaho?" Which is where my parents are from?

And so I think I said to him like, ((gasp)) "Oh!" you know, like, (0.8) "I'm from Idaho!" like, "Oh, look at your pin!" or something like that, and he was just *like* (0.9) ((gruff voice)) "Are you Kore:an?! Why don't you speak Kore:an?!" Anyway he just went off on this, like, tirade fer (.) en- en- at the time it was in front of like, my friends who were kind of new friends? I didn't know very well? And he was sing- singling *me* out? (.) And I just remember being like- the Ko*re*ans that were there were very im- like also: (.) embarrassed? And then I just remember feeling like (.) sha:med in

front of my sort of- (.) people-that-I-want-to-get-to-kno::w friends, e:n- and he was- (.) I felt like he you know he was bera:ting me: which is now I- I mean I know now that- that just-he was being just a Korean ajeosshi, right? But like sayi:ng you know, "Why don't you speak Korean" in front of a::ll (.) these people::?

Chris: And the:se: were your coworkers who were (.) gyopo::?

Jen: No these were White. White coworkers. And um: (0.8) I just remember being like (0.5) just really taken off guard, (1.0) feeling: (.) like totally:: (0.2) sha::med by this person, (.) and ju:dged by this person, a:nd (.) just lik- (.) kind of mortified. (.) And that's the first time I really fee:l (.) I fel- remember feeling tha:t wa::y (.) u:m: (.) and I didn't really understa::nd, (0.4) even *why* I felt that way:: (.) or::, or whatever but- (0.3) *yeah*:: that's:: (.) I mean obviously I can still remember that experience?

[…]

That was my first year here, that was probably within my first three months here…

'Cause you know I think you can go:- Especially if you hang out with White peop-ple:: (.) you can just be like oh:: you kno::w, like a lot of adoptees are like oh well I'm just like them, (.) and I think I had that attitude, (.) but umm (.) then when I was singled out, (.) um (.) knowing tha:t- it's:- the whole idea "Are you Korean," and you *know* you're *Korean*, but then, (.) you know they're- (.) basically:: (.) you know, you can- it can be in*ter*preted that they're: (0.3) making a judgment on- the very essence of your identity, or what it means to be Korean, and they're questioning your validity as a Korean person. And of course you know, (.) that's (.) can be really hurtful and offensive, especially as an adopted person because it's not like (.) you can't help it. And then they start saying things like, "Well why didn't your parents teach you Korean?!" It's like, "Why do I have to tell my life history to every stranger that asks me?"

[…]

Those kinds of experience you know everybody has them, (.) every adoptee has them, (.) probably every gyopo has them, too, (.) um (.) you know people aren't like that as much anymore but you know this was (.) 15 years ago, (.) um (.) and uh:: (.) you know I think I also::, um (.) I internaliz*ed* so many things about language which I think a lot of adoptees do:, because we have (.) we

internalize this other, this expectation from our teachers, or from other Koreans, that be*cause* we are:: (.) Korean, (.) um: (.) that we should have some residual knowledge of the language (.) or the language is somehow truly "within your bloo::d"

---------- END TRANSCRIPT ----------

.	Falling intonation
,	Continuing (rising-falling) intonation
?	Rising intonation
!	Emphatic.
(.)	Pause of duration between 0.1 and 0.3 seconds.
(0.5)	Pauses of various lengths are indicated by full and tenths of seconds
be*cause*	Italics represent slight stress
CAPS	Increased volume compared to surrounding talk
it wa-	Hyphens indicate cut-offs
um::	Colons indicate lengthening of vowels, nasals, etc.
[…]	Omitted text
((*gruff voice*))	Commentary on transcription in terms of voice quality or, when audibility is questionable, transcriber's best guess at talk
((" "))	Commentary on transcription in the form of translation of speech uttered in Korean
°was°	Degree symbols indicate lower volume than surrounding talk
[ ]	Overlapping of interlocutors' talk
[ ]	
(h)	Breathiness (aspiration, laughter, etc.)
*h	Inbreath
↑started↑	Upward arrows indicate pitch higher than in surrounding talk
↓did↓	Downward arrows indicate pitch lower than in surrounding talk
=	Equal signs at the end of one line and the beginning of another represent latching (between speakers or a single speaker)
KOREAN	Bold and italic text indicates represent intense stress
y~kno	Tildes indicate latching within one speaker's talk
>yeah I did<	Inward arrows indicate talk faster than surrounding talk

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Sample interview questions. Personal identification markers and topics are omitted and explained in brackets.

---------- BEGIN SAMPLE QUESTIONS ----------

Part I: Life before Korea

Self-introduction (basic info): age, where you're from, how long you've been in Korea

Where are you from and what kind of place was it?
    What was your school like when you were growing up? Your community? What was the ethnic make up and how did you feel you fit in?
    Did you move around much?
    What kind of friends did you have growing up?
    How did people usually interpret you racially?

What about your family?
    Brothers and sisters?
    Were your parents strict?
    What kind of cultural norms would you say your household followed?
    Did anyone speak Korean at home?

Did you grow up with connections to Korea, be they family, items/food in the household, etc.?
    What about any connections to Korean family living here or in [country of upbringing]?
    Ever visit Korea?

What was your university experience like?
    Where did you go and what did you study?
    Did you find it one of those times to open your mind in regard to your identity?

What did you do after college?
    [Questions specifically related to participant's career.]

Part II: Life in Korea

What would you say was your impetus for coming to Korea?
    Did you have a plan?
    How long did you think you would stay?
    What kind of place did you think Korea would be?
    What did your parents think of your move?

What kind of jobs have you had in Korea?
> Have you found them fulfilling? Just jobs? Have they sustained you well?
> Do you get to interact with Koreans much, or is the [workplace] in which you work
> mostly isolated?
> Any other thoughts on your work life here?
> [Questions regarding specifics of work environment and work-life balance]

What about learning Korean?
> Was it ever a priority, or were you busy with other things?

What kind of cultural differences have you experienced in Korea, ones that stick out in your
> mind?
> How do people react to you as [racial background]?

What's your circle of friends like in Korea?
> Do you find in your community that there's a strong revolving door?
> Have you dated much in Korea?

You've been here for quite a while, how do you think your decision(s) to stay have progressed?
> Can you talk about any times when you really just thought that you wanted nothing more
> than to leave?
> What do you think has kept you here?

Is there anything that you might say is the most beautiful thing you've seen in Korea?
> The ugliest?

Part III: Life after Korea

How long do you see yourself staying in Korea?
> If you were to leave, where would you go, and what would you do?
> If you were to leave, do you think you could see yourself coming back?

Do you feel your activities here in Korea have helped your personal development?

What do you miss the most from home while you're here?
> What would you miss the most if you left?

What would you say to someone in a similar position to yours, contemplating moving to Korea?
> Yes? No?
> What advice might you give? Any pitfalls to avoid?

---------- END SAMPLE QUESTIONS ----------

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