

Article

Heritage language use by Korean bilinguals in Tokyo: a focus on home, community, school, and honorifics

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Abstract

This study explores the impact of the heritage language (HL) use at home on proficiency and confidence of Korean heritage language speakers in Tokyo. The 24 participants in this study were Korean newcomers who were born and/or raised in Tokyo. Their HL use at home, school, and community is described and discussed in connection to their proficiency in honorifics' use. The information on the participants' language use in different contexts was collected through a questionnaire. In the analysis, the respondents were divided into three different groups based on their language use: Korean, international (with the addition of English), and Japanese. The findings indicate that the heritage language use at home rather than whether they went to a Korean or non-Korean school had a significant impact on their self-assessment and on the use of honorifics in Korean.

Key words: heritage language, home education, schooling, bilingual children, honorifics, Korean newcomers, Japan

1. Introduction

For the diaspora families who live away from their home country, language education at home is crucial for language maintenance. The term *heritage language* often refers to immigrant or colonial languages (Gass & Glew, 2008). It is one's mother tongue which is not widely spoken in the community. Despite the large amount of time and effort required, the reason for maintaining one's own language varies from group membership to academic achievement among many others (Cavallaro, 2005). Some people lose their first language while others keep theirs along with dominant languages, which are mainly used in the society such as Japanese in Japan. At a societal level, language maintenance is

possible in some communities and not others for several reasons. This research aims to focus on immigrants who are raised with two (or more) languages, especially when their heritage language is not widely used in the country and how the use of heritage language at home shapes the language proficiency and the level of confidence in the heritage language of immigrants who were raised in such an environment.

1.1 Language Education at Home

The language use and exposure during childhood is an important key factor in second language research, although it greatly depends on individuals (Gass & Glew, 2008). Moreover, not only parents but also grandparents and other extended family members may influence the children's usage and proficiency of languages in multilingual settings (Braun, 2012). It is easy to think that the use of minority language by parents at home would improve their children's bilingualism, or even trilingualism. It is also common that immigrant children start to get exposed to their first language by their parents at home (Montrul, 2013). As Li (1999) notes, the formation of immigrant children's heritage language and identity is significantly affected by parents' positive attitudes towards the language at home. Nevertheless, it does not always mean that the children will acquire all languages—both their native and community languages—successfully only because the parents use their native language at home (Quay, 2012). Raising children in a multilingual home is a task that requires highly complex and well-planned strategies by parents as well as the support from society. According to her research on 118 Japanese-English interlingual families in Japan, Yamamoto (2001) concluded that the literacy skills in the non-school language depends on the native parents, which requires considerable efforts of both parents and children. Also, Li (2006) states that more researchers have realized that home, rather than policies or laws, plays the key role in preserving heritage or minority language. On the same note, this research aims to demonstrate the impact of the use of Korean by parents at home on their children's literacy competence as well as confidence toward their Korean proficiency.

1.2 Korean newcomers

Korean newcomers are the Korean residents who moved to Japan after the 1970s. The advent of Korean population in Japan, also called *Zainichi* (which means “present in Japan”) Koreans, dates back to a century ago. With the social pressure against their culture and language since the colonial period in the early 1900s, many Korean first generations have assimilated to Japanese society while others have thrived to remain more Korean. Since the colonial period, *Zainichi* Koreans had to undergo some form of discrimination in education, business, and society as a whole back in the days when many of them had to

use a Japanese names (*tsumei*) and about 30 percent of them have naturalized in the past 50 years (Lie, 2008; Chung, 2009). While *old timers* or *Zainichi* are those who have resided in Japan before or around the Japanese colonization period, the term “newcomer” is used for a more recent group compared with “oldcomer” Koreans or Chinese. Among them are the refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia as well as a second or third generation Japanese descendants from South America. The Korean newcomers in Japan, on the other hand, have had more privilege and freedom compared with *Zainichi* Koreans.

Some of the characteristics of the Korean newcomers in Japan are linked to the fact that most of them are middle class Koreans with a high level of education and financial means, personal networks in Japan, diverse professions, business centered around the Korea town in Tokyo, and many of them came in Japan from the late 1990s onwards (Ji, 2016). Ji also points out that many Korean newcomers came to Japan first as college students before starting their own businesses. There are now first, second, and third Korean newcomers residing in Tokyo. With more opportunity to keep their Korean language alive with an increasing number of welcoming attitudes towards non-native speakers in Japan compared with the situation a few decades ago, the family and school environments of this group have developed and settled as well. With a focus on home education, this research thus also explores how sociolinguistic factors such as schooling (specifically which type of school the young newcomers had attended) and self-assessment affect proficiency and shape identity, which also highlights the significant difference of newcomers from oldcomers.

1.3 Identity

Ethnic identity issue is one of the most important issues to consider not only for Koreans residing in Japan but also for any other diaspora members living in a foreign country. As Aronin and Laoire (2004) state, identity is a necessary element to consider in plurilingualism because language largely contributes to the individual’s attributes. In other words, one’s language can represent a significant portion of one’s identity. On a similar note, it is also revealed that stronger cultural identity correlates with better proficiency of heritage language in research of 40 second-generation Korean-Americans (Lee, 2002).

Unlike countries based on *jus soli* like the United States, Canada, or Australia where citizenship is given to those who are born in the country, Japan is based on *jus sanguinis*, where citizenship is not given to babies born in Japan. Instead, a child should follow the parents’ citizenship even if he or she was born, or even raised, in Japan (Lee & de Vos, 1981). In that sense, the citizenship given at birth, which is more loosely connected to the child’s own will or parent’s heritage, may play a less significant role in determining identity than that of those whose identity follows their “blood” rather than where they were born.

1.4 Koreans in Tokyo

According to recent data issued by the Ministry of Justice in June 2019, there are currently about 3.46 million foreigners in Japan. Among them, 530,928 Koreans represent 17% of the total number: they are the second largest group after the Chinese (1 million). They reside in Japan for several reasons, withholding different kinds of status such as professor, religion, and business. More than half of them (285,753) are special permanent residents, who have been living in Japan since the World War II, and also their descendants. Another 14% of Koreans holds permanent residence, which means they have lived, have had regular income, and have been paying taxes for at least 10 years (although they might have stayed for a shorter period of time if they were skilled professional confirmed by the Japanese government or married to a Japanese person, among some other exceptions). The number of Korean permanent residents in Japan ranks the 4th after residents from China, the Philippines, and Brazil. The number of special permanent residents, on the other hand, overwhelmingly exceeds those of other countries followed by North Korea and Taiwan far behind. This figure also explains the history of Koreans who started to reside in Japan since the war period a century ago.

In this study, it was of interest to investigate whether heritage language use at home has more impact on their proficiency and identity of our participants than the type of schools they had attended. There is only one Korean school in Tokyo, which allows a very limited number of students to receive the official Korean school education in the city. It also depends on parents' enthusiasm and wish for their children on how much Korean they want their children to maintain throughout school years. As Japan is facing a population decline due to low fertility rate and an increasing number of super aging citizens, the integration of more non-native speakers as students, immigrants, and skilled workers is highly expected in the future. In light of such social phenomena where a more multilingual society awaits, this research aims to contribute to the preparation of the development of a multilingual population and education.

One approach to investigate this issue involves the language use of adults who have grown up as bilinguals. The main objective is to investigate the importance of heritage language use at home with parents and other family members. In order to do so, this research focused on 24 Korean college students, who were raised in Tokyo under Korean parents using Korean at home. The overall goal of this work was to demonstrate how heritage language use at home influences various dimensions of language such as the perception of their first language (L1), language attitude, competence, and identity.

1.4.1 Korean education at school in Japan

Right after the Japanese colonization had come to an end in 1945, in order to pass down their language, culture, and identity through education, Korean remnants in Japan established more than 500 Korean schools with more than 40,000 students at a fast pace (Cary, 2001; Lee & de Vos, 1981). Despite the fact that most of them were closed down due to the Japanese government's restriction and enforced orders within a few years, about 100 Korean schools are still present and thriving to teach around 8,500 Korean children up to today. With the Korean heritage language education methods they have built for the last half a century, Korean schools are likely to play an increasingly significant role as Japan becomes more multilingual (Ryu, 2013).

1.4.2 Korean education at home in Japan

A number of studies have already claimed that parental support plays a crucial role in maintaining their children's heritage language (Draper & Hicks, 2000; Kim, 2006; Park, 2006). Li (1999) claims that not only parents' language education but also their positive attitude and open-mindedness toward the new culture are highly significant for children's language education and identity development in their new home because their thoughts are embodied in their daily interaction with children. Besides external factors such as popular research and advice, parents also rely on their personal experience in language learning when they raise children as bilinguals (King & Fogle, 2006). De Houwer (2007) also demonstrates how parental input at home paves the way to raise bilingual children successfully.

Language input and culture passed on by their parents play a significant role in children's identity especially where people outside speak a different language (Cunningham, 2011). However, we should also be aware of the difficulty and limitation of parental support on heritage language maintenance (Cummins & Danesi, 2005). Noting that Japan is more homogenous than other countries with more linguistic and cultural diversity, migrant women—the mothers of their migrant children—play a significant role in transmitting their mother language to their children in a situation where their mother language is rarely spoken outside of home (Nakamura, 2016). In our case, for those who have been to Japanese schools especially in their early school years, it is mostly parents who played the role of L1 teachers and helped them get familiar with their heritage language (Korean).

Growing up in Japan as Koreans, our participants have had less opportunity to be exposed to Korean once they go out of their home compared to those residing in Korea. In such situation, the language use of their parents at home significantly impacts their competence and confidence, because their parents are often the only source of input of the language unless they go to schools where the language is used in class.

1.4.3 Korean community in Japan

Even though family support is crucial in children's language acquisition, the community also has a great impact on their language development (Baker, 2006). There are certain limitations and restrictions when heritage language transmission is attempted solely at home. Besides home and school, there are other crucial societal domains where Korean is used and taught both directly and indirectly in Japan. As an example, Mindan (Korean Resident Association in Japan) was established in 1946 in order to "promote the well-being of resident Koreans" (Lee & de Vos, 1981). Today they provide a variety of opportunities for Korean residents in Japan to remember and strengthen their Korean language as well as their collective cultural identity. In addition, Korean churches may also play a role in heritage language maintenance, as shown by Korean-Americans (Lee, 2002; Lee & Shin, 2008; Kim, 2017). As Watkins-Goffman (2001) suggests, spiritual or religious values are one of the elements found in successful immigrants by widening their own "boundaries" and develop stronger "self-esteem". Despite the fact that the number of churches is much lower in Japan compared to Korea, such Korean churches in Japan may also have influenced the input and intensity of heritage language use and identity.

2. A multi-task assessment of honorifics: methodology

Twenty-four ethnic Korean newcomers with both Korean parents were selected as a sample participant for this research. All participants had spent 12 school years from primary to high school in Tokyo. The participants were between 18 and 25 years old ($M=21.3$, $SD=2.3$). They used both Korean and Japanese on a daily basis, though the extent of each language use might differ.

Several methods were used in this research to measure the sample participants' various aspects of linguistic attitude and proficiency. The foremost data was collected through a questionnaire investigating their sociolinguistic background, language use inside and outside home, as well as self-assessment. The survey also included honorifics assessment both in Korean and Japanese through ten short answer questions.

2.1 School Selection

The participants were selected from three different school types: Korean, Japanese, and English (international) schools. Most participants attended either Korean or Japanese primary schools (especially in the early three years), while many of them moved to international schools in secondary education.

The Korean primary school in our school exclusively means "Tokyo Korean School", the only Korean school in Tokyo, which was founded in 1954. There were some

participants who went to the Korean school throughout all 12 years. They received active Korean education in aspects of both language and identity in school. Most Korean school students were also fluent in Japanese because they used it as a community language growing up, and their school offered enough Japanese courses for them to be capable to use academic Japanese. In addition to that, the school has implemented a Korean-English immersion educational program since the early 2000s, which had allowed the students to be exposed to more English at an earlier age compared with those who had been to a Japanese public school.

Others had been to a Japanese school for their entire 12-year school education whereas others had moved to other schools, usually an international school. Their primary education in Japanese had influenced their daily Japanese usage at a great level, compared with those at the Korean school. Going to a Japanese school, on the other hand, especially in their early school years, had influenced their language use such as the language used for instruction at school. More importantly, pronunciation and identity are expected to be different from those with a stronger Korean identity. The participants of this research, however, reported a high amount of Korean use at home regardless of their school type. The reported mean of the amount of Korean use with parents of all participants was above 3.7 out of 5, which means 74% of their conversation with parents is in Korean.

Another type of school is an international school, including all schools in Tokyo where English is used as their primary language of instruction for the major courses such as math, science, and social studies. In addition to Korean and Japanese, those who have attended an international school in their later years have added English as their third language. Their use of English in daily life, therefore, is stronger than the previous two groups, due to their increased access to English through their schools. They can be called “trilingual” who use Korean at home, Japanese outside of home, and English at school. This aspect of English education led to the creation of the category of “international” linguistic traits among the participants.

2.2 Questionnaire

A self-designed questionnaire was created and distributed through an online tool (Google Survey), in order to gather the participants’ responses online more conveniently and promptly. The data was collected from December 2018 to March 2019. This survey, with 83 questions in total, consisted of two parts: a sociolinguistic analysis and an honorific task. The first sociolinguistic part was divided into three parts: a) Childhood background / Basic information, such as their L1 and school education, b) Language use, which included language use inside and outside the home, and c) Language attitude and confidence.

2.3 Competence Test on Honorifics

In addition to the previous two sections, the survey included 10 short-answer questions on the use of honorifics in Korean and Japanese. These questions were created on the basis of the fundamental patterns and phrases used in Korean and Japanese honorifics. These 20 short-answer questions in Korean and Japanese asked the participants to read and rewrite the non-honorific sentences with a given simple context (to whom it is being said) in honorific form.

Unlike many other languages in the world, Korean and Japanese have highly distinctive and complex systems of honorifics. As is explained in Lee & Ramsey (2000), four aspects should be considered: 1) subject honorification, 2) object exaltation, 3) pronouns, and 4) titles. Both subject honorification and object exaltation are used according to different receiver of the sentence by adding verbal inflection (e.g. “come”—*oda*, *osida* in Korean; *kuru*, *korareru* in Japanese) or using different, more polite, words (e.g. “age”—*nai*, *yeonse*; “home”—*ie*, *gojitaku* in Japanese). In addition, pronouns such as “you” are differentiated according to settings and the speaker-listener relationship (e.g. normal “you” *neo*; from the elder to the younger *jane*; from the younger to the elder *eorusin*). Similarly, Japanese has several ways to use the pronoun “you” such as *anata*, *kimi*, and *omae*. Titles to express politeness are more common in some other countries, such as “sir” or “Mr.” in English. In Korean, it is common to put *-nim* after the titles of the older or socially higher person (e.g. “teacher” *sunsaengnim*; “older brother” *hyung*, *hyungnim*). It is similar with the Japanese title *-sama* or *-san*, which are commonly added after the name of the customer or the family kinship.

Honorifics was used to measure the language ability of the group of Korean-Japanese bilinguals who participated in this research, because honorifics is a unique and significant feature of both Korean and Japanese sociolinguistic abilities. More specifically, for Koreans who have spent the most of their life in Japan, they can be used as a measurement tool to look at the development of their sociolinguistic abilities in both languages.

2.4 Data analysis

For the data analysis of the questionnaire, R studio (ver 1.1.447) was used. First, the variables from the Korean questionnaires were translated and renamed into English variables. Then, some non-numeric variables were recoded into numeric variables to be merged into scales where necessary. Correlation function (*cor*) and Cross Tables were used to investigate the inter-item correlation of binary variables. For the statistics for multivariate variables, cluster analysis was used to classify them into three linguistic prototypes and two identity groups. Correlation was used to compare and find any correlation coefficient between those groups.

3. Findings

3.1 Language Use

3.1.1 Language use at school

The type of school our participants had been to throughout their twelve years of education could have played a significant role in their language use (both academic and communicative use), which might later affect their proficiency, perception of their language, and identity. Regarding the type of schools they attended, it is not clearly distinctive to categorize them into either one of three school types—Korean, Japanese, or International—because many of them had moved schools during their twelve years of schooling. As shown in Figure 1, five of them went to Tokyo Korean school for twelve years straight, and three of them to a Japanese school throughout the 12 years. Two-thirds of them had never attended the Korean school. Two-thirds of them also moved from one school to another at least once during the 12 years.

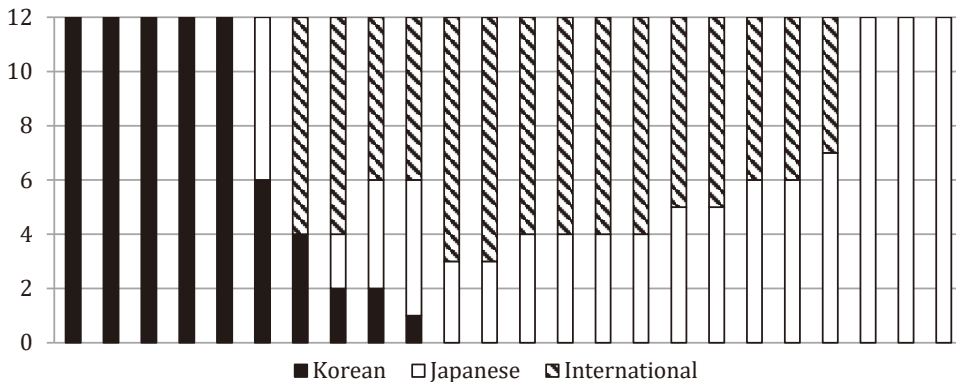


Figure 1. Number of Years Each Participants Attended Each School Type

Regarding the language used at school—different from the type of school—Figure 2 shows that most of the participants predominantly used Japanese with their friends at primary school while the amount of Japanese use declined as they got older. Instead, the number of subjects who used Korean with their friends increased. This might have been due to the fact that more than half (15 out of 24) of them moved to an international school around their middle school years, which could have led them out of a Japanese-speaking setting in Japanese schools and get together with Korean-speaking friends in an international school. The important fact to note here is that the number of subjects who used Korean at school had increased regardless of the school types. While only 6 and 3 went to Korean middle and high school respectively, 10 and 11 responded their primary language used in middle and high school was Korean. It seems to show that the school

environment (such as friends at school) affects the students' everyday language use rather than the actual school type or the language of instruction in school, especially more in later school years.

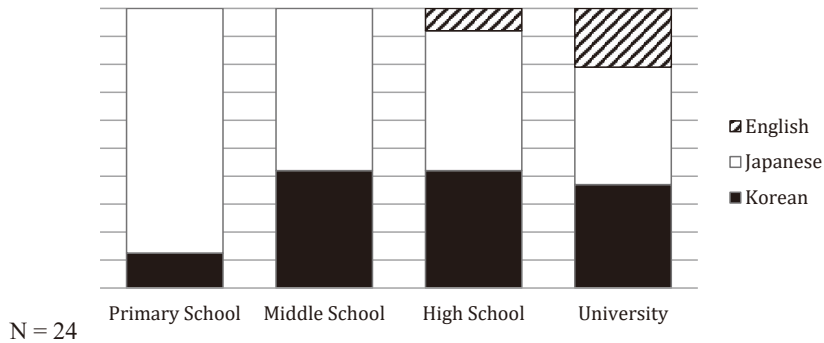


Figure 2. Language Used at School

3.1.2 Supplementary Schools

Among the 24 respondents, 17 of them (71%) answered that they first learned Korean at home. About a third of the whole participants said they had never been to a Korean supplementary school while another one-third said they attended a Korean supplementary school for 4 or 5 years. The average number of years they attended a Korean language school was 1.96 ($SD=2.01$). Approximately 80% of those who had been to a Korean supplementary school had never been to the Korean school; conversely, 77% of those who had never been to a Korean supplementary school had been to a Korean school for at least 2 years and at most 12 years. This partially demonstrates how they were taught their heritage language in their childhood, where they were sent to either the Korean school or a Korean supplementary school to learn Korean in primary school years. From this, it can be said that, overall, their parents had strong will to teach them Korean in one way or another, and therefore put efforts to teach their children Korean in their childhood.

3.1.3 Language Use at Home

Both parents (all participants were from conjugal family) predominantly used either Korean only or Korean and Japanese to their children (See Figure 3).

Looking at which language other family members use with the participants, in 96% of the cases, the mother speaks to the participant either in Korean or Korean and Japanese. Among fathers, 92% of them use Korean only or Korean and Japanese. On average, 94% of both parents use Korean to their children at home. Regarding siblings, however, the figure clearly shows that they use both Korean and Japanese the most among all family members (56%). Siblings also have the highest number of the sole use of Japanese

among family members: one third of their siblings talk to them only in Japanese. This shows that the presence of siblings at home may increase the possibility of competence in their community language (which is Japanese in their case). On the other hand, the result shows that the language used with their grandparents and relatives was dominantly Korean as expected (92%), which probably might have been caused by the fact that most of their extended families reside in Korea. It requires them to be able to speak in Korean in their interaction with extended families in Korea. This shows that most participants had extremely high Korean input at home while growing up.

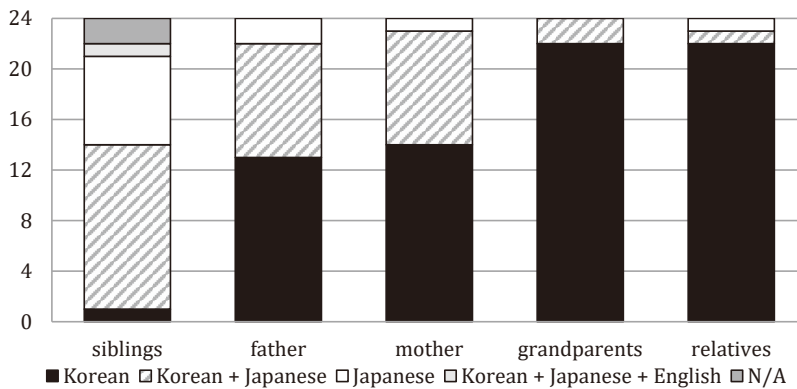


Figure 3. Korean Input at Home (From family members to them)

In contrast, the data concerning which language the participants use to their family members (output) looked different from the input (See Figure 4).

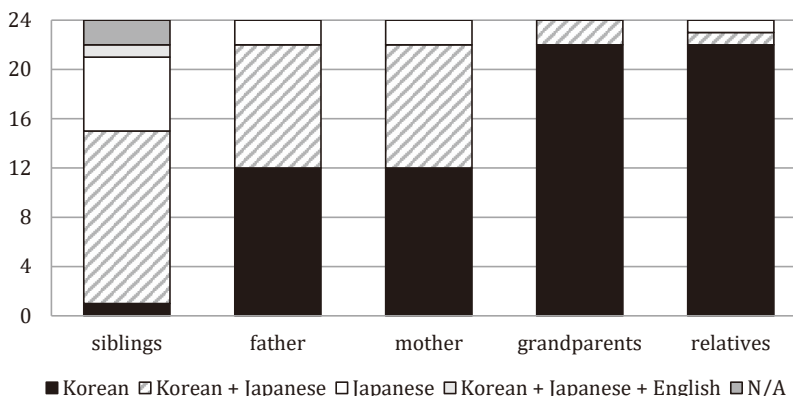


Figure 4. Korean Output at Home (From them to family members)

When comparing the language input and output among family members, except for grandparents and relatives who mostly speak Korean and do not reside with them, the participants tend to produce Japanese slightly more than they receive from family members. In

other words, their Korean input was higher than their output at home. On average, 77% of them use Korean to their mothers whereas 88% of their mothers do. Also, 75% of them use Korean to their fathers while 79% of their fathers use Korean to their children. Here, the numbers might not be too high, but the environment where they have been raised up should be considered. They have had less opportunity to be exposed to their mother's language (Korean) once they left their home, unlike the children who live in their home country. In such situation, the language used for conversation at home more significantly impacts the competence and confidence they have in their parents' language, because the parents are often the only source of the language unless they go to schools where the language is used for instruction in class. In this case, for those who have been to Japanese schools especially in their early school years, it was mostly their parents who had played the role of L1 teachers and helped their children get familiar with the Korean language.

Table 1. The scale of Korean use with parents & L1 perception

| | L1K | L1J | Total Mean (SD) |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|
| Mother Input | 4.69 | 4.00 | 4.41 (0.92) |
| Mother Output | 4.19 | 3.12 | 3.83 (1.09) |
| Father Input | 4.18 | 3.50 | 3.96 (1.19) |
| Father Output | 4.00 | 3.25 | 3.75 (1.13) |
| Parents Input | 4.43 | 3.75 | 4.18 (0.88) |
| Parents Output | 4.09 | 3.18 | 3.79 (0.97) |

N = 24

in a scale of 1 (Japanese) to 5 (Korean)

Language use with parents had a strong interrelation with their perception of L1. The number of those who chose Japanese as their L1 (hereafter referred to as *L1J*) use Korean with their mothers was significantly lower than that those who chose Korean (hereafter called *L1K*). As shown in Table 1, L1K has more Korean input and output at home, which means they not only listen to but also use more Korean when speaking to their parents. This suggests that L1J use less Korean with their parents than L1K do, which, in other words, reveals that the heritage language use at home with parents has an impact on the way they perceive their L1 and L2.

Overall, the use of heritage language at home has a strong correlation ($p=0.002$) with their self-assessment of confidence in their heritage language. This points to the fact that the more they used Korean with their family members, the more confident they were in Korean language and more likely to consider Korean as their first language.

3.1.4 Confidence in Formal and Informal Korean

Regarding their self-assessed confidence in both formal and informal Korean reading, listening, speaking, and writing in a scale from 1 to 5, there is a bigger gap between LIJ and L1K than there is in the language use at home. This is indicated in Table 2 for the participants' average rating on their confidence in each formal and informal Korean. Overall (combining formal and informal), L1K had a 4.41 average confidence in their Korean language while LIJ only had 3.48. This demonstrates their perception of their L1 as Korean interrelates with their confidence in Korean, which is one of the outcomes of Korean use at home with their family members.

Table 2. The scale of confidence & L1 perception

| | L1K | LIJ | Total Mean (sd) |
|--------------|---|-------------|--------------------|
| Formal | 4.14 | 3.18 | 3.82 (0.96) |
| Informal | 4.69 | 3.78 | 4.38 (0.75) |
| Total | 4.41 | 3.48 | 4.10 (0.83) |
| N = 24 | Average rating in a scale of 1 (Not confident at all) to 5 (Very confident) | | |

3.1.5 Media

As for the language use in media, the primary language used in each of the five following means of media was asked: 1) SNS default setting, 2) watching TV, 3) smartphone default setting, 4) reading books, and 5) watching movies. Korean was a fairly dominant—with a minimum rate of 45% and a maximum of 75%—choice as their primary language used in all five categories of media (See Table 3).

Watching TV was the only category with two answer variables, whereas the other four categories had three, with the addition of English. As for watching TV, slightly more than half (58%) chose Korean and the rest Japanese. The number of Korean use declines in

Table 3. Dominant language used in media (with row percentages)

| | Korean | Japanese | English |
|-------------|-----------------|----------|---------|
| SNS | 18 (75%) | 5 (21%) | 2 (4%) |
| TV | 14 (58%) | 10 (42%) | 0 (0%) |
| Smartphones | 14 (58%) | 7 (29%) | 3 (13%) |
| Books | 12 (50%) | 9 (37%) | 3 (13%) |
| Movies | 11 (46%) | 4 (17%) | 9 (37%) |
| N = 24 | Row percentages | | |

movies (46%), with the highest rate of English use (38%) and the lowest rate of Japanese use (17%) among all categories. Half of them mainly use Korean when reading books while the other 38% used Japanese and 12% used English. The last two unique categories—Smartphone and SNS default settings—were added in order to show what default language they use in their smartphone, which is a private tool they use in their hands every day. This number could show the impact of their primary or the most comfortable language for daily use, regardless of what others in their community say or care about their language use in most cases. While 58% used Korean in smartphone default setting, 75% did so for SNS. Among 8 participants who answered Japanese as their L2, 2 of them mainly used Japanese for all five media categories, while the other 5 used both Korean, Japanese, and English. One did not choose Japanese in either one of five categories.

3.2 Forming prototypes of language education and use

According to data analysis based on this first section, three different prototypes were created. The variables included in the prototypes are presented in Table 6. Because cluster analysis can only be computed with metrically scaled data, all non-metric variables were recoded into 0/1-dummy variables. For all variables, 1 was used to identify Korean and 0 with less or no Korean.

Table 4. Recoded variables for KIJ prototypes

| Variables | Recoded |
|---|----------------------------------|
| Input and output with close family members ¹ | 0-11=0; 12-15=1 |
| Home teaching methods (books and writing) ² | No=0; Yes=1 |
| Language use in media | Others ³ =0; Korean=1 |
| Korean school attendance of more than 3 years | 0-2years=0; 3-12years=1 |

¹ Close family members include parents and siblings

² Songs and pasting on the wall were excluded because of insignificant correlation

³ Either Japanese or English

After being recoded accordingly, the newly recoded variables were input for the cluster analysis used with ward.D method on R studio. Figure 5 presents the dendrogram of the cluster analysis based on the variables of the participants' language education and use. It could have been split into five groups but it was decided to go with three groups because there would have been too few cases in each group for the following analysis. By cutting the tree on the marked horizontal line, three groups were formed. By correlating the group variables with the independent variables, it was possible to attribute prototypical traits to each group.

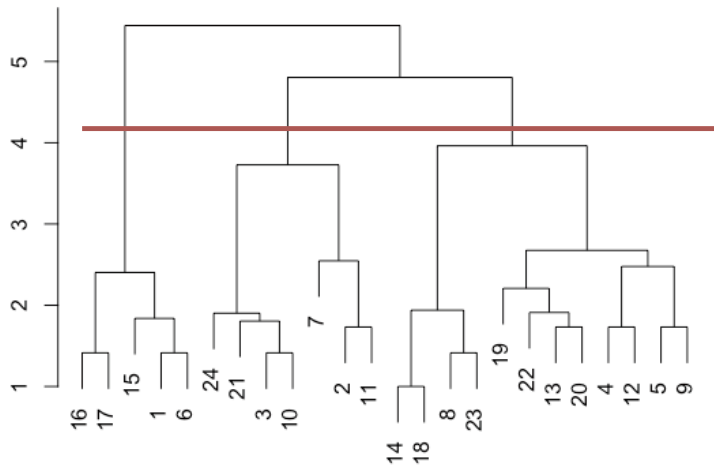


Figure 5. Dendrogram of Language Use and Education

The first group consists of 6 members, where 5 out of 6 had been to the Korean school for 12 years. They have a high rate of home teaching on reading and writing, predominantly use Korean in all types of media, but do not have significantly high Korean input or output at home. The second group consists of 8 people who had mainly been to Japanese (and/or international) schools. This group has the highest input and output at home among all three groups, high rate of reading and writing home teaching, and scattered language use in media with higher tendency of English. The third group is formed

Table 5. Prototypes of language use and education

| | 1: Korean | 2: International | 3: Japanese |
|---------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| L1 | K | K | 0 |
| School | K | J ⁻ | J |
| Input | Low | High | Low |
| Output | 0 | High | Low |
| Home: Books | High | High ⁺ | High ⁻ |
| Home: Writing | High ⁻ | High | High |
| TV | K | 0 (K ⁻) | J |
| Smartphones | K | 0 (K ⁻) | 0 (J ⁻) |
| Movies | K | E | 0 |
| Books | K | 0 | 0 (J ⁻) |
| SNS | K | 0 (K ⁻) | K |

N=24

Notes on abbreviations: K=Korean, J=Japanese, E=English 0=no significance

Minus refers to the lower level of significance; plus refers to higher level of significance

with the remaining 10 respondents with exactly half L1K and the other half L1J, more years spent at Japanese schools than the other groups, low Korean use at home, but high reading and writing home teaching, and dominant use of Japanese in all media except SNS. Each group's linguistic traits on education and use are tabulated in Table 5.

3.3 Competence

3.3.1 Self-assessment of Korean competence

Regarding the self-assessment of their own Korean competence in reading, listening, speaking, and writing, participants were asked to choose in a five-point Likert scale with the following choices: 5 "Very good", 4 "Good", 3 "Fair", 2 "Not bad", and 1 "Insufficient". The most confident section was listening with an average of 4.33 (SD=0.82) while the least confident was speaking (SD=0.93) and writing (SD=1.06) with an average of 3.9. Reading had an average of 4.1 (SD=0.99). Although the average number does not vary dramatically, from the language teaching point of view, input sections (Reading and Listening) had higher self-assessed score than output sections (Speaking and Writing). However, from the overall average of all four sections was 4.07 (SD=0.88), which falls into a category of "Good", it could be said that this specific group of Korean participants who were born and/or raised in Japan are fairly confident in their own Korean language.

They had received different types of education in different types of school throughout their school years, and now as college students and young adults, they have fairly high self-confidence in their own Korean confidence. In spite of their different academic background—some at Japanese, some Korean, some international, and many mixed—one common factor most of them share is that they use Korean at home. Whether (how much) they use Korean outside home on a daily basis is difficult to measure exactly, but the main language that they have used at home is Korean. This must have had a certain impact on them, especially because they live in a community and a country where Korean is not widely spoken outside of home.

Among KIJ groups, the Korean-oriented group had the highest self-assessment

Table 6. KIJ Groups and self-assessment

| | 1: Korean | 2: International | 3: Japanese |
|-----------|-----------|------------------|-------------|
| Reading | 4.5 | 4.5 | 3.6 |
| Listening | 4.7 | 4.6 | 3.9 |
| Speaking | 4.2 | 4.2 | 3.5 |
| Writing | 4.7 | 4.2 | 3.2 |
| Total | 4.52 | 4.37 | 3.55 |

score, followed by the International-oriented and the Japanese-oriented group, as presented in Table 6. Both the Korean- and International-oriented groups have highly similar levels of self-confidence while the Japanese-oriented group assessed themselves far below than the other groups. Despite the very close average scores of the first two groups, the difference in self-assessment of writing outstands. Although the International-oriented group felt confident enough in all reading, listening, and speaking as much as the Korean-oriented group does, those who have experience in academic writing in Korean at school were far more confident in Korean writing.

3.3.2 Formal and Informal Korean

In addition to their self-assessment, the participants were asked to give self-assessed points in a scale of 1 (not confident at all) and 5 (highly confident) on their formal and informal Korean skills. Among both formal and informal reading, listening, speaking, and writing, they felt the most confident in listening and the least in writing (See Table 7). It was expected that they would feel more confident in informal or casual setting and less so in formal or academic setting.

Table 7. Self-assessment on their formal & informal Korean

| | Reading | Listening | Speaking | Writing | Total |
|----------|---------|-----------|----------|---------|-------|
| Formal | 3.92 | 4.00 | 3.87 | 3.5 | 3.07 |
| Informal | 4.29 | 4.67 | 4.33 | 4.25 | 4.38 |
| Total | 4.10 | 4.33 | 4.10 | 3.87 | |

The self-assessment scores of formal ($p=0.006$) and informal ($p=0.08$) Korean language were strongly correlating with the amount of their Korean input in family. The more Korean input they had, the better they self-assessed themselves.

The self-assessment of formal Korean and the KIJ group had a high interrelation ($p=0.047$). The self-assessment scores of formal Korean were divided into three levels: most confident (17-20), more confident (13-16), and least confident (0-12). As Table 8 presents, the Korean-oriented group had its 83% in more and most confident group on formal Korean while the international-oriented group had 100% in more and most confident group, with 75% in most confident group. On the other hand, half of the Japanese-oriented group was least confident on formal Korean. Looking into the KIJ group, the language education and use also have impacts on the self-assessment on Korean competence in general (Table 6) as well as formal Korean competence (Table 8). The international-oriented group shows the highest competence on formal Korean, and their high

Korean input and output at home seem to have brought effects on how they think about their formal use of Korean.

Table 8. KIJ Groups and Self-Assessment on formal Korean

| Confidence | 1: Korean | 2: International | 3: Japanese |
|------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Least | 1 (17%) | 0 (0%) | 5 (50%) |
| More | 2 (33%) | 2 (25%) | 4 (40%) |
| Most | 3 (50%) | 6 (75%) | 1 (10%) |
| Total | 6 | 8 | 10 |
| N = 24 | Column percentages | | |

3.3.3 Competence Test on Honorifics

For both Korean and Japanese honorifics task (Appendix A), participants subjects were grouped into the following categories based on the number of correct responses: high competence (9-10), more competence (7-8), and low competence (0-6). Although the attempt to equalize the level of both honorifics tasks was made as much as possible, it should be understood that the questions of the two tasks were not identical and therefore the level should also differ. The mean score of the task was 8.958 (SD=1.46) for Korean and 8.375 (SD=1.44) for Japanese.

Among the high Korean competent, 80% was L1K whereas 42% of the Japanese high competent was L1J. There was no correlation between Japanese honorifics and the KIJ groups while the extreme group comparison (comparing those above average and below average) with Korean honorifics had a correlation with the KIJ groups. The Korean-oriented group, as expected, had the highest score among all groups while the Japanese-oriented group had the lowest.

As Table 9 shows, all of Korean-oriented group got either more or high Korean honorifics competence while 70% of the Japanese-oriented group did. The international-

Table 9. KIJ Groups and Korean honorifics

| Competence | 1: Korean | 2: International | 3: Japanese |
|-------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------|
| High (9-10) | 3 (50%) | 4 (50%) | 3 (30%) |
| More (7-8) | 3 (50%) | 3 (37%) | 4 (40%) |
| Low (0-6) | 0 (0%) | 1 (12%) | 3 (30%) |
| Total | 6 | 8 | 10 |
| N = 24 | Column percentages | | |

oriented group got relatively high competence as well.

Regarding honorifics task performance, Korean language use in family has an impact on their ability in both Korean and Japanese honorifics. More than 60% of both Korean and Japanese high competent scorers had more Korean input at home. Those who had more input of Korean from their family members also gave higher confidence in the self-assessment of their formal Korean language ability. The majority (90%) of the most confident in self-assessment had dominant use of Korean at home.

3.4 Identity

3.4.1 Choice of L1, L2, and L3

All participants were raised in dominantly Korean-speaking families with both of their parents being native speakers of Korean. They were either born in Japan or moved to Japan before seven as listed in Table 10. Among all of the participants, two-thirds is L1K and the rest one-third L1J. There was a slight tendency that the earlier people moved to Japan, the more likely they chose Japanese as their L1, but there was no statistically significant correlation between the time they moved to Japan and their perception of L1 in this sample.

Table 10. Time moved to Japan & L1 perception

| | L1J | L1K | Total |
|----------------|-----------------|------------|----------|
| Born in Japan | 6 (37%) | 10 (62.5%) | 16 |
| Moved before 3 | 2 (33%) | 4 (67%) | 6 |
| Moved before 7 | 0 (0%) | 2 (100%) | 2 |
| N=24 | Row percentages | | p=0.5697 |

Referring to Table 10, ten respondents (62.5%) of L1K who were born in Japan are the majority of L1K group as well as the entire sample, which means that the time they moved to Japan does not necessarily seem to affect their choice of L1. Rather, it is necessary to look into the language profile they have had growing up at home, school, and community since those factors might have more strongly shaped their choice of L1 and further their identity. Whether they answered Korean or Japanese as their L1, all who participated in the survey had learned (or acquired) Korean in their childhood through several methods.

3.4.2 L1

Among five different family members given as choices, the amount of Korean their mothers use to them most is highly linked with their choice of L1. Despite the fact that the

majority of L1J also said that their mothers use mostly Korean at home, all L1K responded that their mothers always or almost always use Korean. This demonstrates how mother's language use at home by mothers influence the way their children view their L1.

Considering the fact that all the participants are Koreans who were either born and/or raised in Japan under Korean parents, the perception of their L1 also had an impact on their pride of being Korean or being able to use Korean language. In a scale of 1 (not proud at all) to 5 (very proud) for a question on Korean pride, all of them answered either 4 or 5, which means all participants had a high pride toward Korean. Looking into details, however, the data demonstrates that only 62% of L1J responded 5 whereas 94% of L1K did.

The distinctions of the language use by L1K and L1J in family and media showed that the choice of L1 is affected by teaching reading at home, family input, language use in media (most significantly in reading books and SNS default setting), and pride. L1K had more use of Korean in all aforementioned factors than L1J had.

3.4.3 Linguistic Identity

The term identity is an umbrella term that can be defined in several ways depending on the fields the term is being used in. Here, the focus was set on linguistic identity as referred to in the field of "global studies", i.e., a "sense of belonging to a community as mediated through the symbolic resource of language, or to the varying ways in which we come to understand the relationship between our language and ourselves." (Park, 2012, p.1080). To explore which categories have an impact on their linguistic identity, two groups (strong and weak Korean identity group) were created depending on the following five attributes: 1) their choice of L1, 2) how much they feel comfortable in speaking Korean in public in Japan, 3) self-assessment of their formal Korean, 4) self-assessment of their informal Korean, and 5) pride of being able to speak Korean. In the same way as it

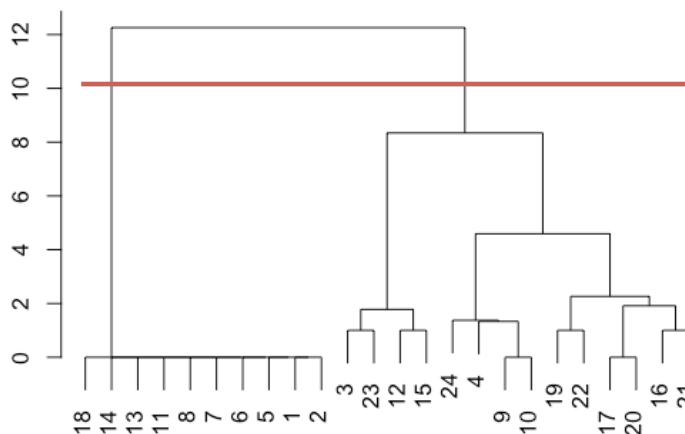


Figure 6. Dendrogram of Identity

was used for the KIJ prototypes, all non-numeric variables were recoded into 0 or 1 for cluster analysis with ward.D method using R studio. Two groups of equal size were then created to compare the measures of their identity (See Figure 6).

The tree was cut into two separate groups, one with stronger Korean features in all five categories and the other one with relatively weaker Korean features. The first group is named the *strong Korean identity groups* and the second group the *weak Korean identity group*.

3.4.4 Korean input and output at home

As Table 12 shows, many from the strong Korean identity group had much Korean input from their close family members whereas the weak Korean identity group showed those with low input doubled those with high input. The distinction was even clearer in correlation of identity and Korean output at home. Also, the strong Korean identity group had much better outcome on their Korean honorifics test than the weak Korean identity group ($p=0.06$). In other words, high input and output of heritage language at home contributes to forming a Korean identity and proficiency in honorifics.

Table 12. Korean identity (column) & use of Korean at home (rows)

| | Input | | Output | |
|--------|----------------|------|-----------------|------|
| | Low | High | Low | High |
| Weak | 8 | 4 | 9 | 3 |
| Strong | 5 | 7 | 4 | 8 |
| N=24 | Input $p=0.21$ | | Output $p=0.04$ | |

3.4.5 Types of School Attended

The type of school they had been to was mostly identical between those two groups (See Table 13). In comparison of school type and home input, 80% of those who only had been to the Korean school had relatively low Korean input at home whereas 57% of those who only had been to Japanese schools had low Korean input. This means that their identity does not depend on whether they had been to a Korean school or not but more on how much they use Korean at home.

Table 13. Korean identity & Korean Schools

| | K Only | Never | Some |
|--------|--------------------|---------|----------|
| Weak | 40% [2] | 50% [7] | 60% [3] |
| Strong | 60% [3] | 50% [7] | 40% [2] |
| N = 24 | Column percentages | | $p=0.82$ |

In sum, the strong identity was dependent on the strong Korean identity group's input and more significantly on their output at home with their close family members, rather than the type of school or language they used in school. Those with the strong Korean identity were more proficient in Korean honorifics as well, which explains the interrelation of their Korean language ability and Korean identity, derived from more exposure of Korean.

4. Discussion

In the academic world, heritage language is defined as the language spoken at home, which is different from the major language used in society (Trifonas & Aravossitas, 2018). It is also often regarded as a partially or incompletely learned home language due to its limited exposure and language shift to the dominant language by immigrants and their children (Polinsky and Kagan, 2007). In this sample, however, the heritage language (Korean) usage is rather fairly strong, which makes their heritage language difficult to be said "partially or incompletely learned." To understand the reason why, we need to consider the sample's background—Koreans newcomers in Japan. Besides historical relationships and proximity, there were many factors that have connected Korea and Japan in the past decades. In comparison with the prior generation of Koreans in Japan, the newcomers have had a wider range of opportunities when it comes to school admission, social activities, and financial power, which distinguishes them and give privilege in learning or maintaining the Korean language through their lives to those who came to Japan more recently.

The exposure and the use of the heritage language during childhood plays a significant role in second or foreign language research, which makes input an inevitable process required in language learning process (Gass & Glew, 2008). Here, the main focus of discussion was input (whether our participants' family members spoke Korean to them) and output (whether our participants spoke Korean to their family members) at home when they were young as well as today. Most of our participants reported that their parents taught them Korean at home through reading and writing Korean. Most of our participants predominantly use Korean at home with their family members and in their use of media, which positively interrelated with the self-assessment and proficiency of honorifics.

Since the term heritage language was coined in the 1970s (Cummins, 2014), the accessibility and learning methods of heritage language learners have changed throughout the past five decades. When the term was first used, the heritage language learners all over the globe did not have as much access as those today have, such as through the

Internet. Today, heritage language learners, like the ones in this research, who are Korean newcomers residing in Tokyo, have far more access to their home language and culture through the Internet. Of course, it could not be generalized for all heritage language learners in much more difficult areas with less access to their heritage language depending on the social, political, or technological situations. In that sense, the sample in this research had a rich access—and therefore a privileged access—to their heritage language through home and school education, culture openness, and media. With this openness and accessibility to the heritage language, the characteristic of the term heritage language might be too limited or negative for those who are more proficient and confident in the language. Instead, they probably need another categorizing term, such as “privileged heritage language learners” considering their effort, success, and societal support for language maintenance.

5. Conclusion

As for the limitation of this research, the number of participants was small, which made it difficult to categorize them into different prototypes and draw conclusions for the whole ethnic community in the area. There are over 450,000 ethnic Koreans in Japan as of today, and the selected sample was made up of second-generation Korean newcomers in Tokyo. The participants’ parents are both Korean, which could also have contributed to their dominant use of Korean at home. The focus was on the positive aspect of the ethnic Koreans who dominantly use Korean on a daily basis. Including Zainichi or other ethnic Koreans from different educational backgrounds, residing regions in Japan, and linguistic backgrounds, for example, with less access to Korean community, would certainly have led to different results.

From a sample of 24 ethnic Koreans who were born and/or raised in Tokyo, the impact of heritage language use at home, rather than the accessibility of the heritage language education at school, was deemed stronger on their Korean proficiency in honorifics, self-assessment, and identity. The participants were grouped into three prototypes (KIJ groups) according to their linguistic background to find correlation with those variables. The Korean-oriented group had a stronger Korean identity and higher Korean proficiency than any other groups, which was to be expected. The international-oriented group, with more non-Korean school education but a high rate of Korean use at home, showed that the input and output of Korean at home influence the positive attitude they have toward their Korean language and identity. The Japanese-oriented group, the biggest in size among the three groups, mostly went to Japanese schools and had the least Korean use at home, which led to the low proficiency and less confidence in Korean.

However, they were home-taught reading and writing at home like those from other groups, and half of them said their L1 is Korean, not Japanese.

Among four different language skills, confidence in academic writing was higher in the Korean-oriented group, because they had received academic writing education in class while the other group mostly did not despite the fact that all of them had writing education at home. Regarding the proficiency in honorifics, home teaching and language use at home were important influencers. For the other factors including identity formation and confidence as well, the Korean input and output from close family members and Korean home education played significant roles.

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Appendix A. Pragmatics of Proficiency in Honorifics

Korean

1. 할아버지 나이가 몇살이야?
2. (손님에게) 이름이 뭐야?
3. (상사에게) 과장님한테 물어볼게.
4. 사장님도 데리고 가.
5. 선생님한테 주는 선물이야.
6. (회사 전화로) 김과장 있어?
7. (웃어른에게) 어디 아파?
8. (상사에게) 밥 먹었어?
9. (상사에게) 사장님 집을 알아?
10. 지금 할머니는 자고있어.

Japanese

1. (課長に)「今、何と言った?」
2. (お客様に)「見て」
3. (上司に)「ごめん。」
4. (上司に)「知ってる?」

5. (相手会社に電話で)「〇〇さんいる?」
6. (上司に)「4時に客が来る」
7. (上司に)「時間が欲しい」
8. (お客様に)「名前は何ですか」
9. (上司に)「課長はご飯を食べている」
10. (上司に)「社長の家を知っている?」