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University of Dublin, Trinity College

Konglish: Cross-linguistic Lexical Issues for Korean Learners of English

A Thesis submitted to the University of Dublin, Trinity College

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Hyun-Jeong Nam

School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences

Centre for Language and Communication Studies

2009

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Summary

The present study investigated how the mental lexicon of Korean learners of English is organized, and, in particular, how resources required to comprehend and produce English are stored and accessed in their mental lexicon and whether the L1 mediates the process. Konglish, the unique interlanguage of Korean learners of English, arising from their impoverished knowledge of English and influence from Korean, was drawn into the picture as a means of reflecting whether/how L1 knowledge is involved in the process of the organization of their mental lexicon. In Part 1, Konglish phenomena were identified and described in their phonological, intercultural, conceptual, metaphorical, collocational, pragmatic, discoursal, semantic, and grammatical aspects. In Part 2, three studies were reported. A total of 320 Koreans participated in the investigation (120 subjects in respect of Study One; 100 subjects in respect of Study Two, 100 subjects in respect of Study Three).

Study One set out to see whether the use of Konglish words in English could be seen as constituting evidence of the use of Korean resources rather than evidence of English-based communication strategies. Korean beginners in English were recruited to perform picture-naming tasks. The evidence from these tasks suggested that both cognates and Konglish words were stored as Korean items in subjects' Korean mental lexicon and accessed via the Korean entry in the production of English. Even though the L2-naming task preceded the L1-naming task in order to minimize native language influence, the results still showed considerable cross-linguistic interference.

In contrast to Study One, which was limited to language production at word level, Study Two was a full-scale investigation of the presence of the activation of the native language in L2 use. The Konglish phenomenon was examined at sentence and discourse level, and the deployment of Konglish words was investigated through both written and oral type of tasks in both L2 comprehension and production. Consideration was given to subjects' proficiency as well as to subjects' exposure to the target language in terms of quantity and quality. The results indicated the presence of the activation of Korean in accessing English in all aspects of the test - phonological and pragmatic levels included. It was found that proficiency levels, quantity and quality of target language exposure, and instructional-environmental factors affected the extent of reliance on Konglish.

Study Three was a supplementary piece of research addressing the possibility that a subject may not be able to prevent a Konglish word from being activated via an L1 entry but that if she/he is well aware of the unsatisfactory result that would come from adopting it in an English context, the actual utterance of the activated Konglish word may be deliberately avoided. The results confirmed the above-hypothesized relationship between Konglish awareness and Konglish avoidance.

In sum, the lexical operations of Korean learners of English were seen to be vulnerable to L1 activation, and lack of quality L2 input/exposure in individual learning as well as an L2-exposure-poor instructional environment in Korea were seen to pose problems for the development of L2-particular networks.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to Prof. David Singleton for guiding me throughout the years of writing this Ph.D. His insightful suggestions and pertinent comments encouraged me to move forward in the right direction. I am sincerely grateful for his precious time and tireless efforts devoted to reading my thesis thoroughly. Thanks to his unwavering support to keeping me on the right track as well as his thoughtful arrangement and generosity for my special geographic situations between Korean to Ireland, this thesis came to fruition after a long journey of five years' research.

My deepest gratitude also goes to Prof. Stephen van Vlack, my MA supervisor at Sookmyung TESOL Graduate School, who inspired and led me to the academic world of the mental lexicon. His advice was always enlightening and supportive whenever I encountered difficulties throughout the research. I especially appreciate his help for finding participants for my experiments. Without his support, my journey would have been much more arduous.

Many thanks go to my colleagues at Trinity College. I deeply appreciate Liz, in particular, who took care of me when I was in the hospital. Without her help, my life in Dublin would have been much harder. I wish to extend my sincere thanks to Hye-Ja Jeong who helped me to find participants and a place for my experiments. Without her support, Study One would have not been easy to carry out. I am also sincerely grateful to Chul-Woo Jeong at Seogang Univ. who helped me with the statistical analysis of my data. He came up with answers to all my questions with his extraordinary expertise in statistics. I would also like to send my sincerest gratitude to my participants who willingly gave their time for the demanding tasks of my experiments.

My warmest thanks go to my friends. In particular, my special thanks to Susan who came to Dublin despite her busy schedule to take care of me when I was ill, and Joy who accompanied me all the way to another city for my experiments. I will never forget Fenny and Heather who always believed in me and gave me enormous emotional support; Q-Mae and Su-Won who gave courage to me to move forward; Hyun-Jung, Sang-Hyun, Tae-Hoon and Hye-Jin for their genuine care whenever I was struggling.

And finally never enough thanks to my family; my dad & mom, Hyun-Joo, Dal-Woo, Sang-Mok, Joo-Hye, Dong-Whee, Ji-Woo. Their endless love has been a source of strength whenever I faced challenges.

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PART 1

Research Review

CHAPTER I: Language: Some Prolegomena

In this chapter, the relation between concepts and language will be discussed. The notion of conceptual universalism as well as relativism will invite us to the question of how the universal and language-specific aspects of language are related to concept organization. The issue of meaning potential of a word based on context will also be expanded to the question how the meanings of chunks on the continuum of idiomaticity are conceptually motivated.

1.1 Language and concepts

The profound relation between concepts and language has long been studied by philosophers, psychologists and linguists (see e.g. Nelson 1983; Gillett 1992; Chaffin 1992; Cruse 1992). Jackendoff (1992a, p.33) considers the ability to map conceptual structure to language as an exclusively human endowment. Wierzbicka, for her part (1992, p.7, 354), claims that language plays a critical role in humankind's conceptualization and interpretation of the world, and that a close study of language yields vital clues to the nature of human cognition. The role of language in concept development is particularly marked in the case of "non-perceptible" concepts, the construction of which relies exclusively on the functioning of language (Klausmeier, Ghatala & Frayer 1974, pp.124-125). Perceptible concepts, however, as shown in Choi & Bowerman (1991)'s spatial concept experiment, where semantic organization turned out to be formed via language rather than through direct mapping to events (p.83), may also to a certain extent be attained with the help of language. For example in a classroom-based learning environment the concept is largely developed by means of verbal explanations (Klausmeier *et al.* 1974, p.125, 188). To extend this notion further to the kind of second language learning focused on in later chapters, this is particularly the case of language learners in an EFL environment like Korea, where verbal explanations for word meaning almost completely prevail over direct mapping to the real world in target language concept development.

1.1.1 Universalism versus relativism in language and concepts

It is necessary to consider two different optiques on the relationship between language and concepts. According to one view, human concepts are "innate and universal" and variation from language to language in regard to conceptual resources is minor (Chomsky 1987, p.48). Jackendoff (1992)'s notion of I-concepts, inspired by Chomsky's (1986) dichotomy between of I (internalized)-language and to E (externalized)-language, represents the lexical concept as being constructed on the basis of an innate framework (Jackendoff 1992b, p.194). As to the universality of concepts, Wierzbicka (1992, p.22, 27) refers to this as the "alphabet of human thoughts" underlying all languages. Her claim is that on the basis of an array of universal "semantic primitives" (such as *I, you, someone, something, this, want, don't want, think, imagine, feel, part, world, say,* and *become*), all complex thoughts or meanings can be interpreted (Wierzbicka 1972, pp.8-9). This idea of meaning primitives is also favoured by Davidson (2001a, p.9), who suggests that "a learnable language has a finite number of semantical primitives".

At the opposite extreme from such conceptual universalism is the notion of relativism in terms of both language and culture. Since Whorf (1940; in Carroll 1956, pp.212-213) claimed in his "principle of linguistic relativity" that language shapes ideas and thus the conceptualization varies among languages, many philosophers and linguists have posited that human thought is relative to each language and that, accordingly, the users of any particular language view the world differently from users of any other particular language. On the basis that a given language encodes an individual's experiences with properties of objects or events in his/her environment and that the concepts are shared by the members of the individual's community (Klausmeier *et al.* 1974, pp.123-124), this issue can be posited as extending into social and cultural aspects. As Klausmeier *et al.* suggest, the process whereby a concept arising from personal experience is fitted to the societally standardized one constitutes the individual's conceptual progression (*ibid.*, p.124). On this kind of view, there is a crucial interaction between linguistic concepts and social knowledge (Nelson 1983, p.179). The postulation of such interaction feeds into the measurement of prototypicality in the recognition and judgment of a new concept in connection with notions of socially appropriate communication among members of the

same society (Gillett 1992, pp.25-27). In this perspective, in other words, the meanings of words constituted by societally regularized concepts are essential for successful communication (J. Carroll 1964, p.187, 124). There has also been a substantial amount of comment on the relationship between concepts and culture. Aitchison (1994, p.154), for example, states that "different cultures highlight different physical aspects of the world" and Fauconnier (1997, p.188) also postulates that background knowledge of the world in a specific culture is organized in its own way - distinct from knowledge organization in other cultures. Wierzbicka (1992, pp.21-22), who insists on the explanatory need for the positing of universal, innate concepts, a "natural semantic metalanguage", also pays attention to the notion of cultural relativity regarding concepts and suggests that the presence of a word in a given language is evidence of the existence of a concept that the associated culture considers prominent. Concerning culture-specific conceptual configurations, Klausmeier *et al.* (1974, p.143) state that "the knowledge and experience of a cultural group determine its vocabulary in certain areas".

The two seemingly contradictory views are in concord at least to the extent that in both camps there are researchers who recognize both universal and language particular aspects of language in concept organization. Wierzbicka (1992, p.3, 7), representing a universalist point of view, nevertheless agrees that conceptual thinking is dependent upon language and tries to explain the language-particular reference of customs, rituals, and beliefs in concepts. Whorf (1927; in Carroll 1956, p.36), who takes a relativist line, nonetheless believes that all languages share "a common stock of conceptions" and "universal language". It thus appears that these two extreme poles are actually not completely incompatible. Davidson (2001b, p.198) remarks "if we cannot intelligibly say that schemes are different, neither can we intelligibly say that they are one". It may be wise to see both views as complementary in order to arrive at the whole picture of language and conceptualization (Goddard 2003, p.26).

The notion of linguistic relativity, focusing on the interrelation between language and concepts and the role of language as "a powerful medium for representing conceptual or abstract experience" (Klausmeier *et al.* 1974, p.141) will be approached in this study in

the light of evidence from Korean learners of English. If it is true that, as discussed, the vocabulary of a language is affected by certain features of societal knowledge and assumptions (Bourne, Ekstrand & Dominowski 1971, p.293), it may plausibly be assumed that the hierarchical concept in Confucianism, emphasizing the societal importance of seniority, is responsible for the generation of strict honorific terms in Korean. J. Carroll's (1964, p.98) suggestion that language makes discriminations within particularly significant domains in a given culture "more noticeable or salient", can be applied to differentially categorized examples in Korean referring to rice, which is the principal staple food in Korea: *쌀 ssal* ("uncooked rice"), *밥 pap* ("cooked rice"), *설은 밥 sŏlŭn-bap* ("insufficiently boiled rice"), *된밥 toen-bap* ("hard-boiled rice"). As Bourne *et al.* (1971, p.294) indicate, the various levels of lexical distinction attaching to particular areas of meaning signals their relative importance in the culture. As Fauconnier (1997, pp.188-189) points out, the different kinds of cognitive constructions in different languages causes translation between different languages to be complex and problematic, and as Wierzbicka (1992, p.3) notes, differently formulated thoughts in different languages cannot be transferred in certain cases.

Understanding the relationship between language and concept formation constitutes an important key to coming to grips with second language learners' development of target language conceptualization and the question of how concepts constructed on the basis of the native language may pose problems if second language use is brought into the picture. This issue will be dealt with in the present thesis in the context of a wide-ranging examination of native language influence on target language concepts.

1.2 Words and meaning

Given that language is a means to convey meaning (Wierzbicka 1992, p.3) and that "words are symbols and have no meaning in themselves" (Hipkiss 1995, p.1), the entities which we recognize through our sensory organs are not meanings but just word-forms (Engelkamp 1983, p.17). Engelkamp draws a distinction between two meaning representations: "word marks"/ "object marks" recognized from physical stimuli such as words and objects (or pictures of objects) by means of our "sensory" system, and

"concept" derived from the entire set of information relative to the situation, which integrates cues from the "word marks" and "object marks" (*ibid.*, pp.18-25), the latter constituting genuine meaning (*ibid.*, p.30). In other words, a word is a label of reference to the physical object, and word meaning represents the lexicalized concept encoded by the word-form (Miller & Fellbaum 1991, p.199). As Hipkiss (1995, p.11) states, word meaning therefore may vary according to how it is conceptualized.

There are two characteristics in meaning in terms of "the principles of conventionality and contrast". The first relates to the meaning which is expected to be associated with a certain form by the tacit agreement of members of a given language community (Clark 1992, p.171). Speakers of any particular language have a stock of words with meanings shared with other community members in the conventional lexicon and consult it for word selection in order to convey their intended meanings clearly (*ibid.*). By means of such generally understood and consistent meanings, language serves as a means of communication according to common expectations concerning speech intentions and interpretations (*ibid.* 1992, p.172; *ibid.* 1993, p.68). "Contrast" on the other hand focuses on difference in meaning between two word forms (*ibid.* 1983, p.67). Since differentiating meaning is also characteristic of the lexicon, language users in general presume different forms to be dissimilar in meaning (*ibid.* 1983, p.73; *ibid.* 1993, p.70). This principle also applies to the process of word coinage, insofar as a new word with a meaning not contrasting with already internalized word-meanings is initially rejected (*ibid.* 1983, p.70; *ibid.* 1992, p.173). These two principles are seen by Clark as critical in children's lexical acquisition (*ibid.* 1983, p.71).

Particular words may have a variety of meanings (Saeed 2003, p.31). For example, the word *bar* referring to a place for drinking may also refer a piece of something rectangular and edible, as in *chocolate bar*. It has been further suggested that meaning is not solidly fixed but flexible within certain limits. It is a truism that language does not merely function to convey factual information (Palmer 1976, p.35), but is also "goal-oriented". It is clear in this context that the speaker's intended goal activates certain features of meanings (Engelkamp 1983, p.31), and that the hearer's interpretation of the speaker's

intended meaning is essential for successful communication (Saeed 2003, p.211). In order for the intended meaning to be picked up, contextual cues have to be taken into account. As Aitchison (1994, p.13, 71) points out, the intended meaning, therefore, cannot be derived at the level of the individual word; interpretation needs to take account of a wide array of elements and interactions. Beyond denotative meanings, as covered in dictionary entries, Howard (1998, p.58, 60) considers the connotative "potential" in meaning to cover anything possibly associated with the word. This dimension of meaning is also sometimes called "emotive meaning" since word associations often have an emotional content, which differentiates two words with similar denotations (Palmer 1976, p.61; Hipkiss 1995, p.13; Howard 1998, p.59). This type of meaning varies from individual to individual and from generation to generation in an idiosyncratic way (Howard 1998, p.59). Cross-societal differences also emerge in this connection. For example, in Korean *식사하셨어요? Sik-sa-ha-syeoss-eo-yo* ("Have you eaten?") is used as a form of "phatic communion" (Palmer 1976, p.36), functioning as a greeting in addition to conveying propositional content.

In connection with the issue of meaning potential, a great deal of deliberation has focused on context. Fauconnier (1997, p.37) for example emphasizes meaning potential, claiming that *actual* meaning is always determined by context. Cruse (1986, p.16) also suggests that meaning is structured and established from contextual relations. Since context provides clear cues for the hearer's selection of the intended meaning out of multiplicity of senses in cases of polysemy (Saeed 2003, p.61), it is crucial for learners to be aware of such context-related aspects of meaning. Werner & Kaplan's (1963, p.192) observation on how meaning is acquired indicates the importance of contextual cues. They suggest that young children's impoverished range of extended/metaphorical meanings may limit their capacity to deal with contextual cues. For example, a young child may not yet be aware that the word *hot,* referring to high temperatures, is often used with other meanings, depending on context, such as *hot news, hot items* and *hot and spicy food.* Another example, a sign "Give God what's right, not what's left" in front of a church, may confuse children or indeed adult foreign language learners who are not yet equipped to pick up on the contextually relevant ambiguity of *right* and *left.* Both linguistic context

and situational context facilitate hearers' inferencing in the process of apprehending intended meaning (Howard 1998, p.60; Saeed 2003, p.211). All of this is highly pertinent to second language learning, which in the classroom often apt to overlook the importance of contextual meaning, for example, a Korean L2 learner who was invited to a house warming party responded *It was easy to find* to the question *How do you find my new apartment?*.

Most researchers believe that the acquisition of word meanings consists in the establishment of semantic networks (see, e.g. Miller & Fellbaum 1991, p.204). Among the various lexical relations that have been identified, synonymy and polysemy will be the main focus of the present discussion because of their significance in lexical access. As Miller & Fellbaum (1991, p.200) suggest, in the recognition process, listeners must be able to discern polysemous items and in production speakers must choose among synonyms. Synonymy, as a co-ordinate relation rather than a superordinate relation, is of particular importance for creative language production (Aitchison 1994, p.94). As explained in Miller & Fellbaum's (1991, p.204) definition; "two expressions are synonymous in a context C if the substitution of one for the other in C does not change the truth value". Such a definition must, of course always have regard to context. The earlier-discussed principle of contrast denies the existence of perfect synonyms (Clark 1993, p.72); synonyms which are totally identical to all contexts hardly exist in reality (Palmer 1976, p.93). Synonyms have different connotations (Hipkiss 1995, p.13) and collocational restrictions, and, moreover, they incorporate different speaker attitude (Saeed 2003, p.65). This is a particularly important point for Korean L2 learners to bear in mind; such learners have a tendency to use synonyms interchangeably in all situations. Clark (1992, p.177) suggests that synonymous forms created through language contact, develop distinct meanings and thus become differentiated from each other. This can be exemplified in the case of Korean *레스토랑 resŭtorang* ("restaurant"), which usually refers to a restaurant in the Western style and *식당 sikdang* ("restaurant"), which refers either to a Korean-style or to an inexpensive restaurant.

Another lexical relation, polysemy, needs to be understood in terms of its organizing role in the mental lexicon. The distinction between homonymy and polysemy in particular, indicates "the mapping relations from lexical forms to concepts are not always one-to-one" (Cruse 1992, p.290). Since polysemy is based on relatedness in meaning, polysemous senses are listed in the same lexical entry while homonymous senses are not (Saeed 2003, p.64). The lexical organizational dimension of this distinction with respect to the mental lexicon is dealt with in Chapter II.

In sum, on the basis of the foregoing, the conclusions that emerge are that the word has both conventional and potential meaning, and that intended meaning can only be understood in context. In this thesis, meaning is treated not primarily on the basis of what is referred to or in terms of truth conditions, but rather on the basis of usage and in terms of semantic interrelations.

1.3 Lexical chunks and idiomaticity

Chunking is one way in which human learning takes place and plays an important role, especially in language acquisition (Gobet *et al.* 2001). The advantages and disadvantages of the chunking mechanism have been discussed by many researchers. The storage problem criticized as the main problem relative to the postulation of the importance of chunking can be dealt with by consideration of the fact that "the memory capacity of a human brain is effectively infinite" (Carter 1998, p.175). The advantages of chunking, such as reduced processing time, native-like selection, and fluent and appropriate language use, outweigh any possible concerns with respect to the efficiency argument (Pawley & Syder 1983; Nation 2001, pp.317-320; N. Ellis 2001, p.45).

It has long been suggested that native-like fluency results from preconstructed and ready-made multi-word expressions, retrieved as a single item from memory, rather than from the putting together of individual constituents on the basis of rules (Pawley & Snyder 1983; Lewis 1993, 2000). Certain sequences are naturally memorized by reason of their frequent occurrence and these unanalyzed chunks may later be analyzed and/or grouped into larger chunks (Nation 2001, pp.319-320). In this manner, combinations of pre-

existing chunks get included in the stock of familiar usages in the lexicon (N. Ellis 2001, pp.45-46). Some words have a tendency to co-occur with certain grammatical forms or to be semantically associated with a particular mood (Sinclair 1991, p.112). Storing these associative connections in a long-term memory therefore means storing semantic environments as well as certain grammatical choices (*ibid.*). Furthermore, chunks incorporate pre-existing concepts or speech acts, so that this information can be retrieved with the chunks as a whole (Pawley & Syder 1983, p.192).

The chunking mechanism may be understood in terms of idiomaticity. This approach, labelled the "idiom principle" asserts that that recurring situations require the deployment of the phrases in question, and that numerous semi-preconstructed phrases are thus deployed as single choices by language users, with the beneficial result that they are able to economize on effort in rapid conversation (Sinclair 1991, p.110). Given that pre-constructed phrases allow some degree of lexical or syntactic internal variation (*ibid.*, p.111), the idiomaticity continuum ranges from free combination to pure idiom. While free combination has traditionally been considered to be the norm in language use, with individual units exhibiting semantic autonomy, idioms have traditionally been viewed as a case where individual meanings of component words tend to lose their independence (Nicolas 1995, pp.234-235). Hockett (1958, p.172) defines idioms as "any grammatical form whose meaning is not deducible from its structure". In other words, idioms are syntactically fixed and semantically opaque, and thus the sum of the individual lexical items may not represent the meaning of idioms (Cowie 1988, p.133; Fernando & Flavell 1981, p.17).

This view of idioms may be labelled the Non-Compositional Perspective. In this perspective, idioms are non-compositional insofar as their conventional interpretations are not functions of the meanings of their individual parts (Chafe 1970; Chomsky 1980; Fraser 1970). The idiom therefore has meaning only as a whole and none of its individual component words has independent meaning (Nicolas 1995, p.235). This non-compositional view of idioms explains idioms' lexical frozenness, their arbitrary links with non-literal meaning, and their limited syntactic and lexical productivity (Gibbs 1995,

p.98). On this view, once the literal meaning of an idiom turns out to be inappropriate, the figurative meaning of the idiom is accessed (Cacciari & Glucksberg 1995, p.44; Gibbs 1995, p.98).

This traditional view of idioms has constantly evolved into the Configuration Hypothesis (Tabossi & Zardon 1995; Cacciari & Tabossi 1988) and the Decomposition Hypothesis (Gibbs, Nayak & Cutting 1989). The Configuration hypothesis posits that the literal interpretation of an idiom proceeds until the idiom meaning is activated by the recognition of a key item in the idiom (Van de Voort & Vonk 1995, p.296). Once the key word, which is more important than other words in the idiom, triggers identification of the idiom, the idiomatic interpretation is accessed. This results in a faster process than literal interpretation, which requires the assigning of meanings to all the words in the idiom (*ibid.*). This approach accounts for the processing of syntactically flexible idioms, in contrast with non-compositional view, since the recognition of the configuration based on the key word is not affected by its word order (*ibid.*, p.284).

The notion of non-compositionality has recently been called into question on the basis that literal interpretation is not absent during idiom processing and that both the figurative meaning assigned to the idiom and the meaning from the linguistic constituents are available (Cacciari & Glucksberg 1995, p.44). The Decomposition Hypothesis (Gibbs *et al.* 1989) suggests that meanings of the individual idiom words can contribute to the overall figurative meaning of the idioms - with different degrees of compositionality from idiom to idiom. Gibbs (1995, pp.98-100) challenges generalizations based on the example *kick the bucket*, claiming that this example is not particularly representative of the full range of idiom types. He notes that phrases such as *blow your stack* or *spill the beans* are analyzable to a certain extent and that thus individual components contribute to phrases' overall interpretation. Rather than accepting the idea that the failure of literal interpretation of an idiom initiates access to its figurative meaning, his hypothesis posits that the interpretation process is "a fast, unconscious process whereby they [language users] seek to discover the independent meaning of the parts of idioms and combine these to recognize what idioms mean as wholes" (*ibid.*, p.112).

To conclude, whether the interpretation of literal senses is faster than that of the figurative meaning of idiom is not the main concern here. Some of the significant ideas, only relevant to the study of Konglish, will be taken into account in this study. Firstly, from the discussion so far, employment of all the information attached to the chunks, makes learners' production natural, native-like and appropriate in a given context. Secondly, in order for language learners to achieve full control of prefabricated items, the associative networks need to be sufficiently developed in their second language lexicon. Most importantly, in the case of Korean learners of English, they do not, alas, seem to have well-developed associative links, and thus appropriate collocates often fail to be triggered. Given that collocations are manifestations of chunking (N. Ellis 2001, p.5), learners' lack of knowledge of how chunking functions in the L2 may induce resource expansion via retrieval of an L1 collocation - as in *strong drinker* (for *heavy drinker*) or *eye shopping* (for *window shopping*).

1.4 Idiom and concept

There has been some evolution with regard to how idioms are viewed. Idioms are now seen by some not so much as a matter of language, but as related to the conceptual system. That is, whereas from the traditional standpoint, there is no predictability in meanings of idioms because of the arbitrary relationship between idiom meaning (Chafe 1970; Chomsky 1980; Fraser 1970), an alternative perspective inclines to the idea that there is a certain degree of conceptual motivation in the processing of an idiom's constituent parts in the creation of idiomatic meaning (Gibbs 1993, 1995; Kövecses & Szabó 1996). According to the approach taken here, the lexicon is not merely a list of vocabulary but holistic complex of language and concepts (see Chapter II); according to this optique, meaning cannot be separated from the human conceptual system and especially conventional knowledge shared by people in the realm of the same language and culture (J. Carroll 1964; Klausmeier *et al.* 1974; Nelson 1983). This approach implies that idioms are not just randomly stored in the lexicon but, like other lexical items, systematically stored in the relevant conceptual domain. According to Kövecses & Szabó, failure to recognize this gives rise to problems:

> [O]ne major stumbling block in understanding the nature of idioms and making use of this understanding in the teaching of foreign languages is that they are regarded as linguistic expressions that are independent of any conceptual system and that they are isolated from each other at the conceptual level (Kövecses & Szabó 1996, p.329).

The reason for this discussion in the present context relates to our interest in the conceptual mechanism that Korean learners of English use when they produce English. Since collocations and idiomatic expressions, in particular, are known to require cognitive mechanisms such as conceptual metaphor for the interpretation of the figurative meanings, it can be assumed that they can rarely be learned as a form of explicit knowledge. According to Stubbs (1995, p.389),

> [C]ollocations must be learned, by some 'immersion' method, on the basis of repeated instances. They cannot be learned by explicit instruction.

This is, however, often not the case in regard to Korean learners of English, who have typically come to grips with English idioms via explicit knowledge based on their L1.

In respect of language and culture, our discussion needs to address how conventional knowledge affects cognitive mechanisms and conceptually motivated expressions. Given that conventional knowledge is shared among people in a given culture and functions as a cognitive mechanism (Kövecses & Szabó 1996, p.338), the meaning of a linguistic expression *shake hands*, "to greet someone" can be said to be derived from the knowledge that the gesture of hand-shaking is conventionalized as greeting in Anglo-American culture (*ibid.*, p.339). A similar example can be found in Korean idiomatic expressions;

언제 *국수* *먹게* *해줄래?*
When noodles let me eat can you?
"When are you getting married?"

Traditionally noodles have been served at wedding receptions in Korea, and this conventionalized behaviour now represents marriage itself. Stubbs (1995, pp.383-387)

further points out how shared knowledge and culture are reflected in lexical items and lexical combinations on a continuum of idiomaticity:

> If frequent associations are made between words, then this repetition makes some features of the world conceptually salient. They are presented as a constant, shared, and natural feature of the world (p.383) [...] Culture is encoded not just in words which are obviously ideologically loaded, but also in combinations of very common words (p.387).

Since collocations are language-specific, the characteristics of collocates vary across different languages (Stubbs 1995, p.389). Just as the collocational patterns of the English words *large*, *small*, *big*, and *little* do not apply to their French and German counterparts (*ibid.*), so the Korean words 큰 *kŭn* ("large", "big"), 작은 *chagŭn* ("small", "little") have their own collocational patterns. Given that this is an unconscious language mechanism, the meaning involved need to be learned within the somewhat fixed chunks beyond the traditional syntactic level (*ibid.*, pp.386-390). This is also a connection here with Sinclair's (1991) "idiom principle", as discussed earlier. Figurative expressions in the category of idiom, such as similes, in addition to chunks on the continuum of idiomaticity, such as collocations, are investigated later in this study in order to understand how the language production of Konglish users is conceptually mediated.

To summarize the present chapter, the meaning potential the vocabulary of a language holds, may be shaped not only by the context in which the language is used but also by certain features of societal knowledge in a certain culture in which the language is shared. The interrelation between language and concepts also enables us to understand how the meanings of idioms may be conceptually motivated. This further implies the importance of second language learners' development of target language conceptualization.

CHAPTER II: The Architecture of the Mental Lexicon

This chapter lays out the picture of the organization of mental lexicon. It will discuss, in particular, how lexical representations are stored and accessed in the lexical entry. The present chapter will also introduce controversial views of the organization of the mental lexicon from neurolinguistic as well as psycholinguistic point of view. The discussion will progress to cover to the variables of experiments where conflicting results have been obtained and thus different interpretations have been proposed.

2.1 Mental lexicon

The view of mental lexicon as "not a fixed dictionary with a set amount of information about each word, but an active system in which new links are perpetually being formed", has become increasingly prevalent (Aitchison 1994, p.167). It should be noted that the concept of lexicon needs to be considered in a metaphorical way, rather than as denoting a physical location (*ibid.*, p.231). In terms of language recognition and production in the mental lexicon, meaning functions as a basis for speakers to organize words, and form as the basis for recognizing words (Clark 1993, p.251). Meaning is the starting point of word production and phonological/phonetic form (orthographic form in reading) initiates word recognition (Aitchison 1994, p.197). In other words, semantics and syntax in the lexicon are arranged to principally to facilitate production, and formal entries are organized principally to facilitate recognition (*ibid.* 2003, p.243; *ibid.* 1994, p.224; Cutler 1989). As noted earlier, the lexicon is not rigidly fixed but rather a very flexible entity. As Garman (1990, p.298) suggests, the contribution of its constituents, such as semantics and syntax, may vary to a certain extent according to context. For example, meaning is more involved than form in casual interaction and form is more focused on in other cases such as a formal speech. Given that semantics and syntax interact in processing (Aitchison 2003, p.104), it seems wise to view them as being interconnected and influencing each other.

2.2 Lexical entries

2.2.1 Lexical representations in the lexical entry

A great deal of information is stored in a lexical entry. According to a widely held view, conceptual prerequisites for a lexical item's use, such as its meaning and syntactic properties, are stored together in its lemma while morphological and phonological properties are encoded as its word form in the lexical entry (Levelt 1989, p.233). As suggested above, the lemma is organized primarily in such a way as to favour production, whereas word forms are so constituted and disposed as to facilitate word recognition and phonological encoding (*ibid.*, p.188, 241; Aitchison 1994, p.224). Concerning the properties in lexical entries, in addition to meaning and form, a variety of information is stored and retrieved, such as contextual conditions, pragmatic and stylistic appropriateness, connotations, and dialectal register etc. (Levelt 1989, p.183; Clark 1993, p.4; Aitchison 2003, p.235).

It is believed that different types of lexical items are stored in different ways. Inflected forms of a particular word, for example, are known to be stored in the same lexical entry (Levelt 1989, p.183; Clark 1993, p.4), while derived forms are widely seen as occupying separate entries (Clark 1993, p.5). For instance, *pay, pays, paid, paying* will be retrieved from the same entry, but *pay, payable, payment, payer* from different entries. Issues of lexical storage and processing are also of great significance for understanding lexical chunking. Nation (2001, p.321) suggests that high-frequency morphemic combinations like *unable* are stored as whole chunks, whereas low-frequency combinations like *unambiguousness* are re-created by rule on each occasion of use. In Vogel, Sosa and MacFarlane's study (2002) on the collocational frequency of the word *of,* longer response times were taken to recognize the word *of* in frequent collocations such as *kind of.* As shown in the example *I'm kind of hungry*, *kind of* is a frequent phrase that prompts holistic processing. This effect of collocational frequency is interpreted by the above authors on the basis of a usage-based model of lexical storage and processing according to which actual language use motivates lexical chunking (*ibid.*, p. 8).

Discussion of basic units of lexical storage and organization in the lexicon has further involved a focus on the part of many researchers on the issue of idioms (cf. earlier discussion in Chapter I). The Idiom List Hypothesis, for example, suggests that idioms are accessed from a special list stored separately from the normal lexicon after a literal analysis – a perspective which is derived from the fact that there are some idioms violating restrictions of grammatical theory within the normal lexicon (Swinney & Cutler 1979, p.524). The Lexical Representation Hypothesis, in contrast with the Idiom List Hypothesis, posits that idioms are stored and processed as single lexical items in the lexicon in the same manner as other words (*ibid.*, p.525). Levelt (1989, p.187) postulates that idioms may be accessed like words when their characteristic conceptual conditions are met in a certain situation. In an experiment relating to classification time for ambiguous idioms, Swinney & Cutler (1979) found that decisions made in relation to idiomatic strings were faster than those made in relation to literal meaning. They conclude: "idioms appear to be stored and accessed as lexical items, not from some special list that is distinct from the lexicon nor by a special processing mode which comes into play when literal analysis fails" (*ibid.* 1979, pp.523-526). As studies being undertaken by many researchers regarding this issue are underway, more discussion is expected in this domain. Although this issue of the access and storage of idioms is not the main concern of the present study, the interconnection between entries involved in chunking is prominently considered throughout the study.

2.2.2 Intrinsic and associative dimensions in lexical entries

Entries in the mental lexicon are seen as interconnected with each other in various ways, on the basis of both meaning and form (Levelt 1989, p.233). Levelt distinguishes between intrinsic and associative dimensions in lexical entries. He treats the four features listed in an entry (meaning, morphology, phonology and syntax) as intrinsic (*ibid.*, p.183). That is, two entries which share meaning are represented as connected and all entries linked in this way are seen as forming a semantic field covering the same conceptual domain (Clark 1993, p.9). Entries with the same morphological stem or phonological similarities are also seen as intrinsically related (Levelt 1989, p.184). On this view, for example, the entry for the word *un-accept-able* is connected with the entry for *acceptable,* which

originates from the same stem *accept*, is antonymously related, and ends with the same morpheme and the same consonant cluster. Associative relations between entries, on the other hand, are based on the frequent co-occurrence of the items in language use, a co-occurrence which leads the items in question to prime each other (Levelt 1989, p.184). In this perspective, since items which are semantically related to each other are often used together in discourse, intrinsic semantic relations between such items may lead to the formation of associative relations (*ibid.*, pp.184-185). Development of these relations on the basis of frequent co-occurrence of lexical items in language use is essential to language learners. In particular, for Korean learners of English who have limited experience of the target language in question, the development of these relations will be challenging. This is further discussed later (see Chapter 7.4.3, p.179).

2.3 Models and issues of the lexical access

2.3.1 Direct and serial search paradigms

How lexical items in the mental lexicon are accessed has been viewed in various ways. Two major approaches are distinctive in that the one favours a direct access perspective while the other favours an indirect search perspective.

Forster (1976, p.259) argues that word detecting systems in direct access models could take up the full capacity of lexicon. In his serial search model, accessing a word is metaphorically compared to finding a book in a library on the basis of two levels of search as follows: a "master file" for complete lexical entries, comparable to books in particular positions on particular shelves, and "peripheral access files" comparable to different kinds of book catalogues (author indexes, title indexes, subject indexes, etc.), containing "pointers" (like reference numbers) to the location of each full entry (Forster 1976, p.276). The peripheral access files are represented as orthographic, phonological and semantico-syntactic bins, which are not interconnected (*ibid.*, p.267). In actual accessing, on this view, all bins are simultaneously searched and thus the time taken to search the whole lexicon is the same as a search through a single bin (Forster 1989, p.84). Forster also posits a cross-referencing system between entries in the master

file, which is supposed to enable semantic priming across modes (*ibid.* 1976, p.273). Since, according to the model, the entry in each of the peripheral access files simply contains an access code, there is a subsequent stage in which this pointer is matched to the corresponding entry in the master file, where all the information about the word is stored (*ibid.*, p.268).

In contrast to the serial search model, the following models provide for each element in the system directly influencing the word access process. First, Morton's much-cited (1969) logogen model proposes a device representing a lexical item labelled a "logogen". The role of logogens is represented as that of gathering cognitive information and information from input, including contextual clues (*ibid.*, pp.165-166). According to the model, when sufficient data are collected to exceed the threshold level allocated to a given logogen, the logogen fires, and the relevant word is recognized or produced, depending on the circumstances (*ibid.*). Accordingly, the more information that is gathered, the more easily a decision to access a particular item can be made (Aitchison 2003, p.235).

While in the logogen model lexical access is represented as based on the accumulation of partial activations from different sources until the pertinent threshold is passed, in the cohort model (Marslen-Wilson & Welsh 1978, pp.56-57), the access process is represented as eliminating the "word-candidates" that do not fit the attributes of the input until the last remaining candidate is finally selected. Word recognition is thus described in this perspective as "the discrimination of the best-fitting match" in this model (Marslen-Wilson 1987, p.4). In contradistinction to the logogen model, in which contextual information is provided from cognitive system outside the logogen systems, in the cohort model "every entry in the mental lexicon is equipped with inferential procedures" (Singleton 1999, p.93).

There have been however concerns about the models. For example, the serial search model raises the issue of access time; searching from access files to the master file in a serial manner may be inefficient in the management of large amounts of information in fast-moving conversation (Sternberg 2003, p.275). The explanation of non-words also

poses problems. As Singleton (1999, pp.101-102) points out, since the sub-systems within the access files, supposedly discretely catering for different kinds of input, does not allow for orthographic to phonological linkage, the utterance of non-words seems difficult to explain. In contrast to the serial search model, Morton's model seems to be more persuasive in that in its distributed control system, all lemmas simultaneously are seen as taking part in the access process (Levelt 1989, p.204). However, in spite of the direct link between auditory analysis and response buffer in order to explain how non-words can be pronounced in the later revised versions of logogen model (Morton & Patterson 1980, p.95), the independence of the different modalities in the model, as Singleton (1999, p.88) points out, fails to explain priming effects between different modalities.

There are certain issues that models of lexical access seem to posit different views on. For example, as for top-down feedback from the lexicon, the TRACE model (McClelland & Elman 1986) allows feedback from the lexicon to prelexical processes. McClelland & Elman believe that the lexical feedback is required to facilitate speech recognition. In this model, it is the top-down control that directly affects the process of phonemic analysis. In the Merge model (Norris, McQueen & Cutler 2000), in contrast to the TRACE model, lexical feedback is viewed as not benefiting prelexical processing. They insist that "the merging" of prelexical and lexical information benefits phonemic decisions, not the feedback itself, stating that "[i]t is not interaction that offers the benefit, but the process of combining two different kinds of information – the lexical and the prelexical" (*ibid.*, p.324).

The issue of what determines the access time of a lexical item is also a point of disagreement among the various models. The frequency factor has unsurprisingly been much discussed in this context. With regard to frequency effects, the logogen model suggests that the threshold of a particular logogen is lowered by its frequent activation (Morton 1979, p.136). Low-frequency logogens thus have higher thresholds, which accordingly require longer access time to collect more evidence to reach the threshold level, while more frequently activated logogens with lower threshold access words

rapidly (Morton 1969, pp.167-168). Moreover, it is suggested that a certain degree of activation remaining from the previous use may facilitate long-term priming effects (Harris & Coltheart 1986, pp.140-141; Forster 1989, p.84; Levelt 1989, p.203). In Forster's serial search model, entries in each bin of the access files are organized on the basis of their frequency of occurrence, and thus the most frequently used words are stacked at the top of the bin (Forster 1989). This model also posits that one may have variation of frequency in accordance with different properties of language, noting that the frequency of an item in one type of input is not necessarily consistent with its frequency in another bin in the access files (Forster 1976, p.269). To take the case of Korean college students learning English as an example, a word such as *expedite* may be situated at the top of their orthographic access file because such learners are frequently exposed to the word from textual input but may be stored in the bottom of the phonological access file because it is rarely encountered/used in listening or speaking. Murray & Forster (2004) further discuss frequency effects with respect to their revamped serial search mechanism. They propose the "rank hypothesis": "access time will be directly related to the rank position of a word in a frequency-ordered list, not to its actual frequency or to any transform of it" (Murray & Forster 2004, p.723). That is, the difference in access time between the 1st and 10th words in a bin will be identical to that of another bin, even if the difference of the actual frequency of the 1st and 10th words in one bin is different from that of the other bin. It is therefore "the rank position of a word in a frequency-ordered list" that determines the access time, no matter what the actual frequency of occurrence of the certain word (*ibid.*).

Explanation of contextual influence also varies from model to model. Context is generally acknowledged to play an important role in word selection and recognition either as a form of "semantic priming" to aid the selection of the appropriate target or in the form of "lexical filtering" to inhibit inappropriate candidates (Garman 1990, pp.292-295). In contrast to the cohort model which excludes top-down contextual influences in the actual lexical recognition process (Marslen-Wilson 1987, p.87, 99), the logogen model seems better to account for contextual effects. In this model, if a logogen receives additional context-appropriate information from the context system, the activation for the

word will be expedited, which explains how a word can be more easily interpreted in context (Morton 1969, pp.166-167). There have recently been studies where contextual influence is even more stressed than frequency effects in relation to lexical access (Adelman, Brown & Quesada 2006; Adelman & Brown 2008). According to Adelman & Brown (2008), words need to be experienced in various contexts, and frequent occurrence of a word in the same context does not guarantee rapid access to the word in question. The more contexts words have been experienced in, the better the lexical accessibility expected (*ibid.*, p.223). Adelman *et al.* (2006) state "the number of contexts in which words are experienced, their contextual diversity (CD), should determine their accessibility and hence response times (RTs) in word naming and lexical decision" (p.814).

There is another model which may be relevant to this study concerning Korean learners of English in terms of their production. Levelt's "blueprint for the speaker" (1989), describes speaking production in terms of three stages; "conceptualizer", "formulator", and "speech-comprehension system". This model includes reference to speaker intention, motivation and information in preverbal messages determined in the conceptualizer (*ibid.*, pp.8-10). The matched meaning activated in the lemma is represented as undergoing a grammatical and phonological encoding process in the formulator and articulator (*ibid.*, p. 11, 12, 27). The speech-comprehension system, finally, enables "self-monitoring" for "both ... internal speech and ... overt speech" (*ibid.*, p.13). It is important to acknowledge, as this model suggests, that information about syntactic category is stored as procedural knowledge in the grammatical encoder (*ibid.*, p.11). However, such procedural knowledge appears not to have a role in the way in which Korean learners of English process that language. This matter is discussed in detail in later chapters. It should be noted that this model views the mental lexicon in essence differently from the viewpoint of this study. Levelt (1989, p.185) states:

> ...the mental lexicon is, we assume, a passive store of declarative knowledge about words. It does not contain procedural knowledge, which makes possible the generation of new words.

Singleton's (1999) statement seems more convincing:

> [t]he psychological correlates of lexical-redundancy rules must surely be classed as procedural knowledge... the attempt any reader or hearer will typically make to assign meaning and function to novel word forms... involve lexicon-internal consultation and cross-referencing processes – which again implies procedural knowledge (p.109).

It will be clear throughout this study why Korean learners' English lexicon is organized on the basis of declarative knowledge and how this relates to their deficiencies in English with reference to Konglish.

2.3.2 Connectionism & Modularity

The two underlying views of language processing discussed so far are distinctive: the serial model posits that one system can be initiated only after a prior processing stage is complete, while in the parallel processing model all processing is seen as occurring simultaneously and in a parallel manner (Garman 1990, pp.174-175). To take this discussion further, it will now turn to a comparison of connectionism and modularity. The distinctive feature of connectionism is its explanation of language processing in terms of distributed and parallel activation, and its "representing knowledge in terms of connection strength rather than in terms of rules or patterns" (Singleton 2000, p.179). It should be clarified that the strength of the connections between the associated nodes, however, does not necessarily imply neurological location (Aitchison 2003, p.70, 226). The model rather operates in terms of a "brain metaphor", a networking metaphor positing that the relevant networks would not cease its function if damage occurred but would rather partially and gradually decrease their full capacity (Plaut & Shallice 1994, p.13). In other words, the assumption is that interaction of the interconnected nodes in the networks may compensate for incomplete knowledge of the individual node.

This model seeks to account for language learning in terms of neural networking. It suggests that in the language learning process, input, by raising activation levels, leads to network "training" (Plunkett & Marchman 1993, p.21; Dell 2000, p.345). That is, for example, in this perspective, mapping from orthography to semantics is trained in the

input network, and mapping from semantics to phonology is trained in the output network; additional training for phonological output also proceeds in the output network (Plaut & Shallice 1994, p.101, 104). It is suggested that connection weight between nodes changes through the learning process (Dell 2000, p.345). The distributed features of the model enter into the account, which sees lexical knowledge from input as being overlaid on other connected nodes in the network by way of automatic distribution (*ibid.*, pp.345-346). Total input from learning is therefore represented as the sum of weight on the node, and what is learned through this weight modification is viewed as being eventually encoded as long-term knowledge (Plaut & Shallice 1994, p.8). Dell (2000) sums up the learning process as follows:

> [w]hat gets stored in long-term memory (i.e., how the weights are changed) depends on what is currently in short-term memory (i.e., which units are activated) (p.345).

The PDP (parallel distributed processing) model in particular suggests that connection strengths between nodes rather than the pattern itself are memorized (McClelland, Rumelhart & Hinton 1986, p.31) and the connection strengths, which constitute all knowledge, are achieved from learning (Rumelhart, Hinton & McClelland 1986, p.75). This principle of learning in terms of distributed network further accounts for frequency effects. If a certain node is activated often, its connection gets stronger and moreover it retains a certain degree of remaining strength potential even in case of inactivation state, which allows each connection to have various degree of potential (Sternberg 2003, p.276). Owing to the connection between similar items, learning a certain item naturally affects the related others (Dell 2000, p.346).

Contrary to the holistic concept of network in connectionism, in the modularity perspective modules perform language processing as independent systems. According to Fodor's (1983) notion of "informational encapsulation", "modular cognitive systems are domain specific, innately specified, hardwired, autonomous, and not assembled"(p.37) and thus, in the processing of input, for example, contextual information cannot impinge on the operations of the module but can only affect processing after the completion of the

input module's computations (p.76). The concept of informational encapsulation is argued to guarantee rapid processing by limiting the resources for the input system and ignoring information of secondary importance (*ibid.*, pp.69-70). Fodor (1987, p.25) states "informational encapsulation is economical; it buys speed and the reduction of computational load". It is suggested that an advantage of this model is that the disconnection between modules prevents impairment in a particular module from affecting other modules (Marr 1976, p.485).

To conclude, the connectionist view may seem more convincing, being in line with much that we know from psycholinguistics; however, it may be useful to understand language processing in a complementary way. Tanenhaus, Dell and Carlson (1987, p.106) postulate that "some components of language processing will be modular and others interactive because of the computational characteristics of the structures that need to be processed". This issue is further discussed later in reference to the lexical development of Korean learners' of English.

2.3.3 Common and separate storage

A question which very frequently arises is whether bilinguals have one common conceptual store irrespective of the languages in which they perform (see e.g. Cummins 1980; Fodor 1987) or separate stores for meaning representations according to languages (e.g. Keatley & de Gelder 1992). The first model posits that language is not bilinguals' primary means of organizing information in memory. Lambert's (1972, p.252, 262) experiment involving free recall tasks, for example, found that subjects utilized semantic categories as powerful schemas for chunking and organizing information presented in mixed languages. In this single-code view, since task performance is viewed as being influenced only by a word's meaning regardless of its language, there should be no difference between presenting a particular priming concept in either one language or another (Durgunoğlu & Roediger 1987, p.377). The separate storage model on the other hand postulates that there are language-specific representational systems for each language and thus each item in a pair of translation-equivalents has its own conceptual representation (e.g. De Bot & Schreuder 1993; Forster & Jiang 2001).

Many of the studies have focused on how native language and non-native language are stored. It is a matter of controversy whether L1 and L2 words are directly or indirectly connected to the concept. Potter, So, Von Eckardt and Feldman (1984) postulated that L1-L2 translation would be faster than picture naming if performed only at the lexical level (word association) and would take the same time as picture naming if conceptually mediated (concept mediation). Their results showed translation and picture naming to be equally fast for both low and high proficiency subjects and thereby favoured the concept-mediation model. The researchers inferred that in L1-L2 translation, the lexical entry in the L1 lexicon initially primes the corresponding one in L2 lexicon via an "amodal" conceptual system, which is envisaged as similar to the picture-naming process (*ibid.*, p.36). There have been, on the other hand, studies supporting the word-association perspective suggesting that the translation process is different from picture naming. Kroll & Curley (1988, p.393), for example, found that translation was faster than picture naming for less proficient learners and concluded that lexical mediation through direct links between translation-equivalents does exist, at least in the early stages of second language acquisition.

Kroll & Stewart (1994) further suggest that mappings from words to concepts are asymmetric in bilingual memory and that the extent of the asymmetry varies in accordance with proficiency development. They found that translation from L1 to L2 was slower and influenced more by semantic variables than translation from L2 to L1 (also Kroll & Sholl 1992; Sholl, Sankaranarayanan & Kroll 1995). In the Revised Hierarchical Model, they propose that, as far as the conceptual level is concerned, the link between the shared concept and the L1 is stronger than the link between the concept and L2, while the connection from L2 to L1 is stronger than that from L1 to L2 at the lexical level. According to this model, the existing connection between the first language lexicon and conceptual memory becomes involved in the accessing of the subsequently acquired L2. This involvement is represented as decreasing as L2 learners' proficiency reaches a high enough level for direct links between concepts and the L2 lexicon to be established (Kroll & Stewart 1994, p.158). In other words, in this perspective, owing to the difficulty of conceptual mediation in L2 processing in the early stages of second language learning,

the connection between L2 lexical items and conceptual representations is weak and it is this which underlies deficiencies in L2 representations. Because new L2 information is simply appended to existing L1 conceptualizations during the early stages of L2 acquisition, access to genuinely L2 concepts is limited (Kroll & Tokowicz 2001, p.63, 71).

According to this view, since the lemma information is copied from the L1 rather than constructed in the process of learning the L2 words, the L2 information may not become readily available with the activation of a single cue or a certain constituent of information may easily be lost in transition (Jiang 2000, pp.49-52). The weak connections between the L2 and concepts prompt reference to L1 counterparts as a compensation for the lack of L2 conceptual resources, and thus meaning is accessed via L1 concept mediation (Kroll & Tokowicz 2001, p.49). The RHM and its associated studies have particular significance with respect to the present study. There have been findings supporting the notion of stronger L2→L1 lexical links and of concept mediation in the L1→L2 translation direction (e.g. Kroll & Sholl 1992; Forster & Jiang 2001). However, it is suggested that the lexical links between translation-equivalents do not totally disappear even when the conceptual link to L2 is established (Kroll & Curley 1988, p.168). This will be investigated in the present study.

Although the discussion based on the RHM so far presupposes a shared conceptual store, there is also an account of the asymmetrical cross-language priming based on separate stores for each language's concepts. Keatley, Spinks and Gelder's (1994) separate-interconnected model, for example, examines different overall strengths of the connections within the language system and demonstrates that L1 representations are more strongly connected in the L1 memory and that L2 representations are relatively weak in the L2 system (pp.76-78). There is also a view that the L1 and L2 lexicons are distinctive but overlap with each other. De Groot & Nas (1991), for example, on the basis of an experiment relating to between-language repetition-priming effects and associative-priming effects, suggest shared conceptual representations for cognates and separate representations for non-cognate translations. Their work reveals that a word in one language primes its translation-equivalent (in the case both of cognates and of non-

cognates) and, in addition, in the case of non-cognates, cross-linguistically primes semantically related items (*ibid.*, p.112). Two possible explanations for these effects are postulated. First, there may be a direct connection between two words at the lexical level of representation via which activation spreads from a word in one language to its translation-equivalent in the other (*ibid.*, p.91). Second, there may be an overlapping conceptual representation bridging the two separate lexical nodes, so that a word and its translation-equivalent can prime each other through this indirectly connected concept (*ibid.*, p.116).

There has been a long-lasting controversy over the question of whether the L2 mental lexicon is entirely distinct and separately accessed from the L1 mental lexicon (e.g. Forster & Jiang 2001) or whether conceptual representations are independent of any particular language (e.g. Cummins, 1980). It may also be that "neither a completely separate nor a completely integrated model provides an adequate description of bilingual linguistic memory" (Gerard & Scarborough 1989, p.313). There have been inconsistent results and interpretations of experiments regarding this issue. For instance, Kroll & Stewart (1994) found that only L1→L2 translation was slower in the presence rather than in the absence of a semantic context. There have however been a number of studies challenging this result. De Groot & Poot (1997) found that L1→L2 translation was faster than L2→L1 translation and also that the effects of a semantic context were equally observed in both translation directions. La Heij, Kerling and Van der Velden (1996) found semantic context effects in both translation directions and more semantic effects in L2→L1 than in L1→L2 translation.

The apparently conflicting results may derive from the different foci of the experimental tasks, which might have induced different mental processes. Durgunoğlu & Roediger (1987), for example, have findings supporting both language independence and interdependence, depending on tasks. In their experiments, evidence of language independence was obtained in a free-recall task and indications of language dependence in a word fragment-completion group of tasks, and a mixture of effects in a recognition-test group of tasks (*ibid.*, pp.386-387). They suggest that a free recall task, in which

subjects rely on stored concepts to facilitate remembering without overt cues, is conceptually driven. They also suggest that a word fragment completion process, which focuses on the visual presentation of the item rather than its conceptual elaboration, is data-driven, and that recognition tests have both components (*ibid.*, pp.385-386). They conclude that "different strategies of encoding and different forms of test will bring out varying aspects of performance that cannot easily be accommodated within single- or dual-code theories" (*ibid.*, p.379). Kolers & Gonzalez (1980) point out a possible risk of misinterpretation based on overgeneralization of a result from certain experiments to all cases (p.54). They propose that the "bilingual's linguistic representations are independent or dependent to the degree that particular skills are utilized differently in a given context or task" (*ibid.*, p.63). On the basis that the tasks used in many experiments may not elicit evidence of the stored semantic representations themselves, but rather evidence of the means to decode the stimuli, bilinguals may demonstrate either language-independent or dependent representations according to the modalities of the particular method utilized in the given tasks (*ibid.*). This highlights the need to include the variables affecting the results of experiments in any discussion of the mental lexicon. This will be the practice in the present study.

2.3.4 Activation mechanism: Discrete, Cascade, Interactive

There have been several views of the activation mechanism in bilingual lexical access. According to the discrete serial view (e.g. Levelt 1989), activation moves only from the selected lexical node to the sublexical, phonological level; activation from semantic competitors is restricted from spreading to their corresponding phonological representations and thus any phonological activation from the non-selected lexical node is not a feature of the process. Cascaded or interactive activation models of lexical access, on the other hand, allow for activation from the non-selected lexical nodes to their phonological representations (e.g. Dell 1989, 2000; Costa, Caramazza & Sebasti´an-Gall´es 2000). In contrast to the discrete serial view that lexeme retrieval is allowed only after lemma selection, interactive models include the possibility that the lexeme retrieval processes may precede lemma selection. This suggests that the lexeme retrieval process may affect the lemma selection process. With particular reference to Konglish

phenomenon, which include activation from the phonological level, the latter view seems more persuasive. According to Costa *et al.* (2000, p.1292) activation can be initiated not only from the semantic system but also from the phonological representation, and thus a cognate pair may receive activation both from the semantic system and from the feedback activation of shared phonological segments. In the case of interlingual homographs, this model assumes that owing to the common orthographic representation, all corresponding semantic and phonological codes connected to the orthography may be activated in both languages (Dijkstra *et al.* 1999, p.512). The present study however is different from studies focusing on interlingual homographs insofar as Konglish words used in the L1 do not have a common orthographic representation with the non-Korean forms from which they derive. This needs to be further examined in the present study.

The distributed activation paradigm (e.g. McClelland *et al.* 1986) suggests a pattern of activation in the entire network in which all the features are interconnected, rather than word representations based on a single nodes. The activation may on this view start from one part of the network and spread to the entire network. For example, it may be that a semantic prime presented in an experiment can activate all the related semantic units, which also include the semantic representation of the following target word (Kawamoto 1993, p.485). On this view the network can be trained in such a way that the connection strengths of the network change on the basis of the frequency of encounters (*ibid.*, p.484). This model further suggests that a similar pattern of activation between two words may expedite lexical access and that this also applies to the second language (van Hell & de Groot 1998). In other words, in priming contexts words sharing orthographic and/or phonological features with stimuli such as homophones or cognate translations pairs take less time to be activated owing to the resemblance in activation patterns (*ibid.*, pp.206-208).

To explain the lexical access processes of Korean learners of English, there are two points to be considered: first, whether the lexical representations of the non-target words (L1 in this case) are activated and secondly if the activation can proceed from the

phonological level to the semantic level. Consideration of these issues leads to a discussion of the matter of language selective versus non-selective access.

2.3.5 Language-selective vs. non-selective lexical access

According to de Bot & Schreuder (1993), the language cue affects the activation and the de-activation of the lexical item in the selection process. It has been suggested that the lemma is tagged with a language label and that, therefore, the target lemma in the intended language can be selectively chosen (e.g. Green 1986; Poulisse & Bongaerts 1994). According to Green's Inhibitory Control (IC) model, the "tag specification" is included in the conceptual representation and thus the inhibition of the competitors in the unintended language occurs at the lemma level (*ibid.*, p.71). On this view, although L1 words which are closely associated with the relevant concept become more activated in L2 access, they are more strongly suppressed (*ibid.*). Because the model focuses on activation from the semantic system to lexical nodes in both languages, the process of inhibitory control through tag identification is allowed after lemmas have been activated. Further discussion is necessary with reference to the activation of Konglish words in English at this point. Within the above model, the reason for the use of Konglish words in English is not clearly answered. In other words, the question arises whether Konglish words are tagged incorrectly or whether it is not the tag but the inhibitory control that does not function properly in the learner's mind. A perspective on the lexical selection process based on "selection by activation threshold assumption" rather than "selection by competition" (Finkbeiner, Gollan & Caramazza 2006, p.160) may more easily explain Konglish use in English. In addition, another approach is necessary to explain the possibility of activation from the phonological system to the non-target language (L1) either in advance of the activation of the lemma or in the absence of the activation of the semantic system.

Given a regime of "language non-selectivity at all levels of planning spoken utterances" (Kroll, Bobb & Wodniecka 2006, p.132), both of a bilingual's languages may be accessed in a non-selective way. Many studies have been conducted to explore evidence of non-selective language access. The presence of semantic interference across languages has

often been quoted as evidence that both the bilingual's target and non-target language are activated in parallel. For instance, Hermans, Bongaerts, de Bot and Schreuder (1998) conducted picture-word interference experiments and found that the relevant Dutch lemma (L1), as well as semantically related Dutch words, was activated during the initial stages of the naming response in L2. Unintended L1 use in L2 production has also been used as evidence of the language non-selectivity. Poulisse & Bongaerts (1994) observed unintended L1 use and L1-L2 blending in their data from a 35 hour corpus from 45 Dutch L2 learners of three different proficiency levels. The authors interpreted their data as indicating that L1 words retain higher resting activation than target L2 words owing to their higher frequency and that this leads to the activation and the selection of the unintended language (*ibid.*, p.46). Extensive research has focused on the cognate effect as evidence of non-selective language activation, on the basis of the assumption that cognates receive activation from both the target language and the non-target language (e.g. De Groot & Nas 1991; van Hell & de Groot 1998).

Costa *et al.* (2000) found that a picture-naming task was faster in respect of cognate words than non-cognates for Catalan-Spanish bilinguals. They suggest that the cognate word in one language can receive additional activation from its translation in the other language and that this facilitates the access of the cognate words (*ibid.*, p.1292). Gollan & Acenas (2004) found that the tip-of-the-tongue (TOT) phenomenon was generally observed more in the bilinguals' data than monolinguals' in a task using picture stimuli - but not in the case of pictures of translatable cognate words. They suggest that the processing of the cognates may be facilitated by feedback activation via the lexical links of the translation-equivalents (*ibid.*, p.262).

As pointed out above, the discussion of crosslinguistic activation in terms of the phonological aspect is very relevant to the study of Konglish use. Costa *et al.* (2000) suggest that the activation of non-target phonology facilitates the activation of target phonology in the case of cognate words. The WEAVER++ model particularly explains language-nonspecific phonological activation in this regard. According to this model, since the phonological representations of bilingual speakers may be shared across

languages, the activation of phonological representations also applies to the non-target language (Roelofs & Verhoef 2006, pp.172-173). Regarding the role of the phonological system in the activation process, there have been suggestions that the non-target language may be activated via feedback from the phonological system (Costa, Navarrete & La Heij 2006) and that the feedback activation may proceed from the phonology to lemma representations (Kroll *et al.* 2006). This, in particular, poses a question in the present study as to whether L2 phonological segments can activate L1 phonological representations and further L1 semantic features.

2.4 Neural organization of bilinguals

2.4.1 Common vs. separate bilingual brain mechanism

Reaction time measurement has been used very widely in research to examine the bilingual mental lexicon. However there have also been approaches to investigating the organization of the bilingual lexicon using neuro-imaging techniques; positron emission tomography (PET); functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) - for assessing localized increases in blood flow; and event-related brain potential (ERPs) – for looking at on-going electrical brain activity. Although neuro-imaging techniques are not used in the present study, it may be helpful to refer to such research in order to arrive at a better understanding of the mental lexicon of Korean learners of English.

There is a view that a bilingual's two languages utilize a common neural system in the lexico-semantic domain. For example, Illes *et al.* (1999, p.356) observed, using fMRI, that certain parts of the frontal lobe system were activated for both English and Spanish semantic processing and concluded that bilinguals employ a common semantic system for both languages. Another view suggests that there is separation in the bilingual brain with respect to the processing of different languages. Activations for the processing of different languages have been observed in different areas of the brain. In Halsband *et al.*'s (2002) experiment focused on Finnish-English word-pair retrieval, both languages activated prefrontal and parietal areas but the cerebellum and the angular/supramarginal gyri in Broca's area were differentially activated depending on which language was being

used (being activated only for native words). This seems to indicate both a shared and a separate bilingual brain mechanism (*ibid.*, pp.53-55). Marian *et al.* (2003) examined late Russian-English bilinguals and found different patterns of activation depending on the level of lexical processing. At the sublexical level, such as phonological processing, overlapping activation was found in the Brodmann areas and the Superior Temporal Gyrus, while separate activation was observed at lexical level of processing (*ibid.*, pp.80-81).

2.4.2 Working memory

Given that a considerable number of studies have tried to investigate bilinguals' neural mechanisms in terms of working memory, it is necessary to discuss how working memory (henceforth WM) may be correlated with second/foreign language learning. The working memory system is a capability to temporally store a certain amount of linguistic information for complex cognitive functions (Baddeley 1992, p.559). It is therefore essential for language comprehension and production (Hitch 1980, p.187). It is envisaged as employing several systems: the "central executive" and its "two subsidiary slave systems", "the phonological loop" and "the visuospatial sketch pad" (Hitch 1980; Baddeley 1992; Gathercole & Baddeley 1993). First, the central executive controls and co-ordinates activity within working memory by assigning input to the slave systems (Gathercole & Baddeley 1993, p.5). Second, the articulatory phonological loop serves as a backup system for comprehension of speech by maintaining speech-based information, which clearly has important functions in foreign language vocabulary acquisition (Baddeley 1992, p.556, 558). Finally, the visuo-spatial sketch pad stores visual and spatial information as well as encoding verbal material as imagery forms (Gathercole & Baddeley 1993, p.17).

The relation between WM and long-term memory has been studied by many researchers. The central executive in WM, for example, has been identified as playing an important role in respect of long-term memory. According to Hitch (1980, p.186), it has an access to long-term memory, which enables a certain array of memorized information to be retrieved. Since phonological WM in particular is significant in relation to foreign

language learning as well as having a highly significant role in respect of the native language (Kim *et al.* 2002, p.889), the effects of the short-term phonological WM on long-term phonological learning have been extensively investigated (e.g. Papagno, Valentine & Baddeley 1991; Service 1992). Baddeley, Papagno and Vallar (1988, p.588) conducted an experiment concerning the learning capacity of a patient, "P.V.", who was a right-handed woman with a deficit in short-term memory due to a left-hemisphere stroke. The observation that her damaged phonological store did not cause any problem in semantic functioning but did cause problems in auditory performance, was taken to indicate that short-term phonological storage supports the auditory aspect of language learning (*ibid.*, p.593). According to Clark & Wagner (2003, p.315), the phonological system in WM gathers information about the new word and encodes this into long-term memory. In other words, when a new item is learned, its phonological information is embodied in the phonological loop and then transferred into long-term lexical-semantic memory (Gathercole & Baddeley 1993, p.70). Hence, a well developed phonological loop, on this view, guarantees successful encoding of the representation and eventually effective retrieval of the item from long-term memory (*ibid.*, p.71). Since foreign language items may sound like non-words to learners at the beginning of learning, the ability to represent the new phonological material in WM determines success in foreign language vocabulary learning (Service 1992, p.31, 37, 45). From the finding that Finnish-English bilinguals repeat Finnish-sounding pseudowords remarkably better than English-sounding ones, Service (1992, pp.44-45) presents the parallel interpretation that the familiar-sounding pseudoword leaves clearer traces for a longer period in phonological system in WM, which consequently facilitates its retrieval from long-term memory for later production.

In addition to the dimensions of the phonological WM discussed so far, it has been suggested that phonological and the semantic mechanisms in WM are separate (e.g. Rao *et al.* 1993, Martin, Shelton & Yaffee 1994). As for the relations between semantic processing and WM, on the other hand, Ardila (2003, p.237) suggests that a "semantic system" composed of a "semantic store" and a "semantic search" process should be included in the WM model. Niki & Luo (2000) discovered that the left inferior frontal

gyrus in verbal working memory also functions as a semantic processor, which seems to demonstrate the existence of a semantic role for WM. Akine *et al.* (2000) also observe in a fMRI study that the central executive in WM in the right prefrontal lobe retrieves appropriate information from semantic memory.

Overall, it is evident that an individual's ability to store information in the WM for later processing determines his success in both phonological and semantic language comprehension and production. As Daneman & Green (1986, p.2) suggest, the smaller the functional WM capacities individuals have, the less information from earlier reference becomes active in WM, which accordingly makes it more difficult to discover meaning from the contextual cues.

To return to the question about neural integration and dissociation of bilinguals' brain in terms of WM systems, Xue, Dong, Jin and Chen (2004, p.5, 8) observe a similar form of activation for both L1 and L2 in frontoparietal regions of the left hemisphere from non-fluent Chinese-English bilinguals' performance of WM tasks using fMRI, and this indicates a unitary neural system. Contrary to this, findings of domain-specific dissociations of working memory have also been reported. Kim *et al.* (2002, p.886) suggest dissociation of verbal working memory for L1 and L2 from the observation of separate activation according to the language in the right dorso-lateral prefrontal cortex. The discussion of neural integration and dissociation of bilinguals' brain seems fraught with controversy. In comparing Kim *et al.*'s study (2002) with their own, Xue *et al.* (2004) point out that the particular focus of a study may induce a certain aspect of WM processing. That is, semantic processing may provide satisfactory conditions for neural dissociation between L1 and L2 to occur, as found in Kim *et al.*'s experiment, but in other cases such as phonological processing, the same outcome may not occur (Xue *et al.* 2004, p.2).

2.4.3 Factors affecting the bilingual neural system

It may be sensible at this stage to turn the focus from whether the bilingual lexicon is completely language-specific or shared, to the degree of overlap and the factors

influencing it. Marian *et al.* (2003, pp.80-81) observe activation for two languages within the same area (inferior frontal gyrus) but with different amounts of activation for each language, greater activation being associated with the second language. Coupled with consideration of degrees of overlap, factors which may affect the bilingual neural system should also be taken into account, so as to provide a balanced discussion. First, the age of acquisition may be a source of different interpretations about cerebral organization of foreign language. Neville *et al.* (1997, p.305), from their finding about the significant influence of age on "the development of the early anterior responsiveness to closed class elements", suggest a distinctive L2 neural system varying according to the time of acquisition. Kotz & Elston-Güttler (2004, p.231) also suggest the influence of the age factor on developing semantic categories from their discovery that even fluent late learners failed to process L2 word-to-concept connections in a native-like manner in a categorical information processing task. In this context, however, it is also important to acknowledge not only the age of exposure to the second language but also the amount of exposure that needs to be taken into account. Weber-Fox & Neville (1996) found that by measuring years of language experience rather than age of exposure as a predictor of proficiency in WM task (p.249), the function of certain features of language can be determined by the duration of language exposure (p.232). That is, they suggest that it is not solely age factors that affect language development, since general memory-based types such as semantic or pragmatic processing are ongoing throughout life and are thus affected by length of exposure (*ibid.*, p.232, 247, 249). There is also a view that proficiency rather than age of acquisition is the more dominant factor in respect of distinctive neural organization. Illes *et al.* (1999, p.360) found that when highly proficient bilinguals process semantic aspects of language, the area of activation in their brains is constant regardless of their age of acquisition. In Perani *et al.*'s (1998) PET investigation, the difference was monitored in terms of the activated location for each language (the middle temporal gyrus for L1 and the hippocampal structures and superior parietal lobule for L2) as well as the pattern of activation for each proficiency level; no major difference was observed in terms of the age of L2 acquisition in the case of high-proficiency subjects. This supports proficiency rather than age of acquisition as the more dominant factor (*ibid.*, p.1845). It has been suggested that highly proficient bilinguals employ a

common network for both L1 and L2 as they get more proficient (Abutalebi, Cappa & Perani 2001, p.187). It is further suggested that less proficient L2 learners require the activation of more areas of the brain to gather information and thus to fill their knowledge gap, while highly proficient learners do not need to, and consequently their brain imaging for L2 looks more similar to that of L1 (Yetkin *et al.* 1996, p.476; Perani *et al.* 1998, p.1849). Xue *et al.* (2004, p.7) account for this in terms of "workload effect"; the workload is usually heavier in the L2 than in the L1 and thus different activation patterns are discernible in L1 and L2.

There are more concerns about interpretations of the experiment results. A doubt subsists in connection with whether the majority of neuro-imaging experiments based on single word processing are consistent with those based on sentence level processing, or above. Limited observation from phonological or morphosyntactic tasks in bilinguals may not be sufficient to understand bilinguals' lexicon in the light of the fact that the sentence level of processing requires complex and multiple cognitive processes (Abutalebi *et al.* 2001, p.184). It should also be considered whether findings only in the framework of WM can fully represent the overall L2 mental lexicon. As Kim *et al.* (2002, p.889) point out, "WM remains a prevailing component rather than the language itself".

To summarize, in order to complement the treatment of cognitive issues with respect to L1 and L2, neurolinguistic research addressing the question of whether two languages are processed by a common or distinct neural system was examined. It was noted that two languages appear to share common or largely overlapping neural networks in WM processing (e.g. Xue *et al.* 2004), and that WM seems to function more efficiently in L1 than L2 (e.g. Ardila 2003). With regard to the poorer performance in L2, the generally agreed interpretation which emerges is that L2 requires a higher level of activation in more areas of brain to compensate for limited L2 knowledge. Variables, such as language proficiency (e.g. Abutalebi *et al.* 2001), age of acquisition (Neville *et al.* 1997) and amount of exposure (Weber-Fox & Neville 1996) have been proposed as factors determining bilingual neurolinguistic organization. These variables will be further discussed in more general terms in the following section.

2.5 An investigation of the variables of the experiments

It is clear that not all of the studies reviewed take the same stance. Conflicting results have been obtained in seemingly similar experiments, and different interpretations have been proposed in relation to similar results. The question as to why seemingly similar experiments should yield inconsistent results needs to be raised at this stage. It has been suggested by many researchers (e.g. de Groot 1995; Kroll *et al.* 2006) that experimental variation may induce different paths of lexical access and thus may differently reflect bilingual memory organization, which may consequently lead to discrepancies in the results of the experiments. The variables affecting the inconsistent results will be discussed in detail, and this discussion will generate some conclusions regarding the conduct of the present study.

A. Subjects

It may be hard to obtain clearly interpretable results when the subjects employed in a study are not rigorously divided on the basis of their proficiency level, or when the methods used to measure their proficiency are not in tune with the research in question. Participants' language learning history and techniques have not been taken seriously into consideration in most studies. Where participants employed in one experiment may be different from participants in another experiment with regard to the above-mentioned factors, the results from the two experiments may not be interpreted in the same way.

Proficiency

Many studies have shown that bilinguals deploy different processes in accessing their second language according to their proficiency. Chen & Leung (1989) compared L2 beginners with proficient L2 speakers in picture naming in L2 and a L1-L2 translation task, and found concept-mediation for the proficient subjects and word association for adult beginners. They attribute this result, which is inconsistent with that of Potter *et al.* (1984), to the difference in their subjects' proficiency levels. They argue that the subjects defined as a non-fluent group in Potter *et al.*'s (1984) study were actually more fluent

than theirs (Chen & Leung 1989, p.319, 320) and that this inconsistency in relation to language proficiency level, as well as the different learning methods of the subjects in the two studies, may have caused the diverse results (*ibid.*, p.324). It may be speculated that the non-fluent group in Potter *et al.*'s study had developed their L2 proficiency sufficiently to have arrived at the concept-mediation stage. This possibility of subjects' different proficiency levels underlying inconsistent results has also been suggested in other studies. In a translation-based experiment, for instance, de Groot & Hoeks (1995) examined Dutch trilingual subjects whose stronger foreign language was English and whose weaker foreign language was French. A concreteness effect was observed only for Dutch-English conditions; in other words, no concreteness effect was obtained for the low-proficiency language. Since novice and fluent bilinguals have different routes of access to their L2, and lexical mediation evolves into conceptual mediation as their proficiency advances (Kroll & Curley 1988, p.394; Jiang 2000, p.59, 60), the proficiency of the subjects involved in a study should seriously be taken into consideration. De Groot (1995, p.159) also points out that the proficiency of the subjects should be carefully considered for a study, because the results from a study which fails clearly to differentiate between the subject groups' proficiency levels will not be amenable to interpretation. The division of subject groups according to their proficiency levels should thus be carefully managed.

The method used to assess subjects' proficiency may also be problematic. Either the self-evaluation type of assessment or a type of assessment of proficiency irrelevant to the aims of the study may not identify correctly the relevant extent of subjects' L2 development. For example, if tests prevalent in Korea, such as Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) or Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) are used to gauge the proficiency of Korean L2 learners, the results from the study may not be reliable for two reasons. First, the focus of the tests is not only limited to the academic (TOEFL) or business (TOEIC) aspects of L2 knowledge, and, second, it may also reflect Korean L2 learners' strategic knowledge only. Given that strategic training to select the answer in multiple choices in regard to these tests is widespread in Korea, the score obtained in this mechanical way will not necessarily represent the participants'

genuine proficiency. Length of residence in English-speaking countries has often been taken as reflecting participants' proficiency. Considering the quality of the language exposure in such circumstances, especially in the case of Korean learners of English, a lengthy residence in an English-speaking country may not be a guarantee of proficiency. It is not rare in such situations for Korean L2 learners to be involved in the Korean-speaking community rather than in the target culture community, owing to the collectivist nature of Korean culture, and this may result in sparse contact with native speakers of English. As Moyer (2006) found, length of residence is not a very satisfactory proxy for language contact in the target language community. The present study therefore divides participants into distinctive groups on the basis of a *relevant* assessment of their proficiency.

In addition to giving consideration to subjects' learning experience, the size of the sample used in an experiment is also important. Because of the difficulties associated with employing subjects in large numbers, many studies are conducted on a small scale. However from a small number of participants, it may not be possible to generalize to the relevant population of L2 users as a whole. This consideration is pertinent in the case of the present study.

B. Materials used in experiments: stimuli and target words

Word-type difference in stimuli

According to the distributed model of de Groot (1995), the conceptual representations of concrete words and cognate words are shared across languages more than those of abstract and non-cognate translation pairs, and this may lead to different processing of the words. This word-type effect, based on the extent of overlapping conceptual features between the translation-equivalents have been found in many studies (e.g. de Groot & Nas 1991; Sánchez-Casas, Davis and García-Albea 1992; Kroll & de Groot 1997; van Hell & de Groot 1998). De Groot & Nas (1991), working with Dutch-English bilinguals, found that a between-language repetition priming effect occurred for both cognate and

noncognates, but that in between-language associative priming the effect for noncognates disappeared. They suggest that because the representations of two noncognate translation-equivalents are connected only at the lexical level and not at the conceptual level, associative links for non-cognates do not exist between languages (*ibid.*, pp.117-118). In addition to the cognate effect, van Hell & de Groot (1998) found grammatical class also to be relevant to differences in processing; they found that noun translation pairs seemed to have more shared conceptual representations than verbs.

On the basis of the above, it appears that in any study of lexical processing across languages it needs to be taken into account that abstract and non-cognate words have more language/culture specific semantic features than concrete and cognate words, and that verbs entail more language specific syntactic information than nouns. The present study is not limited to any particular word-type but takes a variety of lexical types into its purview, in order to investigate lexical processing across the full range of circumstances.

Frequency of target words

Apart from the word-types used in research, there is also the issue of word frequency. In contrast to many studies, Kim & Davis (2003) found a strong priming effect from both cognate and noncognate translation primes in an experiment using masked cross-script translation and also found phonological priming in a lexical decision task. They compare their result to those of Gollan *et al.* (1997), which yielded stronger priming effects for cognates. They suggest that the inconsistency between the two sets of findings may be attributed to the factor of the frequency of the target words, which was higher in their experiment than in Gollan *et al.*'s study. They claim that the low-frequency words used by Gollan *et al.* (1997) might have caused the participants to rely more on phonological information, owing to the difficulty of accessing the semantic representations. The attention to such phonological information would presumably have facilitated cognate priming more than the priming of non-cognates, while the high-frequency target words used by Kim & Davis (2003) are would have been easy enough for participants to distinguish from non-words (*ibid.*, p.489). Their explanation is relevant to the present

study; it may be that Konglish users rely more on phonological information when access to semantic representations is not available owing to infrequency of encounter with the words in question.

In this regard, it is important to point out that the frequency should be considered not only in general terms but also on an individual basis. If a particular L2 learner has only rarely encountered a specific word, the frequency of that word for that specific learner must be considered low even if the frequency of the word in general terms is high. As de Groot (1995, p.164) notes, "bilingual lexicosemantic structure does not seem to evolve from *general* L2 experience, but from word-specific encounters".

C. Methodological differences

Task

Researchers have sought to investigate the bilingual' lexicon by using different tasks such as the Stroop task, the visual word-recognition task and the picture/word-naming task. Given that different tasks undoubtedly engage different processes of L2 access, task difference should be taken seriously in interpreting results. The experiment of Kim & Davis (2003) clearly shows this influence of task difference. They compared cross-language masked priming effects arising from different tasks employing Korean–English unbalanced bilinguals. In the lexical decision task (LDT) the participants were found to rely on an orthographic–semantic path rather than phonological activation, which indicates that LDT may be more responsive to semantic processing. In the semantic categorization task as well as the LDT, both cognate and non-cognate translation priming was found but no homophone priming was observed, which further suggests that semantic representations may be accessed regardless of phonological processing (*ibid.*, p.495). The result of the naming task, on the other hand, showed priming effects occurring in homophones and cognate primes but not in non-cognate primes. This suggests that the naming task may induce phonological processing more. This finding regarding the role of cross-language phonological overlap (*ibid.*, p.492) may be relevant

to the present study, in particular to Konglish users' perceptions of cross-language homophones.

Picture-naming tasks may require a different kind of lexical access from translation tasks. It is suggested that activation from pictures may be more semantically oriented, and that word-translation tasks may tend to activate words which are orthographically and phonologically related to the stimulus (Kroll *et al.* 2006, pp.129-130). It is also suggested that cognitively demanding tasks encourage more L1 transfer (Grainger & Beauvillain 1987, p.192). This is also implied by Poulisse's (1993) results within the context of the Nijmegen project, where transfer strategies were more frequently observed in the cognitively demanding tasks such as the story-retell task and the interview than in the picture-naming tasks (Poulisse 1993, p.165). Moreover, certain tasks such as the lexical decision task are essentially receptive in nature (Kroll & Tokowicz 2001, p.57). The present study deploys a variety of tasks, embracing both the receptive and the productive aspects of language processing.

The time factor

Many experiments focusing on the crosslinguistic priming effect have addressed the time factor. The possibility of the attentional priming from unmasked stimuli has been pointed out. De Groot & Nas (1991) obtained a maximized effect in both associative priming and the repetition priming experiments when clearly visible primes and enough intervals between the prime and the target were provided. They postulate that the subjects may be able to integrate the meanings of the semantically-related prime and target before their response, and their anticipation from the prime may signpost the memory area for the test word prior to its occurrence (*ibid.*, p.93, 115). Masking primes have been consequently recommended for refined results in order to effectively sift out any confounding priming effect from other extraneous factors such as post-lexical prime-target integration and the attentional priming process (*ibid.*, pp.93-94). In a similar experiment, Keatley & de Gelder (1992, pp.289-290) were also able to eliminate the meaning integration process by restricting subjects' response to a limited time-frame, observing cross-language priming

to fade under such conditions. Although the majority of researchers have thus employed the masking paradigm to minimize extraneous influence, it does not seem to be completely unproblematic. It is suggested by some researchers (e.g. Gollan *et al.* 1997) that masking does not ensure sufficient time to prime the target and that therefore the method is not sensitive enough to detect semantic access. Chen, Cheung and Lau (1997) observed that a result favouring the hypothesis of backward translation advantage was reversed after adjustments in the Latency data[1]. This suggests that technical manipulation may influence results of the experiment and may lead to inconsistent interpretations of results.

Context

In addition to the above-mentioned variables, a question may arise as to whether some of the decontextualized tasks deployed in an experiment are able to sufficiently reflect the language processing characteristic of normal language use. Many experiments with inconsistent results with respect to the RHM therefore may not be discussed according to the same criteria because of their different manipulation of context. While some experiments relating to the RHM were conducted without the presence of context, verbal or non-verbal context was provided in other experiments. For instance, La Heij *et al.* (1996) suggest the presence of Stroop-like non-verbal context used in their experiment as a possible reason for their finding of semantic context effects in both directions of translation, which is not consistent with RHM. Kroll & Tokowicz (2001, p.52) also suggest that the presence of context similar to the real-life language use may yield results inconsistent with the RHM owing to "the out-of-context nature of the single word translation task". There have been experiments providing context in this regard. For instance, Singleton & Little (1991) employ the C-test, containing a broader context,

[1] Backward translation was faster than forward translation in their experiment 2. Production of L2 items was slower than that of L1 items; the production difference between L1 and L2 was estimated at 181 ms in their word naming experiment. In experiment 3, retesting was conducted to eliminate the unnecessary factor affecting the result. After the translation latencies were recalculated on the basis of this adjustment constant of 181 ms, the result of experiment 2 was reversed; backward translation was slower than forward translation.

instead of being content with isolated word stimuli commonly used in the word association test.

In addition to the importance of the presence of context, the question of which language is provided in the test as the context also seems critical. E-S Choi (2005) using Korean L2 learners found a larger semantic context effect on forward translation than on backward translation for the more proficient group but a larger semantic context effect on backward translation for the less proficient group. The results from her lower proficiency group seem inconsistent with the RHM. The important factor seems to be that L1 words were presented as a context for backward translation and L2 words for forward translation in the tests. The result suggests that proficient bilinguals may be able to use L2 semantic information given as a semantic context for the forward translation while the less proficient bilinguals may not be able to use the L2 semantic representations effectively and thus rely more on L1 semantic representations in the backward translation. According to the author's interpretation, this seemingly contradictory result is actually consistent with the developmental hypothesis of the RHM.

It is suggested that stronger L2→L1 connections should be observed in episodic recognition tasks because the L2→L1 lexical associations are established on the basis of episodic memory, while stronger L1→L2 connections may appear in lexical decision tasks (Forster & Jiang 2001, pp.79-81). Herrmann & Harwood (1980) found distinctions between semantic and episodic memory in their experiment. They suggest that recognition of an item stored through an episodic association is not consistent with recognition based on semantic memory, because these two systems are posited as being different from each other (*ibid.*, p.474, 477). On this view, in the associative-priming effect, the activation of the lexical node travels from the prime to its conceptual node and to the corresponding target conceptual node and then to its lexical node, while the between-language repetition effect only requires activation of a single link, from the prime's lexical node to the target counterpart (de Groot & Nas 1991, p.118). If this account is accurate, it implies that the two systems should not be measured in a uniform way.

Repetition and translation effect

Kroll & de Groot (1997, p.185) propose another explanation for the inconsistent results between the La Heij *et al.* (1996) and Kroll & Stewart (1994) with regard to repetition effect: if the subjects experience the word more than once during the experiment, it may affect the outcome (Sholl *et al.* 1995; Kroll & de Groot 1997). Attention has also been drawn to the possibility that when a participant is provided with the L2 word in L2→L1 semantic priming experiments, he/she may retrieve the L1 semantic representations via the L1 translation-equivalent of the L2 word, which may be misinterpreted as a L2→L1 semantic priming effect (Keatley *et al.* 1994).

Language mode

Although it has been adverted to by some researchers (Costa *et al.* 2006, p.143; Jared & Kroll 2001, p.3), the participants' language mode, both in their ordinary lives and during the experiment, has not been seriously taken into consideration in many studies. The issue of language interdependence cannot be claimed on the basis of studies which do not involve subjects in monolingual mode (Grosjean 1997, pp.229-230; Grosjean 1998, p.139). It is argued that where tasks require the use of both languages bilingual mode is induced; such tasks include the bilingual Stroop test, bilingual word priming, bilingual association production, bilingual category matching and word translation (*ibid.* 2001, pp.15-16).

In the foregoing we have considered many inconsistent and even conflicting results in experiments among researchers. It has been suggested that the level of proficiency among subjects, the materials used in the experiment, the language learning context the subjects have had and the experimental techniques deployed may affect the results (e.g. de Groot 1995; Grosjean 1997; Costa *et al.* 2006; Kroll *et al.* 2006). Various determinants which may affect the pattern of lexical processing should be considered and conclusions should not thus be drawn on the basis of only one or two factors. Instead of dealing with RT or word level tasks, the present study focuses rather on the outcome of subjects' actual

language production as well as language reception. Not only is participants' proficiency further discussed, but so too is the question of learning strategy and learning context as determinants.

This chapter discussed how lexical representations are stored and accessed in the mental lexicon. It also covered controversial issues on language selective versus non-selective activation mechanism. As discussed, there have been conflicting results as well as different interpretations in seemingly similar experiments. It was found to be a possibility that experimental variation may induce different paths of lexical access and therefore may differently reflect bilingual memory organization, which may consequently lead to discrepancies in the results of the experiments. The variables affecting the inconsistent results were subjects, materials used in experiments (e.g., stimuli and target words) and methodological differences. These variables will be taken into consideration when designing the present study.

CHAPTER III: Second Language Acquisition

This chapter discusses various issues regarding second language acquisition. The discussion starts from second language competence and proceeds with first language influence on second language learning. For efficient second language acquisition, grammar versus lexical approaches are to be discussed.

3.1 L2 competence

In this section, second language competence will be discussed with reference to similarities to and differences from first language acquisition. Among the components of second language competence, linguistic competence will be initially presented as the basis of the grammatically accurate use of language. Pragmatic competence including communicative and sociocultural competence will then be discussed as the bases for the effective communication of intended messages in a socially and culturally appropriate way.

3.1.1 Linguistic competence

Linguistic competence refers to the "abstract mental representations of a whole set of linguistic principles", including both rules and constraints (Sharwood Smith 1986, p.14). The question of why adult second language learners typically fail to attain target language competence in the same way that children achieve their native language has been considered by many researchers (e.g. Felix 1987; Bley-Vroman 1989, Schachter 1996, 1998; Birdsong 2005; Han & Odlin 2005; Chondrogianni 2008). Universal Grammar is widely seen as underlying grammatical competence (e.g. Chomsky 1965; Schachter 1989; White 2003). There is much speculation as to whether second language grammars are constrained by the same UG principles as children's first language grammars and whether the L1 affects the process, especially where the L1 has parameter settings different from those required by the L2.

3.1.1.1 UG availability in L2 acquisition

There have been studies supporting the view that UG is available to later L2 acquisition. Hirakawa (1990), for instance, conducted a study regarding the effects of the Governing Category and the Proper Antecedent Parameter in L2 using English reflective pronouns. The findings that none of the subjects' responses was incompatible with UG and that 10 out of 65 subjects showed overall parameter resetting in L2 acquisition, are interpreted as evidence of UG availability in L2 acquisition (*ibid.*, pp.80-81). Cook (1996) used the MUG test (Multi-parameter Universal Grammar test) concerning structure-dependency violation and pro-drop effects to investigate the knowledge of subjects with different L1s (Finnish, Japanese, Chinese and English) relative to certain aspects of UG. All the L2 learners, who had never been taught the relevant grammar facts before, were found to produce similar data to those of native-speakers in the structure-dependency violations test (*ibid.*, p.60). Japanese and Chinese subjects, whose L1s are pro-drop languages, scored 73.3% and 64.2% respectively, while Finnish learners with a non-pro-drop L1 scored 92% in the pro-drop test (*ibid.*). In other words, despite evidence of a certain degree of L1 mediation in L2 knowledge, subjects in general showed an ability to reject null-subject sentences as ungrammatical in English in the test (*ibid.*, p.61). From this result, Cook infers that there is direct or at least indirect access to UG in the context of L2 acquisition (*ibid.*, p.63). In the same vein, Bley-Vroman, Felix and Loup (1988, p.5) examined Korean learners of English, whose L1 has *wh*-phrases in their original position without any movement in syntax, in order to determine whether they have access to constraints on *wh*-movement based on UG. On the basis of the patterns of their answers, which were not random but rather resembled those of native speakers, it appears that access to UG knowledge plays a role in the development of foreign language competence (*ibid.*, p.26). Regarding the learners' poor performance in terms of accuracy, the authors postulate two possibilities. According to Bley-Vroman *et al.* (1988, p.27), the first is that UG operates "in some attenuated form" in adult language acquisition, and the second is that L2 learners use a different cognitive system, such as general problem-solving mechanisms, as Felix's (1985) competition model suggests.

As suggested, the unresolved question of why adult L2 learners in general fail to attain to native-like levels in the target language may be explicable in terms of Felix's competition model. According to this model there are two cognitive systems in the human mind; a language-specific (henceforth LS) cognitive system which essentially coincides with the Chomskyan notion of UG, and a Piagetian-type general problem-solver (henceforth PS). The two systems are distinct in that the former is activated only for the purpose of language acquisition while the latter is applied to an extensive range of knowledge (Felix 1985, p.70; Felix 1987, p.158, 159). This model mainly attributes the adult learners' unsuccessful language acquisition to their reliance on PS-systems (*ibid.* 1987, p.171). When these two systems compete in the processing of language-related tasks, the child can activate LS-structures appropriately for language purposes while the adult foreign language learner cannot totally suppress the operation of the PS-system, which is inadequate for the linguistic process, and this results in adults' failure to acquire a native-like command of the L2 (*ibid.* 1985, p.58, 69). To explain why adult learners' UG access in regard to the L2 tends to be either limited or imperfect, Felix & Weigl (1991, p.177) suggest that adult L2 acquisition may be "(partially) controlled by UG"; however, "specific qualities and factors of the learning environment may lead to a total elimination of any kind of UG control". They claim that environmental factors, such as learning contexts and teaching techniques, induce learners to be more exposed to the PS-system and therefore block the access of the LS-system in UG (*ibid.*, p.164). Learners consequently experience the failure to obtain the desired L2 competence (*ibid.*, p.177). Provided that Korean L2 learners are exposed to the PS-system in their learning environment, how it affects their L2 processing is significant to the present study.

There is, on the other hand, disagreement as to the role of UG in L2 acquisition. It has been suggested that UG is partially or even totally blocked in post-pubertal L2 learning. Bley-Vroman (1989, pp.41-42), for example, postulates, in respect of the difference between child language development and adult foreign language learning, that the innate system in child acquisition no longer applies to adult foreign language learning or applies to a lesser extent, and that this results in the unsuccessful outcome associated with the latter. From this perspective, adult foreign language learners instead construct indirect

knowledge of UG via the L1, which is often ill-suited for the L2. Bley-Vroman (*ibid.*, pp.52-54) further claims that the ability to manipulate UG varies from individual to individual, which causes one learner's L2 achievement to be different from another's.

To explain adult L2 learners' problems in this regard, many researchers have scrutinized different aspects of UG parameters in their experiments. White (1985), for instance, examined Spanish learners of English whose L1 is a pro-drop language different from English, a non-pro-drop language. The study set out to investigate whether Spanish speakers' initial tacit assumption that English would be a pro-drop language, the same as their L1, can be considered to be a transfer error based on the L1 or a developmental factor irrespective of L1 influence (*ibid.*, p.48, 59). From the finding that French controls, whose L1 is non-pro-drop language like English, did not treat English as a pro-drop language, while Spanish subjects extended their L1 setting on the pro-drop parameter into English, White (1985) concluded that the Spanish learners' pro-drop behaviour in English derived not from the unmarked nature of pro-drop, but rather from transfer effects.

Another aspect of UG studied by researchers in this connection is Subjacency. This can be exemplified by reference to English, where, so it is claimed, the UG Subjacency constraint prevents English *wh*-movement from being applied across a relative clause boundary. Subjacency is claimed to be a principle which can be triggered only if the relevant properties had been previously present in input data and already incorporated into the language user's grammar (Schachter 1990, p.98). Schachter conducted an experiment to investigate Subjacency violation by Dutch, Chinese, Indonesian and Korean speakers of English, whose L1s respectively exhibit full (like English), partial, and no Subjacency constraints. It was observed that Dutch subjects performed like native speakers of English while Korean, Chinese and Indonesian subjects performed less well than the Dutch subjects (*ibid.*, p.118). Regarding Korean speakers' random behaviour in their judgment of Subjacency violation, Schachter suggests that they have no UG-based Subjacency knowledge coded into their L1 and that therefore they do not have access to UG in respect of their L2 (*ibid.*, p.79, 116, 117). On her view, because, in the case of L2 grammars acquired after puberty, the knowledge of UG is restricted to what is instantiated in the native language (*ibid.*, p.75), adult learners whose L1 is different from

L2 system, simply do not discern the existence of the principle in L2 and thus do not apply it in the L2 (*ibid.*, p.99). Schachter (1990, p.100) explains this as in the Incompleteness Hypothesis as follows:

> UG in its entirety will not be available as a knowledge source for the adult acquisition of a second language. Only a language-specific instantiation of it will be.

3.1.1.2 The consensus and controversy on the availability of UG in L2

So far the view in favour of the notion that UG continues to operate in adult L2 acquisition and the view that UG is no longer available to post-pubertal L2 learners has been discussed. To understand the inconsistent results from similar experiments conducted by the two different camps, the following aspects may be taken into consideration.

First, Sharwood Smith (1986) elucidates mother-tongue influence in terms of "competence" and "control". Control is defined as an access mechanism of knowledge which has been previously integrated from acts of language comprehension and production in long-term memory (*ibid.*, p.14). This established processing system, especially based on the well-automated L1 system, is seen as controlling the development of new linguistic systems during the reception or production of utterances (*ibid.*, pp.14-15). Competence orders are, on the other hand, viewed as different from control orders in that there may be a long delay between the moment when certain principles are acquired in the competence sense and the moment when full control is established (*ibid.*, p.12). In this context, therefore, it is important to acknowledge that there may possibly be some limitations, to a certain extent, in exclusively observing competence. Following Chomsky's (1965, p.4) definition of competence ("the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language") and performance ("the actual use of language in concrete situations"), competence refers to "unobserved, underlying knowledge, while performance reflects overt behaviours, dependent on tasks and rating scales" (Shohamy 1996, p.149). It is clear that overt behaviours may not reflect underlying competence, so defined, but may result in part from features of the environment of performance such as test conditions

(*ibid.*). Brown (1996) points out that grammaticality is not necessarily commensurate with linguistic competence, which relates to naturally produced utterances, and thus experiments involving grammatical judgment can hardly measure the learners' procedural knowledge in language (p.195). As Selinker (1996, p.110) suggests, decontextualised sentences cannot be generalised to overall linguistic competence, in that the overall competence has to constitute competence which is applicable to various contexts of use.

Whatever the different points of view within the UG school of thought, the consensus seems to be that the native language has a significant effect on L2 grammatical competence, especially when certain principles and parameter settings are not instantiated in the learner's native language and are thus not available to the adult L2 learner, as demonstrated in Schachter's (1989) Korean data. Moreover, it has been suggested that the learning context is also significantly causative with respect to the discrepancy between NL (native language) and IL (interlanguage) competence (e.g. Selinker 1996). Felix & Weigl (1991) suggest that learners' opportunity to internalize a highly structured system of knowledge to access UG is limited in the classroom, where the deep level of language properties is not focused on. This issue will be further discussed in terms of learning context later in the Chapter IV.

3.1.2 Pragmatic competence

The notion that linguistic competence might be the sole requirement of L2 competence has long been criticized by linguists and psychologists. Færch & Kasper (1986), for example, state:

> [I]t does not include systematic knowledge about which acts and functions can be performed under which contextual conditions by whom and to whom and what the most appropriate linguistic means are for implementing these acts and functions (p.179).

The cases of learners who have a good knowledge of the linguistic system but still cannot reach their intended communication goal within a specific socially determined situation (Liu 1995, p.256; Widdowson 1978, p.19) indicate the need to investigate L2 competence

also in terms of language use. Widdowson's (1978, p.3) distinction between "usage" for knowledge of linguistic rules and "use" for actual communication is beneficial in this regard.

To elucidate the role of dimensions of competence beyond the confines of language usage, it may be useful to include some neurolinguistic considerations at this point. Schnitzer (1989) conducted an experiment indicating dissociation between linguistic and pragmatic competence. In the study, the subjects who were given pragmatic-mode and syntactic-mode questions manifested a better performance in the pragmatic rather than the syntactic tasks. Given that aphasia is considered to result from deficits in "implicit linguistic competence" while dyshyponoia causes pragmatics-related problems (Paradis 1998, p.3), it is plausible to assume that aphasia patients' will systematically do better on pragmatics-related tasks. Separation of the two competences is also suggested by Hupet, Seron and Frederix's (1986) experiment concerning aphasic subjects' ability to manipulate pragmatic indicators for contextual appropriateness and also by Hough, Robert and Cannito's (1989) similar study about contextual influences in aphasia. The findings of the dissociation between linguistic and pragmatic competence, which many researchers have substantiated from the data of aphasic patients, may be helpful for understanding some of Konglish resulting from lack of pragmatic competence, insofar as such findings suggest that acquisition of linguistic competence does not necessarily guarantee the presence of pragmatic competence.

In addition to research probing the dissociation between context-independent sentence grammar and context-dependent discoursal inference, other studies have looked into the particular locations of the brain associated with these different phenomena. Many experiments have yielded the consistent result that left-hemisphere (LH) lesions are related to deficits in implicit linguistic competence, while right-hemisphere (RH) lesions disrupt pragmatic competence. Weylman, Brownell, Roman and Gardner (1989), for example, tested unilaterally right- (RHD) and left- (LHD) hemisphere-damaged patients for their ability to detect the acceptable nonliteral interpretation of indirect requests. Their results indicate that it is the right hemisphere that exploits information from contextual

clues in utterances (*ibid.*, pp.589-590). Foldi (1987, p.102) consistently found that right brain-damaged patients showed a preference for literal interpretations over pragmatic interpretations of indirect commands while the reverse tendency was observed from normal and aphasic subjects' performance. Brownell, Carroll, Rehak and Wingfield (1992, p.138) report a parallel result, where the guidance of linguistic clues enhanced RHD patients' performance, while a task involving inferencing from discourse contexts yielded a rather poor outcome.

Before going any further, it may be necessary to define some other terms referring to competence beyond linguistic competence. For example, the term "conversational competence" is used with reference to utterance level beyond the sentence and is defined as "the speaker's knowledge of how speech acts are used in social situations" (Richards & Sukwiwat 1983, p.113). "Communicative competence" is defined as "when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner" (Hymes 1972, p.277). Communicative competence is broadly used with respect to the ability to produce and understand utterances in ways which take account of social and cultural context (Stern 1983, p.229). Both of the above may be discussed along similar lines in the present study insofar as both deal with the utterance beyond a sentence level.

There are some concepts that are needed to be taken into consideration when looking into communicative competence. Widdowson (1978, p.11) suggests that beyond the ordinary meaning called "signification", where certain entities, processes, etc. are referred to and where the relevant identifications emerge from grammatical usage in the sentence, there is a deeper sense that meaning has, which he calls "value". The latter represents the potential the meaning can have when used particularly for communicative purposes (*ibid.*). Harder (1980, p.266) suggests that decoding the value from a given context on the basis of the relevant social conventions is critical in the interpretation process. "Situational context, in particular, such as physical environment, sociolinguistic considerations and paralinguistic phenomena", as stressed by Paradis (1998, p.4), is thus an important determiner of meaning in real life communication. In other words, "contextualization cues" (Gumperz 1976) embedded in the conversation importantly

function as pointers for the listener to the speaker's intention (Gumperz & Tannen 1979, p.308). Social context, in particular, determined by social conventions, provides standards for certain forms to be matched with certain functions (Dijk 1981, pp.225-226). From the importance of the social appropriateness in context settings (Fillmore 1979, p.92; Lyons 1996, p.24), an evaluation of nativelikeness/ non-nativelikeness in L2 production needs to go beyond the criterion of grammatical correctness (Tarone, Cohen & Dumas 1983, p.12) and extend to a consideration of naturalness (Widdowson 1978, p.53). All of these concepts are closely interrelated and simultaneously affect the judgment of the intended meaning in the conversation.

In recent decades many researchers have turned their attention to this aspect of competence, which was previously overlooked (e.g. Richards & Sukwiwat 1983; House 1993; Liu 1995). J. Thomas (1983, pp.96-97), in particular, points out that the risk from the pragmatic failure may be more fatal than from more easily noticeable linguistic deficiencies, in the sense that its sometimes rather subtle characteristics may generate deeply undesirable impressions, such as that the speaker/writer is being rude or unsociable.

The importance of pragmatic competence in its sociolinguistic dimension relates to the ways in which speech acts interact with social norms (Richards & Sukwiwat 1983, p.113; Edmondson 1981, p.82; Bialystok 1993, p.51). Færch, Haastrup and Phillipson (1984, p.171) stress that "communicative competence never exists independently of social competence". In communication both linguistic messages and social meanings are exchanged (Stern 1983, p.220) and thus social competence involves the ability to attain the socially acceptable communication goal in terms of "face" (Goffman 1967, p.41; Edmondson 1981, p.7). The significance of ensuring a sociolinguistically appropriate interpretation is particularly evident in the case of ambiguity between literal and intended meaning in the utterance (Canale & Swain 1980, p.30). Learning new social appropriateness embedded in L2 linguistic forms may be challenging especially for adult learners whose social norms are already fixed and associated with their L1 (Bialystok 1993, p.53).

In addition to the holistic relation between languages and cultures where inseparable features of languages and cultures are explained within the frame of universality as in "alphabet of human thought" in all the languages of the world (Wierzbicka 1992, p.10), the cross-cultural aspect has been especially recognized as an important basis of pragmatic failure (Widdowson 1978; J. Thomas 1983; House 1993). Since a certain culture forms the particular setting for the speech act in its own way and has a diverse degree of "non-transferability" to other cultures (Richards & Sukwiwat 1983, p.117), pragmatic failure arises when culture-specific competence is absent or neglected (House 1993, p.175). There are some features of cross-cultural competence that should be taken into consideration in this regard. Since each culture has its own unique system for marking particular social phenomena, even common and therefore seemingly similar social activities such as "apologies" and "thanks" may exhibit cross-cultural variation (Coulmas 1981, p.89). Every culture has its own value-system, in relation to such notions as "power" which generates different levels and arrays of honorific terms and devices (Richards & Sukwiwat 1983, p.119), or "politeness" which connects with the different conceptions of ranking and hierarchy in different cultures (J. Thomas 1983, p.106).

It is widely agreed that communicative competence has a more extensive domain of application than linguistic competence (Munby 1978; Harder 1980; Byram 1997). Canale & Swain (1980), in particular, include linguistic competence as one component of communicative competence. Widdowson (1978) further asserts that "communicative abilities embrace linguistic skills but not the reverse" (p.67), presenting evidence of students who have a considerable amount of proficiency in terms of "usage" but lack knowledge in "use" (pp.18-19). However, it should be noted that linguistic competence cannot be disregarded. Bialystok (1983, p.117) suggests that even informal communicative use is secured by a formal system of language. Even Canale & Swain (1980, p.24), who explicitly propose a broader definition of communicative competence embracing linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence and strategic competence, warn of the possibly problematic overemphasis on communicative functions and suggest that a certain level of linguistic competence needs to be achieved as a basis for the exploration of pragmatic use, especially for learners in their initial stage.

To summarize this section, the difference between linguistic competence and pragmatic competence was initially presented in neurolinguistic terms by reference to evidence of selective impairment of linguistic versus pragmatic competence in brain-damaged patients. It has also been noted that communicative competence is not necessarily achieved as an automatic consequence of the complete attainment of linguistic competence. It has, however, been stressed that both linguistic competence (as the basis of communicative competence) and communicative competence (as a vital necessity for socioculturally appropriate communication) need to be seen as prerequisite for complete L2 competence. It is worth re-emphasizing that learners' native language knowledge is inevitably involved in their development of L2 pragmatic and sociocultural competence. This will be further discussed with reference to communication strategies in the following section.

3.1.3 Strategic Competence

In practice, it is rarely the case that a foreign language learner attains the same communicative competence as a native speaker's. In order to maximize successful communication with limited competence, "strategic competence" (Canale & Swain 1980) besides grammatical and pragmatic competences, has been suggested for effective L2 learning (Stern 1983; Færch & Kasper 1986).

Communication strategy (hereafter CS) is defined as a methodical "attempt to bridge the gap" between the incomplete linguistic resources of the second language learner and the required communicative convention of target language (Tarone 1983; Tarone *et al.* 1983). It is also referred to as problem-solving tactics that learners can rely on to circumvent the troublesome situation caused by their linguistic deficiency (Faerch and Kasper 1984, pp. 60-61, see also Harder 1980; Canale 1983; Rubin 1987; Rost & Ross 1991). Other terms often used in a similar sense include production strategies (hereafter PS) and learning strategies. The different focus between PS and CS is that CS mainly stresses the negotiation of meaning in the interactive communication while PS is restricted to language production (Tarone 1983). The term *learning strategy* focuses more on the learner's competence development process into which he/she integrates his/her target

language lexicon, while CS connects with the notion of successful communication (Tarone 1983; Corder 1983). The first is therefore "revealed by the learner" while the latter is observed from "linguistic analyses of the learner's Interlanguage" (Bialystok 1983, p.101). In spite of this discrepancy regarding which process is respectively in focus, the eventual goal of second language learning is to successfully communicate in the target language (Widdowson 1978; Tarone 1983) and it is evident that CSs and learning strategies both play a role in this process (Bialystok 1983). In this sense, it is plausible to consider that the terms are to a certain extent parallel.

Allowing for the minor divergence of opinions among scholars regarding the subtypes of strategies, the main distinction is between achievement strategy and reduction strategy. Achievement strategies refer to reaching the communicative goal by expanding the communicative resources at one's disposal in order to compensate for their linguistic insufficiency, as in the following examples: (over)-generalization, paraphrase, interlingual transfer, and code switching (Færch & Kasper 1983, pp.52-53). The reduction strategy, on the other hand, is aimed at avoiding problems by reducing one's communicative goal (*ibid.*). Reduction strategies consist of three main types. First, there is topic avoidance, which occurs as a form of refusal of certain topics requiring specific language features beyond the learner's linguistic ability (Tarone *et al.* 1983). Second, semantic avoidance (meaning replacement) involves uttering in a somewhat different way from the speaker's original intention in order to avoid certain linguistic elements without shunning the topic itself (Corder 1983; Færch & Kasper 1983; Willems 1987). Finally, message abandonment involves not avoiding conversing about a topic from the initial planning phase as in the case of topic avoidance but discontinuing an utterance which is already underway (Corder 1983). As Harder (1980) points out, reduction strategies do not necessarily always cause quantitative diminution of speech. It should be further noted that there is room to observe the CS in a flexible way. For example, if the learner uses a second best item with the confidence to convey his/her intended message without reducing his/her communication goal, this meaning replacement can also be considered in a general way as an achievement strategy from the learner's point of view (Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal 1997, p.308).

Another distinction that will be important as a foundation for the exploration of Konglish in the following chapter is that between L1-based and IL-based strategies. Among IL-based strategies are paraphrase, generalisation, word coinage, and restructuring (following Færch & Kasper's (1983) categories). Paraphrase refers to the provision of a description or definition of the target word from the resources of one's IL system as a form of "circumlocution" (Tarone *et al.* 1983) or to replace the target item with a hyponymic item by way of "exemplification" (Færch & Kasper 1983). Conversely, a superordinate term may be chosen to represent its hyponym by way of "generalisation" and this can be further differentiated from "approximation", in which some part of the semantic composition of the target item is deployed (Váradi 1983). In terms of the end product, both "lexical substitution", arising from lexical deficits, and "overgeneralization", arising from unawareness of appropriate constraints, cause a common effect, namely, use of a given word in an inappropriate context (Færch & Kasper 1983). Furthermore, in the absence of the required lexical item in the learner's mind, a non-existent lexical item may be created within the linguistic frame deriving from the target language, a strategy that is called "word coinage" (Bialystok 1983; Tarone *et al.* 1983). Finally, "restructuring" occurs when the learner faces difficulty in proceeding with his/her ongoing speech, and instead of terminating his speech in the middle (as in one of the reduction strategies, "message abandonment"), he/she initiates an alternative, differently structured performance in order to complete the delivery of his/her intended meaning (Færch & Kasper 1983).

L1-based strategies, in particular, have close relevance to the study of Konglish. Code-switching and transfer have something in common in terms of the use of one's native language as a resource. The two, however, have distinct differences in terms of their adaptation to the target language; that is; adjustment to target language norms such as morphological or phonological norms is inherent in interlingual transfer but disregarded in code switching (Blum-Kulka & Levenston 1983; Færch & Kasper 1983). A specific case of adjustment in transfer is "foreignizing" (Bialystok 1983) ("anglicizing" where the L2 is English – Færch *et al.* 1984). In addition, "transliteration" (literal translation) refers to the production of an L2 construction tightly based on an L1 construction (Bialystok

1983). In spite of the fact that the linguistic form in both "foreignizing" and "literal translation" is based on an attempt to conform to L2 norms, they are classified as L1-based because their origination is in the L1 (Bialystok 1983; Willems 1987). Meanwhile, interlingual transfer may also occur on the pragmatic and discourse level. Yoshimi (1999) found that a learner's L1 socialization influences the structure of social action in L2. Takahashi & Beebe (1993) also observed the transfer of sociolinguistic style-shifting from Japanese to English.

Comparing IL-based and L1-based strategies in terms of effectiveness — even if the disadvantages of IL-based strategies such as "demands on the addressee's patience" and "impression of vagueness" (Færch *et al.* 1984, pp.157-158) and the advantages of L1-based strategies such as aid to "outperform his competence" and to obtain "more comprehensible input" through more involvement in conversation (Krashen 1987, pp.27-28) are all taken into consideration — L1-based strategies are still problematic because of the following reasons. First, taking a long-term view, the genuine advancement of second language learning is hardly expected on the basis of L1-based strategies (*ibid.*). Second, due to the difference of linguistic and pragmatic properties in two languages, L1 transfer frequently results in lexical and pragmatic failure (J. Thomas 1983; Jiang 2000).

There has been some positive evaluation of the contribution of the use of communication strategies to the learning of second languages (Færch & Kasper 1983; Tarone & Yule 1989; Dörnyei & Thurrell 1991, 1994; Rost & Ross 1991; Dörnyei 1995), although there have also been arguments against the need for teaching CSs (Bialystok 1990; Kellerman 1991). If Konglish is based on an L1-based strategy, one can plausibly argue that instruction may usefully be employed to help Korean learners of English to become aware that the L1-based strategies may frequently not be successful in the L2 context. Færch *et al.* (1984, pp.190-192) state that "the learner forms his own hypothesis based on either the learner's L1 or IL-based knowledge and adjusts it based on the feedback in the process of testing it". Blum-Kulka & Levenston (1983, p.132) also state that "[t]hrough this internalization process, ineffective hypotheses such as word-for-word translation, which is prevalent in the initial stage of learning, are gradually discarded and correct L2 features are substituted". Oprandy (1994) emphasizes the importance of strategic

competence over grammatical competence and the need for opportunities for learners to develop it in interaction with other interlocutors. For Korean L2 learners who do not benefit from sufficient opportunities to develop strategic competence in interactions with English speakers, the strategy of instruction, promoting awareness of possible failure of using L1-based strategies, may be useful as an alternative.

When the second language learner employs these strategies, there is a tendency to prefer one over the other. Among the factors affecting strategy selection, proficiency level of the speaker has the most relevance to this study of Konglish. In recognizing that experimental results are often to a certain extent vague and therefore should be taken as indicating "an intervening variable rather than a determining variable" (Bialystok 1983 p.115), there does seem to be a certain relation between L1-based strategy use and the proficiency level of users (*ibid.*, 1990). L1-based achievement strategies are proven to be more prevalent at the lower proficiency levels, while L2-based strategies are more observed in advanced speakers' production (Ting & Phan 2008, pp.32-33). Færch *et al.* (1984, p.164) explain why a learner's reliance on L1 decreases and their reference to L2 increases, commensurate with his/her advancement in the target language: "a prerequisite for using the more efficient IL-based achievement strategies is the presence of IL knowledge". This can be clarified in a connectionist point of view, in terms of spreading activation as discussed in the previous chapters. In cases where the target word is not available, all the semantically related items in the network become activated and employed to compensate for the unavailability of the target word, which requires a minimum of L2 knowledge. As Duff (1997, p.200, pp.213-214) suggests, the associated items within the same network are automatically produced as an alternative for the best candidate, i.e., become available for use in paraphrase and circumlocution.

In an analysis of the use of Konglish, it is challenging to try to determine whether it comes under the heading of a communication strategy of transfer (L1-based) or of overgeneralization (L2-based). As Færch & Kasper's (1983) example of the use of /d/ for /ð/ shows, coming to a conclusion about whether this is a case of overgeneralizing the L2 item /d/ or of borrowing an L1 phone /d/ seems complex. Since both transfer and

overgeneralization involve adapting previous knowledge to new circumstances (Taylor 1975), and since both can be interpreted as "forms of simplification" in the psychological process (Littlewood 1984), opting for the viewpoint of diversified causation rather than a single cause seems sensible. Another important issue to consider is whether "problematicity" is criterial in the definition of CSs. Bialystok (1990, p.4) suggests that "communication strategies can occur in the absence of problematicity". This matter will be raised again in the discussion of whether Konglish is to be defined as a problem-solving phenomenon (see Chapter 4.4).

The other controversial issue concerns competing views of CS. One view, which has been well-aired in this section, accepts the validity of taxonomising strategies as well as the division between achievement and reduction strategies. The detail of CS categories is based on the external observation of L2 output as a means of penetrating the mysteries of internal L2 competence (Yule & Tarone 1997). The other view starts from a consideration of underlying competence as an explanatory window on CS performance. Instead of an extensive taxonomy of categories, the CS is also viewed as a cognitive psychological process and just two distinctive strategies are proposed: "conceptual strategies" based on meaning (e.g. paraphrase, circumlocution) and "code strategies" including non-verbal strategies (Kellerman & Bialystok 1997).

From a simple comparison of experiment results from both sides, coming to an absolute verdict seems problematic. Yule and Tarone's (1990) experiment using subjects with four different L1 backgrounds — Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Spanish (South American) — seems instructive. Their result provides evidence that such L2 learners use different CSs as compared with L1 speakers in terms of CS classification. The study, however, is small-scale, with 27 subjects, and accordingly does not support its position strongly enough to refute its counterpart apparently supporting the opposing viewpoint (e.g. Bialystok 1990, p.52). With regard to the opposing point of view that the CS is seen as an underlying conceptual process rather than in terms of the proposed taxonomies, Russell's (1997) experiment using Japanese subjects (a replicate of Kellerman *et al.*'s 1990 with Dutch subjects), reveals the relationship between strategy use in L1 and L2. The result

shows that the CSs used in the subjects' L2 are no more sophisticated than those deployed in their L1 in terms of Kellerman *et al.*'s (1990) hierarchy. However, it is questionable whether the result from a conceptual task using abstract pictures can also be applied to all actual cases of strategy use in L2, such as in conversation.

Arguments advocating the usefulness of CS taxonomies and arguments favouring the cognitive psychological process view of CSs invite another debate over the need for strategy teaching. While the former focus on the differences between CSs used by L1 speakers and those used by L2 learners and suggest the need to improve the efficacy of L2 learners' CSs, the latter focus on L1/L2 connections and on the transferability of strategies from L1 to L2. One standpoint argues for teaching CSs, suggesting that performance of CSs in classroom activities fosters the development of communicative competence (e.g. Yule & Tarone 1997). From the opposing point of view, it is maintained that second language learners should automatically be able to use the appropriate strategy with the aid of the cognitively identical L1 strategy without any help of instruction (e.g. Kellerman 1991; Bialystok 1990). Bialystok (1990, p.141) supports her argument with three points: first, the classified strategies themselves do not represent the "learners' solutions"; second, the contextual dependence of strategy use makes teaching it impractical; and finally, the categories may often be determined in a somewhat arbitrary manner with no clear-cut boundaries between the categories. If learners are taught the strategies explicitly as metalinguistic knowledge without incorporating such knowledge into implicit competence through their own observations in classroom activities, positive effects cannot be expected. Bialystok's (1990) suggestion that learners need "language" as "the means" to solve their communication problem, rather than explicitly taught knowledge of strategies is persuasive (*ibid.*, p.143, 144, 147). However, if CS teaching makes learners at least realize that their strategies, such as L1-based strategies, may cause undesired outcomes (e.g. Konglish) and thus helps them to find more successful strategies for themselves, the learners will be guarded from the risk of misunderstanding, especially in regard to social and cultural aspects. Yule & Tarone (1997) stress this in their statement:

> If that goal is conceived in more socio-cultural and interactional terms, with the nature of L2 referential communication treated as a function of addressee, communicative task and developing oral skills in the L2, then teaching communication strategies may be considered to have beneficial effects (p.30).

Færch & Kasper (1986, p.187) also suggest that CS teaching helps to raise "student's metacommunicative awareness about the factors that determine appropriate strategy selection". It also provides learners with the chance to consciously observe the surface features reflecting their deep-seated knowledge, which will eventually narrow the disparity between formal and informal learning situations (*ibid.* 1983). As Haastrup & Phillipson (1983) point out, this should not however be interpreted as a replacement for other parts of learning but should rather be considered as complementary.

It has been noted that holistic differences between communication strategies lie mainly in the different characteristics of behaviour, either avoidance or achievement, and also in one's desire either to reduce or to retain and attain the communication goal. In spite of the diversity of outlooks on CSs, it is significantly claimed that effective CSs, in particular, achievement strategies as opposed to reduction strategies, enable learners to solve problems caused by their insufficient linguistic competence (Corder 1983; Færch & Kasper 1983). L2-based versus L1-based strategies have been further discussed in terms of their degree of effectiveness in respect of second language learning (e.g. Haastrup & Phillipson 1983; Bialystok 1983). L1 versus L2-based strategy use seen in relation to the learner's proficiency level, in particular, raises the fundamental question of the role of Konglish as a compensatory strategy activated in the absence of sufficient L2 competence.

3.2 First language influence

Mother-tongue influence may be both positive and negative (Swan 1997, p.179). Some researchers (Kellerman 1977; Færch & Kasper 1983; Tarone 1980; Olshtain & Cohen 1989) view L1 transfer as a beneficial resource for communication strategies. Positive cross-linguistic influence maximizes when the L2 is close to L1 (Færch & Kasper 1989, p.174). However, when L2 learners perceive the L1 system to be very similar to the L2 system, their attempts to develop short-cut connections between L1 and L2 may lead to

negative effects (Ringbom 1985, p.11, 56) and this may be more problematic for Korean learners in that their L1 and L2 are in fact unrelated.

3.2.1 Overt cross-linguistic influence

When cross-linguistic similarity is perceived by L2 learners, overt cross-linguistic influence may occur, as in Transfer and Borrowing. According to Ringbom (1985, p.9), transfer is defined as "a particular kind of reliance on prior linguistic knowledge which originates in the learner's L1". Corder (1993, p.25) explains that the implicit knowledge developed through autonomous processes in one's first language can be transferred to an imperfect second language system, where the internalization and integration of knowledge is fragmentary. Patterns or subsystems are also transferred in the absence of L2 knowledge, as, for example, in the case of loan translations or semantic extensions bridging knowledge gaps with semantic properties based on the L1 (Ringbom 1987, pp.51-52). Konglish *old miss* (Korean: 노 "old" 처녀 "miss") for *old maid/spinster* is a good example of loan translation, in that the L1 semantic properties of an item are transferred in a combination of L2 lexical items. An example of semantic extension in Konglish is *promise* in place of *appointment,* as in the sentence *I have a promise with my friends for a drink tonight*. Based on meanings of the Korean word 약속 *yaksok* ("appointment", "plan" or "promise"), the Korean sense can be seen to be extended to an L2 context. Owing to the phonological similarity between Konglish words and Korean words (loan words used by monolinguals), Konglish *booking* may be used in the context, *I met my girlfriend through booking at the night club*, which is based on the meaning of Korean 부킹 *buking* ("a kind of instant blind date arranged by a waiter at a night club"). There are also Hybrids, Blends and Relexifications - cases where the items are activated from the L1 and modified by L2 procedures, as well as cases where an L1 word, formally similar to an L2 word, is wrongly assigned (Ringbom 1987, p.52). Detailed examples will be presented in the following chapter.

3.2.2 Covert cross-linguistic influence

When cross-linguistic similarity is not perceived by learners, and where the learner's knowledge about the relation between L1 and L2 is unanalysed, covert cross-linguistic influence such as Avoidance may occur to compensate for the gap (Ringbom 1987, p.51). The avoidance of the use of certain L2 features is prone to be overlooked within the scope of transfer (Corder 1993, p.20); however, it may be a highly prevalent manifestation of cross-linguistic influence (Singleton 1987, p.46).

Swan (1997, p.171) notes that items which are less congruent with their L1 equivalents are likely to be avoided. Thus, the item *take* - as in the sentence *Take a pencil to the exam* – may be often avoided in Konglish users' utterance. Rather, the item *bring* which is more congruent with the Korean equivalent 가져가다 *kajŏkada* may be often selected by most Konglish users. As Seliger (1989, p.32) further explains, the restricted meaning attached to the L1 item causes it to be avoided in L2 contexts which are different from L1 contexts. Even when "learners could form the target structure in isolation ... they still avoid its use in discourse/context where native speakers are expected to use it" (*ibid.*, pp.21-22). This is relevant particularly to Konglish users in that their learning is often limited to the lexical level rather than drawing on various contexts, and thus the mapping between lexical form and function is underdeveloped. An example can be found in the case of the word *available*, which is often avoided in the context, *Do you have any rooms available?* Because the L1 translation equivalent of the word does not fit this context, the word *empty*, more suitable for this context in L1, is often used here.

3.3 Learning environment

3.3.1 Grammar vs. lexical approaches

Previously it was suggested that pragmatic competence should neither be neglected in favour of linguistic competence nor left aside as something to be coped with in the learner's own learning outside the classroom (see Chapter 3.1.2). The ultimate goal of teaching for second language learners should, according to a wide consensus, be directed to communicative competence beyond linguistic knowledge, so that the outcome of

instruction can be employed in actual language use (Eckman *et al.* 1995, p.257; Wills 2003, p.184, 185, 215).

In the context of a discussion of ensuring the effective teaching of communicative competence by means of interactive communication in the classroom, it may be useful to compare two different teaching approaches: grammar-based teaching and the lexical approach. Grammar-based teaching is aimed mainly at the accuracy of linguistic form rather than content (Hill 2000, p.54). Its holistic success in actual communication has been questioned, insofar as it seems to neglect the practical potential of the lexicon for effective communication (Wills 2003, p.224). This is evident in Selinker's findings (1972, p.230), where cases of native-like L2 performance on the part of adult learners, were not attributable to experiencing methods of "explanation and instruction". Certain weaknesses of this approach can be related to the earlier treatment of taxonomies of strategies. Its focus on errors in production may tempt learners to prefer reduction strategies when they are not confident (Margolis 2001, p.172). Furthermore, certain grammar features or elements are often overly emphasized compared to other features in teaching material, and this may induce the learner to overuse them even in inappropriate contexts (Nation 2001, p.57). Finally, explicative teaching of grammar as explicit knowledge is not necessarily the right kind of support, especially perhaps in relation to beginning adult L2 learners (Hoey 2005, pp.184-187), because it encourages reference to the L1 in learners' hypothesis formation and testing processes and in problem-solving processes (Horst 1986).

A shortcoming of grammar-based teaching in a communicative perspective is that it does not fully provide the interactive environment essential for L2 acquisition. As suggested earlier, since fostering communicative competence aims at enabling appropriate use in real world contexts, where online communicative negotiation takes place (Widdowson 1978; House 1986), input which is heavily focused on grammar may hamper effective input and delay the progress of communicative abilities (Widdowson 1978; Krashen 1987). Since commonly used pattern drills, in particular, are not designed as message-oriented verbal activities but as a didactic plan made by the teacher or textbook,

predetermined answers are generally expected in learners' responses. This deprives them of opportunities to confirm their learning hypotheses via meaning negotiation (Bolte & Herrlitz 1986). Edmondson's (1986) drill example shows that the learner's successful errorless output can be problematic in terms of pragmatic appropriateness:

A: Shall I close the window?
B: Yes you shall (p.114)

This does not mean that structured instruction should be totally disregarded, but suggests that an approach beyond the border between grammar and vocabulary should be considered in order to embrace pragmatic aspects in language instruction.

In contradistinction to the traditional view of grammar as the centre of language teaching and acquisition, the lexical perspective on language and the associated teaching approach have increasingly achieved recognition (Sinclair 1991; Nattinger & DeCarrico 1992; Singleton 1999; Lewis 1993, 2000). Lewis (1993, p.89), for example, places a high value on lexis as the heart of language, stating that "language consists of grammaticalised lexis, not lexicalised grammar". Knowledge of lexical chunks has been particularly recognized as a necessary for effective L2 learning, since they are perquisite to very large areas of encoding and decoding (Nattinger & DeCarrico 1992; R. Ellis 1994; N. Ellis 1997; Carter 1998). The potential of this approach for second language learning is promising in that it provides a basis for communicative teaching, which is missing in traditional grammar-centred instruction. Certain features of language such as "communicative intention" are incorporated into the IL lexicon usually through learning "ritualized patterns of communication" (Harder 1980, p.265) as well as the connection between functions and certain contextual situations (Widdowson 1989, p.135; N. Ellis 2001, p.64). Learning relevant lexical items and patterns can provide learners with the chance to pay attention to the expounding of language functions in certain contexts and to their appropriate expression (Widdowson 1989, p.135; Miller 1999, p.2). Pragmatic and communicative aspects of language use have been described as the most prominent dimension of serious communicative failures (Thomas 1983, pp.96-97; Gass & Selinker 1994). Their further significance in culture and social competence has also been stressed. For example, idiom

is viewed as having positive potential for the cultural aspect of language learning (Liontas 2002), and "conversational routines" (Coulmas 1981) are considered to reflect and revealingly represent culturally specific social events (Richards & Sukwiwat 1983).

Learning lexical chunks fosters effective language reception and production (N. Ellis 2001). A lexical chunk - from a two-word construction to a whole sentence of prefabricated patterns - is learned as a lexical item at the initial stage; then it is broken up into separate parts through internal analysis, and the parts are later used in a flexible and creative way (Sinclair 1991, p.110). From this gradual analysis, learners may also possibly become aware of the grammatical features of linguistic elements (R. Ellis 1994). In language production, learning formulaic chunks is advantageous as psychological backing to ease the learner's communicative stress (Lewis 2000) and as an aid to reducing the learning burden and to maximizing communicative capacity by providing "islands of reliability" (R. Ellis 1994, pp.86-87). The case for the need for teaching the forms and functions of lexical items to second language learners is thus convincingly made (Richards & Sukwiwat 1983). Wildner-Bassett's (1986) study shows that learners' interlanguage performance is enhanced both in quality and quantity after being taught gambits, which further demonstrates the importance of the lexical approach in teaching.

There are some points to be made with respect to teaching methods. As discussed, since every word has its own collocational range, and in lexical processing semantically related words are retrieved from the target word's network (Levelt 1989, pp.184-185; Miller 1999, pp.8-10), the introduction of a novel word to learners can be more effective in the presence of its most common collocations (Nattinger 1980, p.341). Such reflectively planned presentation of lexical items is particularly critical for effective learning, as simply listing lexical items out of context without any semantic organization cannot be considered to be in conformity with what we know about the lexicon and is certainly out of tune with the lexical approach. Since mastery of idiomatic use is routinely achieved by continually taking note (consciously and unconsciously) of utterances in context (Richards & Sukwiwat 1983), exposure to SBUs (situation-bound utterances) merely at the sentence level may not be effective and may possibly hamper a learner's full

attainment of socio-cultural competence (Nattinger 1980; Kecskés 2000). Suggestions for effective teaching will be expanded in the following section.

3.3.2 Language learning environment in a classroom

As Krashen (1987) suggests, the promotion of conversational competence should be a goal for language teachers because conversational competence provides a basis for language learners' continuous language acquisition by themselves after the completion of formal instruction. Not a few experiments prove the positive effect of instruction for learners' development of pragmatic aspects of their target language (e.g. Wildner-Bassett 1986). It should, however, be noted that instruction does not always guarantee success, since there are some limitations in classroom-based conversations (Lörscher 1986; Hammerly 1991).

Firstly, it has been pointed out that interaction in the classroom is artificial and fictitious (McCarthy 1991, pp.18-19). The role relationships determined in the classroom are often unlike real life, and thus speech acts often reflect a certain level of formality and a range of referential functions limited to the classroom (DuFon 2008, p.39). Consequently the learners whose experiences are limited to teacher-to-student or student-to-student relationships, face tremendous difficulties in performing real life communication that they have never experienced in classroom interaction (McCarthy 1991, p.18).

Secondly, there is a difference between classroom and real conversations in terms of communication goals. Regarding the distorted communicative purposes presented in teaching and materials, Widdowson (1978, p.53) states rather dismissively: "it is not discourse: it is language put on display". Instead of exchanging information and expressing ideas in various acts as in real communication, classroom interaction is often designed to reinforce what has been learned in class (Færch & Kasper 1983, 1986), and the questions and answers are likely to be predictable and fore-ordained (Lynch 1988, pp. 114-115). In these ready-made classroom activities, learners can hardly encounter any problematic situations, thus making it impossible for them to develop their strategic competence through genuine problem-solving processes (Bolte & Herrlitz 1986).

Thirdly, classroom interaction is typically under the teacher's direction and tightly controlled (McCarthy 1991, p.19; Andersen, Nussbaum & Grant 1999, p.372). Owing to the teacher's domination of turn-taking, initiating and terminating in classroom conversations, relatively less opportunity may be allotted to the learners, which results in their insufficient practice of these important speech acts to prepare for conversations outside the classroom (Hüllen 1981; Færch & Kasper 1986; Lörscher 1986; Ohta 1999). The fundamental problem of this type of conversation is the absence of negotiation between the teacher and the students. Færch *et al.* (1984, p.26) state that the "asymmetric communication" results from "unequal distribution of power". The other problem regarding the teacher's role in class is that the teacher's usage is often taken as the absolute standard by learners, who are not yet ready to make truly informed judgments with regard to the target language (Blum-Kulka & Levenston 1983). These problems frequently occur in English classrooms in Korea where society traditionally gives the teacher the privilege of power and a higher status, and where students are not encouraged to ask teachers questions in class.

Whilst classroom instruction has shortcomings, there are various suggestions for rectification of these problems. Even in the grammar-centred teaching method, explicit teaching may be effective when there is a generous learning atmosphere, and where learners are free to make errors (Færch 1986). If translation activity is conducted at the level of use, beyond the word or sentence level, it can be beneficial in that it enables learners to experience communicative acts in the target language, and to recognize differences from their native language in respect of the nature and forms of such acts (Widdowson 1978). With regard to communication approaches, these will be effective if the communicative activities include certain problematic situations that encourage learners to develop problem-solving strategies in preparation for real world situations (Gass & Selinker 1994, p.220). Moreover, instead of a teacher-centered discourse, learners' participation can be increased by providing them with the opportunity to choose their speaking role and topic in the negotiation (Anton 1999, p.314). Student-to-student interaction in pairs or small groups instead of teacher-to-student interaction can also encourage learners to freely use discourse functions such as turn-taking (Doms 2003,

p.175). The status of teachers can be adjusted to encourage learners' participation especially by lowering the teachers' status; for example, in a smaller group a teacher's informal approach may be more possible and thus the learners can experience different levels of formality of language.

As mentioned in earlier discussion, in terms of the learning environment in a classroom, it is questionable whether these suggestions for a prospective language classroom can work equally well in ESL and in EFL situations. As Canale & Swain (1980, p.27) suggest, the opportunity to have "meaningful communicative interaction with highly competent speakers of the language" should certainly be provided for the second language learner to achieve genuine communicative goals. This, however, may be less possible in EFL situations where there is "no internal function in the learner's country" (Færch *et al.* 1984, p.221), such as in the case of Korean students who are restricted from authentic input once out of the classroom. This limited exposure to the target language community hinders the learners from obtaining socio-cultural competence (Bardovi-Harlig & Dornyei, 1998; Kecskés 2000; Niezgoda & Rover, 2001), since culturally formulated lexical items, in particular, are most successfully learned by means of constant participation with various interlocutors in authentic contexts (Ohta 1999). In a foreign language environment, syntactic development usually precedes pragmatic development (Kasper 1984, p.5; Kecskés 2000). This may be because an EFL setting full of grammatical input induces the privileged development of grammatical competence (Niezgoda & Röver 2001). Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei's (1998) finding, that ESL learners focus more on pragmatic error while grammatical errors predominantly preoccupy their EFL counterparts well reflects the fundamentally different characteristics of the two different environments.

The fundamental limitation of a traditional EFL classroom (at least in Korea) is that its main way of promoting language learning is via the promotion of metalinguistic knowledge through the medium of the L1. The above discussion makes the claim that rules learned via explicit explanations are not necessarily – on the basis of that experience alone - incorporated into target language lexicon (Felix 1987; Paradis 1994). Such

metalinguistic knowledge, also called "propositional" knowledge as opposed to "procedural" knowledge (G. Brown 1996, p.200), or called "skill learning" as opposed to "conceptual learning" (Stern 1983, p.310), is typically preferred by adult language learners (Lyons 1996). According to the competition model (cf. Felix 1987), adult L2 learners rely on a higher-level of general problem-solving systems than children in L2 learning. In addition to their inclination towards explicit explanations of linguistic principles and the typical limitation of the input they receive to learning materials, such as textbooks (Rivers 1980, p.56), their previous knowledge, including L1 knowledge, is very much involved in L2 learning (Sharwood Smith 1986, p.15; Felix 1987, p.161). In the foreign language classroom where the L1 is common to all students, the L1 may serve as the typical used cue, which would be the target language in an immersion setting (Kroll & Tokowicz 2001, p.66). In addition, the "paired-associate paradigm", commonly used in traditional teaching, induces L2 nodes to be connected with L1 translation-equivalents in the lexical network (de Groot & Nas 1991). The further risk from L1-based knowledge may be found in foreign language learners' manipulation of pre-patterned phrases based on their L1 (Coulmas 1981; Kecskés 2000).

To summarize this chapter, it has been suggested that the ultimate goal of learning, as well as teaching, a language should be the development of communicative competence, subsuming linguistic competence, at discourse level. It has been claimed that in order for the promotion of strategic competence to be able to narrow the gap between formal classroom interaction and informal learning, various interactive situations should ideally be provided to learners to represent the real world. It has been noted that EFL environments such as those found in Korea, however, have substantial limitations in terms of not supplying learners with opportunities to internalize the necessary components of communicative competence through repeated observation of and participation in authentic or authentic-like communication.

CHAPTER IV: A Study of Konglish

This chapter investigates the Konglish phenomenon. Konglish is to be analyzed in various perspectives as well as factors affecting the production of Konglish. Learning context in Korea, in particular, will be introduced for better understanding Korean L2 learners.

4.1 Approaches to Konglish

The present study will focus on Korean L2 learners' unique interlanguage arising from an impoverished knowledge of English, widely known as Konglish. Considering that language is not merely an instrument to fulfill basic linguistic needs but also a medium to convey culturally determined connotation and metaphor, Konglish at a linguistic level is not the only concern; sociolinguistic and pragmatic functional deficits of Konglish will be considered in this study as well. In accordance with this approach, the expression *Konglish words* will be reserved for lexical entities at the linguistic level, while the term *Konglish* will be applied to the whole range of Konglish phenomena, including socio-pragmatic aspects of language use. In addition, Korean L2 learners' lexicon will be discussed both in L2 production and reception.

Not all of the Korean L2 learner's productions jeopardize comprehensibility. For example, linguistic and non-linguistic context may aid the comprehension of Konglish, and the interlocutor may have some awareness of Konglish - in cases where he/she has frequent contact with Korean speakers of English. Therefore it is the extent of the impediment to comprehensibility rather than the issue of "right" and "wrong" that the present study will consider significantly. The view taken here is that the approach to the study of Konglish should be geared to exploring what may induce the use of Konglish and how the use of Konglish may reflect the organization of the Korean L2 learners' lexicon. Among the possible factors affecting the construction of Konglish users' unique lexicon, particular attention will be paid to their learning strategies and learning context, with a view to investigating how they store new lexical information and how they form the network in the mental lexicon.

4.1.1 False Cognates

In some traditional linguistic approaches, cognate-pairs are considered only in cases of etymologically related languages; however, many studies have focused on formal cross-language resemblances between word pairs in the absence of any genetic relationship between the languages in question (S. Carroll 1992, p.100). If such formal resemblances are accepted as falling within a broader definition of cognate, one might consider Konglish words to be cognates. Before defining what we mean by Konglish words, however, it should be noted that the term *cognate* has not been used consistently among researchers. Moreover, it should be noted that, as Grosjean (1997) points out, the overlap between cognate pairs in two languages is not always apparent in orthography, even though meaning and phonology may be shared between the cognates. Grosjean also notes that "an additional problem is that researchers do not seem to agree on what they mean by similar"(*ibid.*, p.230).

A further point is that not all loanwords from English in Korean are Konglish words in our understanding of the term, insofar as not a few of such loanwords retain the semantic values of English. There are two factors to be considered: the semantic factor and the phonological factor. There are loanwords from English which have lost their English phonological features and have been fully integrated into the Korean phonological system - such as 테마 *tema* /tema/ ("theme") - and loanwords which retain more phonological features of L2 such as 싸인 *ssain* /s'ain/ ("sign"). Although the latter type, which has undergone only modest modification in the process of their integration into Korean, may be easily understood by Anglophones, the first type of cognates may not be so readily comprehended. As for semantic features, there is a wide range of degree of English-Korean semantic overlap - from semantically identical cognates such as 커피 *kŏpi* ("coffee") and *coffee* to the semantically dissimilar cognates such as 샤프 *syapŭ* ("mechanical pencil") and *sharp*. For present purposes we shall call those items *Konglish words* which come into the category of false cognates, that is, items used in Korean which have some kind of formal resemblance to non-Korean source words (perceived as English-derived), but whose semantic representations differ markedly from those of their non-Korean source words. We shall also restrict our attention to items whose

phonological resemblance to their non-Korean source-words is partial (sometimes to the point of being very difficult to recognize). As implied in the foregoing, the origin of Konglish words is not strictly English in all cases, although Korean language users may perceive otherwise. Thus 장르 *jangrŭ* ("genre") originated from French, although the item was also, of course, borrowed by English. More problematic for English speakers are Konglish words such as 기브스 *gibŭsŭ* / 깁스 *gipsŭ,* which, though widely thought of in Korea, as English-derived, actually comes from German *Gips* ("[plaster-] cast").

4.1.2 Code switching vs. Borrowing

There have been discussions of code switching from many perspectives. One approach to distinguishing code-switching and borrowing is to refer to the size of the unit of embedded language. Thus, borrowing is said to occur at word level while the notion code-switching is applied to larger stretches of speech (Færch & Kasper 1983; Grosjean 1982), which does not seem to provide a genuinely principled distinction between intrasentential code-switching and borrowing. Code switching has also been discussed in relation to typological differences, such as those between Japanese and English. It has been suggested that borrowing is associated with the presence of a clear base language while code-switching is associated with the presence of two languages interacting in discourse (e.g. Nishimura 1995). With reference to the availability of L2 knowledge, on the other hand, code-switching is considered by some to symptomize "the most available word phenomenon" (Grosjean 1982, p.151) and not necessarily to result from "dysfluency" (Green 1986, p.215). If this last account is accepted, Konglish words are not examples of code-switching if it is case, as generally accepted, that the use of Konglish words presupposes lack of L2 knowledge.

Konglish words have a different status when they are used in Korean and English. In Korean, the words are used by Korean monolinguals as "loanshifts" with extended or created meanings (Grosjean 1997, p.229) or "cultural loans" introduced to apply new concepts to the L1 culture (Myers-Scotton 1992, p.28). Borrowed lexical items become part of the matrix language mental lexicon and have their own matrix language lemmas in the matrix language mental lexicon, whereas code-switched forms remain clearly part of

the embedded language and do not become part of the matrix language mental lexicon (*ibid.*, p.21). On the basis of this distinction, it will be hypothesized that Konglish words are introduced as loanwords in the form of "borrowing" and then integrated into the Korean lexicon. Through frequent use by Korean monolinguals, the words obtain their own entries in Korean and are activated through their own Korean lemmas. We suggest that when Konglish users deploy the words in question in English, on the other hand, Konglish words are embedded as code-switched forms in the matrix language, English, having been activated via the relevant embedded language (Korean) entries. It can be assumed that, with frequency of use, these words get borrowed from Korean into the L2 learners' English interlanguage.

4.2. Categories of Konglish phenomena

Konglish is a complex phenomenon and has a number of different dimensions. The following is an outline of some of the dimensions in question. It should be noted that these partly overlap, so that the identified categories are not to be considered as divided necessarily by clear-cut boundaries.

4.2.1 The phonological dimension

Odlin (1989, p.116) states that "[p]honemic errors can arise when the phonemic inventories of two languages differ". Learners whose first language has a different type of phonology – in this case Korean-speaking learners - may find it difficult to handle the L2 phonemic features which are absent from their native langue (Swan 1997, p.164). Examples of Konglish items arising from this cause include /kɔ̂pi/ (*coffee*), /bodi̯ka/, (*vodka)*, /lais/ (*rice),* and /tema/ *(theme)* showing the phonemes /f/,/v/,/r/,/θ/ and /w/ respectively being replaced by /p/,/b/,/l/,/t/ and /u/, which are closer to Korean phonemes.

Other problems may be the stress pattern which is crucial both in speech production and in comprehension. Because of its effect on syllables and the segments, the stress pattern based on Korean may result in incomprehensibility. In the Korean phonological system, almost all vowels are stressed and receive their full value, whereas in English many vowels may be unstressed and reduced (cf. Sohn 1999). Examples of Konglish in this

category are derived from English *inFORmative* - pronounced INFORMATIVE in Konglish - and MOdel - stressed as in MODEL in Konglish. In addition, L2 syllable structure may often be modified to fit Korean patterns - such as 트/t ɻ/ 리/*ri*/ 트 /t ɻ/ 먼/mən/ 트/tɻ / for *treatment.* Konglish users tend to extend final consonant clusters of syllables by inserting the neutral Korean vowel /ɻ/ between individual consonants since this vocalic epenthesis enables the words in question to follow Korean syllable structure CGVC (C: consonant, G: glide, V: vowel). Similar cases of conforming to English structure can be found in the speech of Spanish speakers – e.g. *esnob* for *snob* (Broselow 1984, p.262) - and in Egyptian speakers' /filoor/ for *floor,* (*ibid.* 1993, p.75).

Korean is a syllable-timed language, where each syllable has identical length, whereas Japanese is "mora-timed language", where the length of the syllable is determined by the number of the mora (Major 2001, p.18). For example, a sentence such as *This is McDonald* will be pronounced *Dis-iz-mæk-do-nal-dɻ* by Korean speakers but *Dis-izu-ma-ku-do-na-ru-do* by Japanese speakers. Since the former sounds shorter than the latter, the Korean speakers' pronunciation may sound closer to the native-speaker version than the Japanese pronunciation. However, the duration of Korean learners' English syllables still remains problematic insofar as English, a stress-timed language, has vowel reduction patterns in unstressed syllables. In other cases, loan words from English have been assimilated into Korean phonology for a long time – often with idiosyncratic conversion of pronunciation. When these words are deployed in Konglish retaining Korean phonemic features, they may cause misunderstandings. Examples are /golden/ (*corduroy*), / *jangrŭ* / (*genre*), /kloba/ (*club*) and /manekiŋ/ (*mannequin*).

4.2.2 The intercultural dimension

As Salzmann (1993, p.156) states, "[l]anguage is a part of the culture and the cultural aspects are highlighted in the lexicon of the language". The relationship between language and culture is also emphasized by Jandt (2001, p.145). Since the ways in which we articulate the world are culturally specific (Hatch & Brown 1995, p.116), cultural distance between Korean learners' L1 and the L2 has a dramatic impact in the area of

cultural expectancy. A difficulty due to widely divergent experience may be so marked in the case of learners of English as a foreign language that they may find an object or phenomenon not existing in or not recognized by their native culture almost untranslatable in terms of their own conception of the world (Jandt 2001, p.150). This is especially the case for adult L2 classroom beginning learners studying in their own country of origin with only minimal opportunities to observe interaction between native speakers, as they tend to rely on the socio-cultural rules associated with their L1 (Koike 1989, p.282).

A lack of cross-cultural awareness may cause Korean learners to rely on Konglish rooted in Korean culture. The Korean culture reflected in Konglish includes intimacy and hierarchy within the social network, based on a collectivistic perspective, especially Confucianism (Hofstede 1991, p.67, 165). The intimacy between society members originates from Confucian philosophy, which views relationships as complementary and obligatorily reciprocal. Within this culture, being benevolent and supportive to each other secures long-term relationships, and thus communication is seen as an important means of maintaining interdependent social relationships (Yum 2000, pp.66-68). Konglish expressions such as the greeting, *Did you have meal?*, may be understood in this context as equivalents of their Korean translations - that is, as expressions of phatic communion commonly used by Koreans to show care for others. Another example based on L1 cultural appropriateness is Konglish users' overuse of *grandmother* for *old lady* regardless of their relationship to the old lady in question, on the basis that the Korean equivalent *할머니 halmŏni* is used for any old lady as a way of expressing appropriate intimacy. Since Koreans tend to incorporate all members of the community into a range of familial categories, intimacy may affect politeness. Omitting *please* or *thanks* in the "Yes/No" response to trivial offers (e.g. *Would you like some tea?*) from a person with an intimate social relationship such as a friend does not violate L1 communication rules, since this context is not considered to require a higher degree of politeness. However, it may be interpreted as rudeness by English-speaking interlocutors where Korean learners of English employ their L1 standards of politeness in the L2.

Hierarchy in Korean culture generates honorific language. Particularly rich vocabulary for a phenomenon or activity in a language results from the importance ascribed to it by the associated culture (Jandt 2001, p.137). In Korea, as a Confucian society, highly valued hierarchical relationships have promoted the differentiation of linguistic codes (Yum 2000, p.68). For instance, Koreans call their friends *senior/junior* according to whether the friends in question occupy a higher or lower social position in the Korean hierarchy, which is mainly based on age or year in school, at work and in the army. This may be problematic when it is used by Konglish users in L2 production.

Nunch'i is a great source of ambiguity in the L2 context. In Korea, *nunch'i* means "eye measured" and it underlies the Korean concern about what others think about them and their resultant self-control and the hiding and masking of emotions (Robinson 2000, p.74). In the process of conflict resolution, English speakers tend to settle arguments by saying something like *I accept your apology*, thus providing explicit closure. Korean learners, on the other hand, tend to gloss over disputes with formulas such as *It's ok*, and/or preferring not to mention the matter again. Whether they accept an apology or not, they tend to say, *It's ok*, leaving their real meaning to be inferred from more subtle paralinguistic cues (*Nunch'i)* in the context. *Nunch'i* circumvents the necessity of the speaker giving a "yes" or "no" answer to a request (*ibid.*, p.75) insofar as Koreans tend to make the relevant offer before the request needs to be made.

Culture also determines the meanings perceived by those belonging to the culture (Jandt 2001, p.187). As a response to bad news the expression *I'm sorry* may often be interpreted only as an apology by Korean L2 learners. When the word *sorry* is activated in their lexicon, *fault* or *guilty* are the connected words that seem to be triggered on the basis of their L1 cultural values. This may result in communication failure, as in the following example:

> Konglish speaker: My grandma passed away yesterday.
> English speaker: I'm sorry.
> Konglish speaker: Why? It's not your fault.

4.2.3 The conceptual dimension

Conceptual dissimilarity comes from differences between cultures. Even though the ways in which people perceive the world may be essentially similar, the process of understanding the information received through our senses is not identical between two cultures (Jandt 2001, p.195). The configuration of concepts differs from culture to culture, and this complicates the mapping of cross-cultural equivalences (Swan 1997, p.159).

Since a culture is reflected in its language, concepts and language are correlated (see Chapter 1.1). Language shapes the conceptual categories that influence how its speakers' perceptions are encoded and stored (Jandt 2001, p.179), although, Swan (1997, p.157) states that "[c]onceptual organization and its component concepts are not the same as the meanings for the lexical items of a language". Different perceptions of the world lead to the absence of equivalent terms between different vocabularies; in other words, language differences in terms of lexical gaps and mismatches have their origins in different categorizations of environment (Salzmann 1993, p.157).

Inevitably, such conceptual differences affect L2 learning. In the process of L2 acquisition, a mapping of new word forms on to pre-existing conceptual meanings may often be troublesome (N. Ellis 1997, pp.133-134). Most Konglish users are adult learners who have already developed concepts in their L1, and their attempts to access L2 meanings through the intermediary of L1 concepts are apt to be less than successful.

While there are differences of detail between the cultures of various Asian countries, it is evident that Asian concepts in general have features which are distinct from their western counterparts. According to Nisbett (2003, p.88), English-speakers narrate an event from their point of view, looking outwards while Asians describe it from a third-person perspective as an observer. The Konglish example *Where is here?* in the third-person perspective may be understood in this regard, compared with English *Where am I ?* in the speaker's perspective. Similarly, Korean learners of English tend to use *Your dress is beautiful*, which puts the speaker in the role of observer; Konglish users might assume that *I like your dress* would imply the speaker's desire to possess the dress in question. In

Korean communication, receiver-centered utterances are more prevalent - under the influence of Confucian principles (Yum 2000 pp.70-71). This orientation to the interlocutor is also incorporated into Konglish - as in *You first*, as compared with the speaker-oriented English expression *After you.* Nisbett (2003, p.88) suggests that Asians have a more holistic view of events, with regard to taking into account the orientation of others. Such differences in hearer/speaker-oriented perspectives are linked to processes of lexical and pronominal choice (Koike 1989, p.281). For example, speaker-orientation is manifest in expressions such as *Can I....?* in English forms of request, while the hearer-oriented perspective reveals itself in expressions such as *Could you...?* or imperatives, which are preferred by Korean learners. It should be noted that imperatives such as *Bring me some water, please?* reflect hearer-orientation insofar as they contain the (understood) subject *you.*

Underlying concepts profoundly affect the meanings attached to linguistic labels. Even in domains where two languages seem to divide the world up conceptually in broadly the same way, linguistic labels are often applied in different places (Swan 1997, p.157). For example, Konglish *half-boiled egg* (*반 ban* "half", *숙 suk* "ripe/cooked" in Korean) for *soft-boiled egg* can be interpreted in terms of Korean learners' different approach to the same concept based on the degree of being boiled. The range of meaning of each term may cover the concept in different ways (Hatch & Brown 1995, p.119). For example, the Korean verb *마시다 masida* has a broader range of meanings than English *drink*, being extended to the consumption of soup, liquid medicine and even air. Konglish users tend to assume that the range of the L1 concept can be carried over to the L2 as far as what they consider the core meanings are concerned; on the other hand, peripheral meanings such as the intake of air tend not to be carried over into Konglish presumably because air is not liquid like soup. A further example of different lexical encoding of a similar concept can be found in the use of the expressions *go* and *come.* The Korean verb *가다 gada* ("go") means "depart from the original location" while the Korean verb *오다 oda* ("come") means "return to the original starting point". Konglish users tend to transfer this concept in L2 production, as in *I'm going* instead of *I'm coming* in response to *Come over here*, while the speaker is walking towards the person who has called him/her.

Conceptual differences also play an important role in grammar. In Konglish, "Yes/No" responses to negative questions are interpreted in a contrary manner to their counterparts in English. As mentioned, Asians perceive relationships between events in holistic terms, while Westerners separate objects from their environments in analytic, atomistic terms (Nisbett 2003, p.109). With this philosophical view, Konglish users often respond to negative questions based on their Korean conceptual configuration. For instance, a negative response *No* to a negative question *Aren't you hungry?* means that the relationship of the question and the response is negative in terms of congruity. In other words, to respond to the negative question *Aren't you hungry?*, a premise is made in the way that the content of the question has a true value ("You are not hungry"), and if the respondent's intention is in accordance with the true value ("I am not hungry") the answer *Yes, I am not hungry* can be used. Consequently the respondent is required to consider the congruity of the relationship between the question and the answer. In contrast, English does not require the hearer to think whether the relationship between the question and the answer has positive congruity or not, since the response is a discrete and separate event from the question. Another example can be found in the passive form. Korean, influenced by Confucianism, emphasizes social relationships and the general environment (Yum 2000, p.68); therefore, the passive form is used when entities are seen as affected by the environment around them, rather than by their own actions. In a case where a person accidentally broke his leg, the passive form is used in Korean as in *My leg is broken* because the English expression *I broke my leg* in this context may indicate the deliberate action of breaking his leg. In short, for Westerners, it is the self who does the acting while for Easterners, action is something that is undertaken in concert with others in a field of forces (Nisbett 2003, p.158). It should, however, be noted that the difference between Westerners and Easterners needs to be taken as a tendency rather than an absolute fact.

4.2.4 The metaphorical dimension

When metaphorical extension is activated, a particular aspect of a concept is highlighted in this process, obscuring other aspects of the concept in question (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, p.10). For example, someone who moves or drives very slowly is referred to be a

turtle in Korean, an expression which highlights slow movement. If this metaphorical expression, based on Korean, is used as Konglish in L2, it may not be fully understood by English speakers, whose metaphors for slowness refer rather to the *snail*.

Metaphorical concepts and features are culture-specific (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, p.22). Most Koreans perceive the brain as a fluid organ, which is not supposed to be hard as a stone if it is to function properly. It may be offensive for some adults that their heads are touched, especially by young people, except for the case of stroking a baby's hair as an expression of intimacy. On this basis, Konglish expressions such as *stone head* in place of *air head* follow L1 metaphorical concepts. Moreover, similes, such as *as white as a sheet*, are occasionally meditated through the learner's L1 metaphorical extension and produced *as white as a white paper* in Konglish.

4.2.5 The collocational dimension

The importance of the appropriate use of frequent and familiar collocations beyond the syntactic level has been emphasized by researchers (e.g. Pawley & Syder 1983; Lewis 1993, 2000; N. Ellis 1997, 2001; Nation 2001). For language learners to achieve full control of collocations and prefabricated items, the associative networks need to be sufficiently developed in their second language lexicon. In the case of Konglish users, their L2 lexical entries do not have well-developed appropriate associative links and thus suitable collocates often fail to be triggered. Their lack of L2 collocational stock often induces their L1 to function as a resource in such circumstances. For example, in Konglish *drink* is often collocated with *soup* on the basis of L1 collocational patterns.

국물　　좀　　마셔

Soup　a little bit　drink

"Please have some soup"

Although the verbs *eat* and *drink* have translation-equivalents in Korean, different categorization of the same concept results in dissimilarly tagged lexical items. A similar example is also discussed by Nation (2001, p.328); "*Take medicine* is not predictable from some learners' first language (they eat or drink medicine)". Swan (1997, p.158), for

his part, comments: "Languages may not have exact translation equivalents for words used in more marginal or metaphorical ways". In this connection, Konglish users may collocate *answer* with *question* but may have difficulty with more marginal use of *answer*, as in *answer the phone* or *answer the door*. Further Konglish examples of collocational transfer follow:

white hair	("grey hair")
strong drinker	("heavy drinker")
eye shopping	("window shopping")

Meara (1984, p.228) suggests that "[w]ords for which no direct translation in the L2 exists tend to be avoided". Likewise, Odlin (1989, p.37) also claims that particular structures in the target language which are very different from their counterparts in the native language may be avoided. These insights provide a plausible explanation for the avoidance of certain collocations in Konglish where the equivalents of the collocated words do not have a collocational relationship in Korean; a case in point is the collocation *successful candidate*. Learning selectional restrictions in the target language is important for L2 learners. For example, the Korean equivalent of the adjective *available* is used only with inanimate nouns. This leads to a reluctant use of the word in conjunction with animate nouns/pronouns in L2 insofar as Konglish users may prefer *He is busy now* to *He is not available at the moment*. Korean learners also tend to be reluctant to use the word *love* in connection with inanimate objects or events, since the Korean equivalent of *love* is restricted in its collocational range to expressions denoting human beings, especially lovers.

Extending the discussion further, it is evident that owing to the lack of prefabricated L2 lexical items in the lexicon, Konglish remains at the level of meaning constructions based on L1. Konglish expressions such as *Please close your eyes one time* ("Please give me a chance"), *Be careful under your foot!* ("watch your step!") and *Be careful of your heath* ("take care of yourself") are personally experienced and observed in my own class:

한번만　　눈감아　　주세요

one time　close your eyes　please

"Give me a chance"

발　　밑　　조심해!

foot　under　be careful

"Watch your step!"

건강　　조심해

heath　　be careful

"Take care of yourself"

Furthermore, deficits in collocational knowledge also relate to the word order within the chunk. Thus Konglish *sour and sweet*, which is based on an L1 chunk (*새콤 saek'om* "sour", *달콤 dalk'om* "sweet"), will be substituted for the appropriately ordered *sweet and sour*. Given that calques closely reflect native language orderings (Odlin 1989, p.37), similar examples of Konglish are as follows:

동　　서　　남　　북

East,　West,　South,　North

"North, South, East, West"

가위　　바위　　보

scissors,　rock,　　paper

"rock, scissors, paper"

3　박　　4　일

3　nights　4　　days

"4 days, 3 nights"

4.2.6 The pragmatic and discoursal dimension

As Nation (2001, p.323) points out, grammatically correct utterances may not necessarily sound native-like, as shown in the example *Please close the window*, which is also common in Konglish. The relation between form and function in conversational routines are language-specific and thus if native language conversational conventions are transferred into target language conversational discourse, it may pose problems (Richards & Sukwiwat 1983, pp.113-117).

There are culturally modified constraints on language use (Nation 2001, p.58). For instance, the power paradigm based on age and occupation in Thai culture affects the address system in Thai (Richards & Sukwiwat 1983, p.120). A similar case can also be found in Korean in the area of honorific language. Since topics such as marital status and age are traditionally considered "free" goods (Lakoff 1974) in Korea and as necessary information for Korean speakers to determine the degree of the honorific terms, Korean L2 learners unaware of the relevant cross-cultural difference tend to apply the L1 pragmatics to the L2 by asking personal questions even at the point when people are introduced to each other.

Compliments (e.g. *I really like your hair*) are frequently used as a way of "noticing" in the opening and closing sections of conversations in order to maintain social bonding (Hatch & Brown 1995, p.353). In response to a compliment, expressions such as *Thanks* are commonly used by English speakers (Rose 2001, p.313). In contrast, the Chinese tend to use direct denial to avoid self-praise in compliment responses (Fong 2000, pp.214-215). Similarly, within the Confucian culture, many Korean L2 learners do not consider compliments as phatic communion and also tend to be reluctant to accept them, since such acceptance might be considered to indicate an inflated ego. Direct denial may also be found in Konglish as in *No ...* in response to a compliment such as *You must be a good singer*. As Hatch (1984, p.191) suggests, "noticing", especially lying in compliments, is more frequently used in native speakers' greetings than in non-native speakers. In a similar fashion to the use of compliments as "noticing" in English speakers' greetings, certain stereotyped utterances are commonly used as "noticing" in Korean speakers'

greetings. The literal translations of such expressions are used among Konglish users, who lack awareness of cross-cultural difference - as in *어디 가세요? ŏdi gaseyo?* ("Where are you going?") or *식사 하셨어요? Siksa hasyottŏyo?* ("Did you eat your meal?"). Since such formulations are in the form of interrogatives, the English speaking interlocutor might consider them questions rather than greetings.

The pragmatic differences between Korean learners' L1 and L2 may also be observed in terms of politeness norms. The positive politeness strategy is chosen on the basis of cultural preference in Korea, where intimacy and closeness between members of the community are highly valued within Confucianism. As Robinson (2000, p.77) states, "[a] polite expression may mean anger and an impolite expression mean friendliness in Korean culture". As mentioned earlier, Konglish users tend to respond *No* in situations where *No thanks* would be more appropriate, assuming that it would be acceptable in their target culture as it is in their native culture. In requests, negative politeness is preferred with the use of interrogatives such as *Can (could) you...?* among English speakers since the imperative mood is considered as the least polite or possibly as face-threatening (Odlin 1989, p.50, 52). On the other hand, Korean usage allows more directness than English, as in *물 좀 주세요 mul jom juseyo* ("Give me some water, please"), especially in requests considered to be trivial favors. Since the positive politeness strategy shown in requests and responses is believed to be covered under the heading of Korean concept *정 chŏng* ("love", "caring" or "affection") in Korean society, Korean L2 learners often believe that the English speaker would not be offended by their "being less polite" or "being direct". Indirect speech acts and "downtoning" structures in particular (Færch *et al.* 1984, p.57), which are usually used as a way to convey politeness, may be absent from the Konglish user's L2. For example, *Why did you come to Korea?* may be used by Konglish users rather than *Did you come here for business or pleasure?*

Another problematic case is that of "backchannelling" such as the use of *uhhuh* and *right,* which has the function of showing active engagement in social interaction (Hatch & Brown 1995, p.333). It is often observed that *really?* is over-used among Korean L2 learners, which may be interpreted by native English speakers as implying a lack of

credence in what is being said. L2 learners may choose the word that "most resembles the mother-tongue word from among the options available in the second language" (Swan 1997, p.170). The use of *really?* can thus be traced back to the L1, where its translation equivalents *정말? chŏngmal?* (or *진짜? chintcha?*) are widely used backchannelling devices in Korean.

In short, pragmatically inappropriate Konglish use may be attributed to Korean L2 learners' belief that the forms and functions of L1 pragmatics can simply be recycled in the L2 and can also attributed to their lack of L2 knowledge in pragmatics.

4.2.7 Influence from another foreign language

Interference may be from another foreign language as well as from the L1, and learners may also re-import from another foreign language words which the source language has itself borrowed, often changing their meaning (Swan 1997, p.169). Korean makes use of a considerable number of loan words from Japanese which the Japanese have borrowed from English and then reconstructed according to Japanese linguistic norms. These loan words have been further modified to conform to the Korean phonetic system and are also used in Konglish. Some examples are as follows:

골든벨	*golden ball*	("golden goal" or "winning goal")
골인	*goal-in*	("goal in soccer")
그룹사운드	*group sound*	("vocal & instrumental group")
드라이버	*driver*	("screwdriver")
백미러	*back mirror*	("rearview mirror")
오토바이	*autobi*	("motorcycle")
와이셔츠	*white shirt*	("dress shirt")
컨닝	*cunning*	("cheating for a test")
핸드폰	*hand phone*	("mobile, cellular phone")

Loan words originating from German are *호프 hopŭ* ("bar"), *아르바이트 arŭbaitŭ* ("part-time job"), *기브스* and *gibŭsŭ* / *깁스 gipsŭ* (*gips* in German; "[plaster-] cast"). In addition to German, French examples are also found in Konglish, such as *앙케이트 angkeitŭ* (*enquête* in French; "survey" or "questionnaire"). Korean L2 learners consider these loan words to originate from English and often use them with/without phonological adaptation to English in their production of English.

4.2.8 The semantic dimension

Odlin (1989, p.79) states that "[l]anguage transfer can also occur when there is no morphological similarity between words that appear to be semantically equivalent". Konglish users tend to presume that L1 meanings may be transferable to the L2 despite the language distance. However, in cases where semantic properties are different between L1 and L2, transfer based on L1 semantics may be problematic. In the case of Koreans learning English, when more than one semantic equivalent exists in the L2, the split-categorization activates Konglish. For example, a single form *약속 yaksok* has two equivalents, *appointment* and *promise*, in English; moreover, it can also be used as *plans* in a sentence like, *I have plans after school*. Among the English equivalents, the word *promise* seems to be the general term for Korean L2 learners and thus it is often observed in English contexts where other words would be more appropriate, as in *I have promise after school* ("I have plans after school"). Other examples are:

L1 word	**L2 equivalents**
시계 sigye	*watch/clock*
집 jip	*home/house*
보다 poda	*watch/ see/ look*
기름 kirŭm	*oil/gasoline*
드라마 dŭrama	*drama/soap opera*
수업 suŏp	*class/lesson.*
손님 sonnim	*guest/customer*

Loan translation is a lexical process whereby words are directly translated into the native language and this also often leads to error (Hatch & Brown 1995, p.127, 185). Examples are *노 처녀/올드미스 old miss* ("old maid" or "spinster") and *OX 문제 OX question* ("true or false quiz").

In the process of incorporation into the L1 lexicon, Korean loan words experience semantic changes: expansion, narrowing, innovation and pejoration. Hatch & Brown (1995, p.171) found specimens of loan words acquiring a specific meaning and usage in Japanese - such as *pink* uniquely for lipstick colour. Problems may arise when the loan words which are semantically changed and fully integrated into the L1 are transferred to the L2 without any process of examination. Examples are as follows:

Expansion (generalization)

바바리코트	*Burberry coat*	("trench coat")
코팅	*coating*	("laminating")
힙	*hip*	("rear", "bottom" or "buttocks")

Narrowing

싸인	*sign*	("signature" or "autograph")
매니큐어	*manicure*	("nail polish")
글래머	*glamour*	("a girl with a sexy figure")
해프닝	*happening*	("unexpected incident")

Innovation

백미러	*back number*	("uniform number" or "jersey number")
부르스	*blues*	("slow dance")
부킹	*booking*	("an instant blind date in a night club")
사이다	*cider*	("soda", "7-Up" or "Sprite")
콘센트	*consent*	("outlet" or "socket")

커닝페이퍼	*cunning paper*	("cheat sheet")
커트라인	*cut line*	("cut-off point")
파이팅	*fighting!*	("go for it!" or "hurray!")
개그맨	*gagman*	("comedian")
핸들	*handle*	("steering wheel")
매직펜	*magic pen*	("marker")
맨션	*mansion*	("flat" or "apartment")
미팅	*meeting*	("blind date")
미니토마토	*mini tomato*	("cherry tomato")
미션오일	*mission oil*	("transmission fluid")
믹서	*mixer*	("blender")
원샷	*one shot*	("bottoms-up!")
오픈카	*open car*	("convertible")
플래카드	*placard*	("banner")
프림	*pream*	("powder typed cream")
리포트	*report*	("term-paper"; assignment in college)
스크랩	*scrap*	("clipping")
세단	*sedan*	("luxurious car")
스킨	*skin* [*-lotion*]	("toner" or "after-shave")
스킨십	*skinship*	("casual contact between lovers")
스낵코너	*snack corner*	("snack bar")
스탠드	*stand*	("night lamp")
탤런트	*talent*	("TV actor/actress")

Pejoration

호스티스	*hostess*	("a woman who works at an adult bar")
룸살롱	*room salon*	("an adult bar")

4.2.9 The grammatical dimension

L2 beginners simplify cross-linguistic equivalences on the basis of their L1 until the modification to L2 starts with the help of a sufficient L2 frame of reference (Ringbom 1987, p.60). The simplified form based on L1 is more quickly retrieved than the target-language equivalent, since learners' fully-automated control over their L1 is more available for actual use than imperfect L2 knowledge (Swan 1997, p.172). This induces Konglish users to adapt the Korean grammatical system to L2 production. As noted earlier, Korean L2 learners often use the passive form *My arm is broken* on the basis of their L1 both for indicating the state (as in English) and for the act of breaking the arm – as in: *I fell down on the stairs and my arm was broken yesterday*. Other typical examples of L1-driven use of the passive include *My finger is cut* ("I cut my finger") and *It is written in the sign* ("The sign says..."). English expressions such as *The sign says...* may take a considerable time to be understood by Konglish users since the verb *say* takes only animated subjects in their L1. Seliger's (1989, p.32) finding that Hebrew speakers avoid the passive, which is not used in their own language, in English seems to provide a parallel case for the avoidance by Konglish users' of the active voice in the sentence *The sign says....*

Although there are compound nouns where the first noun has adjectival function in English, in the Korean language "compound nouns are the most numerous and varied" and "the most productive type of compound nouns is the noun-noun combination of the subcompounding type, in which the first root modifies the second", as discussed in Sohn (1999, p.245). Konglish examples in this category include:

Konglish	**(noun-noun)**	**English (adjective-noun)**
데코레이션케익	*decoration cake*	("decorated cake")
캔커피	*can coffee*	("canned coffee")
아이스커피	*ice coffee*	("iced coffee")
아이스티	*ice tea*	("iced tea")

Differences relating to permissible grammatical contexts for equivalent words in the two languages often cause error (Swan 1997, p.169). In the cases of certain Korean verbs which do not contain a prepositional meaning such as *결혼하다 kyŏrhonhada* ("marry"), a prepositional element is required; in this case *~와/과 wa/gwa* ("with") is required to refer to the person whom someone marries. Accordingly, Konglish users sometimes feel the need to add the preposition to satisfy the Korean system. Examples include *marry with*, *discuss about*, *mention about*, and *describe about*.

Nisbett (2003) also notes a major difference between English and Korean in terms of the organization of syntax, stating that:

> English is a 'subject-prominent' language. There must be a subject even in the sentence 'It is raining'. In contrast, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean are 'topic-prominent' languages. Sentences have a position, typically the first position, which should be filled by the current topic: 'This place, skiing is good' (p.157).

The examples such as *Here is hot* ("It is hot in here") and *From here is Seoul* ("You are now entering Seoul") can be seen to arise from topic-prominence in Korean.

4.2.10 The dimension of lexical form

Clipping is used in English, as in the reduction of *dormitory* to *dorm.* However, clipping in an arbitrary manner beyond the acceptable range of the target language may cause misunderstanding (Hatch & Brown 1995, p.208). Ill-formed contractions in Konglish include:

Clipping (one word missing)

원피스	*one piece*	("one piece dress")
화이트	*white*	("white-out"; liquid solution, correction tape)
콤플렉스	*complex*	("inferiority complex")
원룸	*one-room*	("one-room apartment" or "studio apartment")

애프터서비스	*after service*	("after sales service" or "warranty")
볼펜	*ball pen*	("ball point pen")
드라이어	*dryer*	("blow-dryer")

Clipping (part of the word missing)

엑셀	*accel*	("accelerator")
갱	*gang*	("gangster")
노트	*note*	("notebook")
오버	*over*	("overreact/overact")
스텐	*stain*	("stainless steel")
슈퍼	*super*	("supermarket")
나이트	*night*	("nightclub")

Contraction from two words

리모컨	*remocon*	("remote controller")
에어컨	*aircon*	("air conditioner")

Non-native acronym formation

DC	("discount")
BGM	("background music")
CF	("commercial film")

Blending

레포츠	*leports*	("leisure + sports")
오피스텔	*officetel*	("office + hotel")

4.3. Factors affecting Konglish production

4.3.1 Korean L2 learner's learning context

Currently, the social status of English is not just as the first foreign language of Korea. Socially it means career advancement, a key to success and even an indication of high education. Coupled with its role as a means of social success, English has obtained commercial value in Korea. Businesses related to English education, such as private language institutes and publishing companies, have flourished. Eccentric phenomena resulting from the obsession with English have become known to even those outside the country. The "Los Angeles Times" newspaper (January 18, 2004) described Koreans who are obsessed with English education as "the English crazy", reporting the surgery of snipping the thin tissue under the tongue for better pronunciation:

> South Korean mothers know few bounds in trying to give their kids a leg up in speaking English. They play them nursery rhymes in the womb, hire pricey tutors for toddlers...But now they're even turning to surgery to sort out misplaced L and R sounds, underscoring the dark side of the crushing social pressure involved in getting a highly competitive society in shape for a globalized world. (Choe, 2004)

Until 1997 Korean L2 learners learnt English from middle school to university. The Ministry of Education have since introduced English into the elementary school curriculum, beginning at the fourth grade, and from 2006 students from the second grade can receive English education in school (V. Lee 2006, p.124). Despite all these efforts, the outcome is not satisfactory. Although educational policy has aimed at implementing the communicative approach to language teaching in theory, the criticism has been made that the approach of language teaching and learning in actual practice has not been based on what we know about communicative competence (e.g. J-S Lee 2002). The majority of Korean learners of English still have tremendous difficulty, even in basic conversation with English speakers, and an increasing number of Koreans leave the country for the English education. The discussion of this "hybrid language learning situation" (O'Neal Cooper 2003, p.89) will be relevant to understanding the motive of the Konglish in the following section.

4.3.2 Korean L2 learners' learning goal

In contrast to L2 learners in an ESL situation, Korean learners of English in Korea have not been taught English for real-life communication. In addition to the EFL learning environment they are in, the fact that communicative competence has been disregarded in the English-language classroom has been identified as a problem in the learning of English in Korea (e.g. O'Neal Cooper 2003; I-S Lee 2006). English-language teaching and learning in Korea which are aimed principally at preparation for tests such as the CSAT (College Scholastic Ability Test) and the TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) have been particularly criticized (e.g. Lassche 2004). In this test-oriented learning environment in Korea, learning goals are often set, based on the design of the tests. As pointed out by many authors, the test of oral communicative competence is disregarded in this written type of test (O'Neal Cooper 2003; Kim & Choi 2004; J-H Lee 2005; I-S Lee 2006). Since the test result of the oral proficiency is neither compulsory for college entrance or attendance, the English speaking proficiency test is not yet popular in Korea (I-S Lee 2006).

Integrated language learning as well as balanced development of lexicon cannot be expected in this test-oriented learning approach. Instead of being taught the common words frequently encountered in normal situations prior to the specialized words used in specific contexts (Meara 1993, p.283), Korean students have been taught words on the basis of the frequency of their appearance in the tests, rather than on the basis of the frequency of their actual use in real communication. According to the Discourse Domain Model (Douglas & Selinker 1985), learners primarily develop a particular domain of their target language which is important to them. Most of the middle and high school students preparing for the CSAT do not sufficiently develop the listening domain of the language (Cheong & Joo 2005; Y-C Kim 2006), and learners preparing for the TOEIC predominantly develop business-related English. The L2 learning geared towards these tests, which focus primarily on one particular domain of language, may result in the unusual case that a L2 learner who knows relatively difficult words such as *compensate* or *resign* does not know words like *hop* or *sip*, as observed in my class.

Since these tests evaluate the learners' proficiency exclusively in terms of accuracy, L2 learning in Korea is focused on accuracy rather than fluency. The problem of accuracy-focused learning arises especially when learners encounter communication problems. Korean L2 learners who have been trained to discern a "correct" answer from "incorrect" multiple choices, tend to have anxiety about producing "incorrect" forms of English. This is relevant to Margolis's (2001) finding that Korean students' preference for disengagement strategies over interactive strategies results from their anxiety concerning accuracy. Moreover, Korean L2 learners tend to constrain themselves to "[k]eep silent ...[j]ust listen to what the teacher says" in class (Chen 2003, p.268). This cultural behavior coupled with anxiety about producing "incorrect" answers may result in reluctance to participate in class, which in turn impoverishes the learner's practice in language production.

English education in Korea is portrayed as "teaching the test" (Lassche 2004, p.110). Self-study books for the tests mainly contain strategies for finding the correct answer among the multiple-choice items; thus, Korean teachers to teach the test strategies are preferred over native speakers of English for the test preparation classes (Roberts 2002, p.95). Such L2 learning through skill-oriented test preparation may be problematic in that the linguistic rules consciously learned in a deductive way are stored as metalinguistic knowledge rather than being genuinely incorporated into linguistic competence (see Chapter 3.3.2, p.72). Since the "discrete point test" requires learners to make little use of contextual knowledge and focuses on "one aspect of language at a time" (Krashen 1987, p.177), those who score high marks on multiple-choice items may not necessarily be able adequately to use their linguistic knowledge in real-time constraints (Klein-Braley 1991, p.83). For example, when a Korean learner solves the problem of morphological adjustment in the written tests, the selection for the answer among the multiple choices proceeds with the conscious checks on aspect, tense and voice. Conscious morphological selection process may prove problematic when the language producer has to pay attention to the message itself (Jiang 2000, p.58); Korean L2 learners who perform the task successfully in the test, where conscious control is possible, may not be able to produce the target language in a real-time conversation.

4.3.3 L1-mediated learning methods

The characteristic of the English learning situation in Korea which is most relevant to the present study is that the learner's first language mediates the learning process. While it is widely agreed that good translation is based on "cognitive configurations", informed by understanding of indigenous language-particular traits across languages (Fauconnier 1997, pp.188-189), the translation practices Korean L2 learners are trained in simply involve mapping between discrete translation equivalents, without any real understanding of the underlying representations of the languages. The observation of S-Y Lee (2001) demonstrates how the translation practice is conducted in Korean high schools: A pop quiz is provided to students in the warm-up stage of the class and students are asked to find Korean translation-equivalents for a number of English words. The author speculates that the teachers train their students in word-to-word translation practices in the same way that they themselves were trained by their English teachers (*ibid.*, p.252). Although formal instruction may perhaps be better than informal environment for adult beginners in an EFL situation (Krashen 1987, p.58), where it may not be feasible for learners to pick up the L2 through incidental vocabulary learning, it seems extremely risky to have students learn L2 word-meanings only via L1 translation-equivalents. Even C-H Kim (2004, p.39), who favours L1 use in the EFL classroom in Korea, warns that vocabulary instruction should not just be "word-to-word translation".

There is a broad consensus that language should be learned in context (Cowie 1981, p.234; Kittay & Lehrer 1992, p.14), and that "exemplification" is an important device for learning new words (Færch 1986, p.132). L2 vocabulary learning in Korea is predominantly based on the lexical level and does not involve the teaching/learning of contextual knowledge about the word. In Jeon's (2007) survey, Korean high school students reported that memorization of L2 words through mechanical repetition was their most frequently used strategy, whereas the strategy of learning words in sentences was not commonly employed. The author suggests that since the morphological or syntactic rules of the new words are chiefly memorized without meaning negotiation in context in the Korean EFL classroom, the semantic network is difficult to develop (*ibid.*, p.42). A similar finding was also obtained from college students in Korea (S-W Lee 2007).

If it is the case that only lexical connections between translation-equivalents are developed, problems may arise in the construction of the learners' L2 lexicon (de Groot & Nas 1991, p.116; Silverberg & Samuel 2004, p.392). As noted earlier, since one-to-one translation practice strengthens the connection to the L1 rather than direct links between the L2 and concepts, learning language in context is vital to develop direct access to concepts through experiences in various contexts (Kroll & Tokowicz 2001. p.63). In other words, L2 contextual cues for meaning may be disregarded if the meanings of L2 items are acquired through their L1 translations, and this approach to L2 vocabulary learning may cause learners to refer primarily or solely to the contextual cues relating their native language (Jiang 2000, p.50). The finding of Margolis (2001) demonstrates Korean L2 learners' reliance on L1 knowledge. 61 Korean college students were found in interviews and a survey to use L1-based compensation strategies second most frequently of all strategies referred to, while L2-based strategies, such as circumlocutions, were found to be least often mentioned (*ibid.*). Given that a bilingual's knowledge seems to reflect the way knowledge is acquired (Kolers & Gonzalez 1980, p.53), it seems likely to be problematic for the Korean L2 learner's lexicon when L2 knowledge is learned via the activation of L1 lemmas rather than via the L2.

The problem of L2 vocabulary learning through L1 translation-equivalents is evident in chunking mechanisms. As was mentioned earlier (see Chapter 1.3), pre-constructed and ready-made multi-word expressions may be retrieved as single items in the lexicon, rather than via a process of composing their individual constituents on the basis of rules (Pawley & Syder, 1983; Lewis, 1993, 2000; Singleton, 2000). Collocations are almost certainly more readily learned from repeated encounters in various contexts rather than from explicit instruction (Stubbs 1995, p.389). Accordingly, the Korean approach to L2 learning, based on a focus on L1 translation-equivalents out of context, is unlikely to develop chunking in the Korean learner's L2 lexicon, with the probable consequence that recourse will be had to L1 chunking. Since there has been little research into Korean L2 learners with regard to this chunking problem, the issue will be investigated in the present study.

The discussion regarding the co-occurrence of words may be expanded to Korean L2 learners' grammar learning. Verbs in particular may be more problematic than other grammatical categories in that they - more often than other parts of speech - require knowledge of the co-occurrence of other L2 words, both in terms of meaning and in terms of local syntax (Aitchison 1994, p.121). If a Korean L2 learner has learned an L2 verb on the basis of merely encountering its translation-equivalent in the absence of context and has, moreover, learned grammar rules explicitly without support of an appropriate array of examples, the construction of a sentence containing the verb in question will be extremely difficult for such a learner, because building a sentence around a verb clearly requires a comprehensive knowledge of syntactic and semantic restrictions. Despite the fact that explicit learning of second language grammatical forms is widely agreed to be more effective when exemplars of their application are involved in the process (N. Ellis 1993, p.316), grammar learning in Korea is still conducted by means of explicit L1 explanations in a decontextualized, mechanical way (S-H Kim 2001; Yang 2002; O'Neal Cooper 2003; Lassche 2004).

The movement called TETE (Teaching English Though English), in existence since 2001, paradoxically has demonstrated how prevalent L1 mediation is in English education in Korea. The TETE movement has, however, been judged to be unsuccessful because of large class sizes (Moon & Lee 2002) and the low levels of proficiency of English teachers (O'Neal Cooper 2003; Y-C Kim 2006). Owing to a change in educational policy, English was added to an already considerable number of subjects allocated to elementary teachers, who have not, in any case, been professionally prepared to teach English (V. Lee 2006; J-H Kim 2007). The English proficiency of teachers in Korean primary schools has been seriously questioned (see above) – unsurprisingly, given that some teachers with no background in English have been designated to teach elementary students English after only 120 hours of training (Shin 2001, p.208). A survey of 133 middle school English teachers also shows that their confidence in English proficiency, oral proficiency in particular, is seemingly rather low: 75.8% responded that they felt confident about reading in English; 59.1% reported feeling confident about writing in English; 53.9%

reported feeling confident about listening in English; and only 50% responded that they felt confident about speaking in English (Moon & Lee 2002, p.309).

4.3.4 L2 exposure

The other problems with the L2 learning environment in Korea are deficiencies in respect of L2 exposure in terms of both quality and quantity. The total number of hours of English instruction during the entirety of schooling, from elementary school, has been calculated at about 1000 hours (V. Lee 2006, p.124); however, total actual exposure to English for each individual learner in class has been estimated at "4½ minutes per hour of English class" (Margolis & Kim 2000, p.44). Considering the widely agreed importance of copious input (Dulay, Burt & Krashen 1982; Krashen 1982; Carroll 1999, 2000; Flege & Liu 2000; N. Ellis 2002) as well as that of contextualized exposure to the target language (Jiang 2000), one must conclude that instruction in middle and high school in Korea does not provide Korean L2 learners with sufficient input to break through the silent period towards actual production (Kim & Margolis 2000, p.42). From a comparison of teacher talk in three different primary school teachers in Korea, S-B Lee (2005) suggests that non-native English speaking teachers have more limited interaction with students in the target language than native English speaking teachers. Cheong & Joo (2005) attribute the lack of student-oriented interaction in class to the fact that test preparation is the real, practical goal of teaching English in Korea. The quality of the exposure to English provided by NS (native speaker) teachers as well as NNS (non-native speaker) teachers in class is questioned in that there are many cases of non-qualified NS teachers employed in Korea, such as those in the category of "the teacher traveler" (O'Neal Cooper 2003, p.96). As described in Margolis & Kim (2000, p.44), the L2 learning environment in Korea is a place where "students experience English as essentially a dead language".

Exposure to English in Korea is also limited outside the class. One notes that English language learners' contact with NSs of English may be relatively low in other places too - even in a place like Hong Kong, where frequent interactions with native speakers are generally expected (Rose 1999, pp.168-169). It is obvious that exposure to English is

even more limited in Korea, where the more or less exclusive means of everyday communication is Korean. As suggested earlier, it is widely seen as critical for L2 learners to restructure explicit knowledge into implicit knowledge and declarative knowledge into procedural knowledge (Ellis & Laporte 1997, p.74), and sufficient practice is essential for learners to reorganize their internal representations in the restructuring process (Bialystok & Bouchard Ryan 1985, p.222; McLaughlin 1990, p.125). In this regard, the lack of exposure to English in Korea in terms of quantity and its dubious quality are very unhelpful to Korean learners of English with respect to restructuring the explicit knowledge they have learnt in an L1-mediated manner, which may consequently leave such learners stuck at the L1 mediation stage.

To summarize, it is suggested here that, in order for all relevant information to be internalized in the mental lexicon, all the related information needs to be presented together in a contextual frame, so that learners may pick up not only a word's linguistic meaning but also its socio-linguistic functions. To build the association between the forms and functions of words, idiomatic routines in particular, learners need opportunities to continually observe utterances in various contexts (Richards & Sukwiwat 1983, p.117). Given that possibilities for real-life communication in English are limited in Korea and thus class interactions constitute the only opportunities for Korean learners of English to experience communication in English, it is clearly problematic when communicative competence is disregarded in formal instruction.

4.3.5 Lack of communicative and pragmatic competence

Previous section investigated L2 exposure in terms of both quality and quantity in Korea. By using statistical data found by researchers, a lack of communicative competence as one of the major problems of learning English will be further discussed in this section.

Since the implementation of the 7th National Curriculum, the grammar-translation method has been reduced in high school (Song 2000; S-Y Lee 2001) and the policy's major doctrine, the implementation of a communicative approach to teaching English, has been attempted. However, the lack of oral communication in English classes in Korea has

been constantly pointed out. The survey of Roberts (2002, p.102) suggests that Korean students attribute their difficulties in listening to the lack of oral communication. Reference to the lack of listening practice in class can be found in the survey of Cheong & Joo (2005, p.9), where 0% of 261 high school students in Korea reported that they had been instructed in listening comprehension in class. The reason for the listening comprehension being disregarded in high school can be found in the design of the test. In the survey of Heo & Yoon (2004), 48 English teachers and 63 college students attribute the minimal role of listening comprehension to the nature of the college entrance exam CSAT. According to Margolis & Kim (2000) and Y-C Kim (2006), the lack of communicative competence in English among Korean students results from the learning goals set by tests in which communicative competence is not evaluated. In cases where there is class interaction, its effectiveness in application has been seriously questioned, in regard to the fact that most of the activities in class require only predictable and restricted answers and few of them provide students with the opportunity to explore meaning in the context (E-J Kim 2001, pp.238-239). The data from college students are not inconsistent, in that the chance to develop communicative competence seems limited also to college students. I-S Lee (2006, p.102) in a survey of 184 college students found that frequency of speaking English per week was reported as follows: never 45.7%, 1 time 30.0% and 2 times or more 24.3%. O'Neal Cooper (2003, p.97) claims that lack of opportunities to communicate with English speakers results in the inability of Korean L2 learners to communicate orally in English. Consequently, the case of an L2 learner who has learned a large number of words without knowing how to use them for communicative use (Widdowson 1978, pp.18-19), is not unusual in the Korean L2 learning environment.

It has been stressed that the target language culture is important in the teaching of a foreign language (H. Brown 1994) and that learning cultural connotations is essential, especially in the case of EFL students (Liu & Zhong 1999; Kupelian 2001). Although the importance of teaching pragmatics and the need to incorporate it into textbooks have been much discussed (O'Neal Cooper 2003; Paik 2005), Korean high school students' socio-cultural interactions in English class are seriously limited (Cheong & Joo 2005; I-S Lee 2006). The idiomatic routines, which need to be learned from repeated observation of the

utterance in context, so that L2 learners can perceive that the relations between forms and functions are different from in the L1 (Richards & Sukwiwat 1983, p.115), are hard to learn in the Korean L2 learning environment. Accordingly, when Korean L2 learners experience confusion in respect of certain conversational implicatures which are not consistent with the functioning of their L1, their interpretation is often based on L1 cultural and pragmatic values (J-S Lee 2002, p.16). For example, the case of Korean L2 learners in class directly telling their teacher that he/she looks sick (Kupelian 2001, p.20) betokens learners who have never learned or encountered L2-specific pragmatic values and have thus retained the hypothesis that their L1 cultural norms can be applied without modification to the L2. Although it has been suggested that pragmatic awareness can be acquired even in the EFL environment if qualified NS and NNS teachers, appropriately conceived textbooks and authentic materials are provided (Niezgoda & Röver 2001, p.78), all of this seems far from the Korean L2 learning context, where the goal of learning is set by tests in which communicative competence is disregarded, and especially from a learning environment where the quality of the L2 exposure in class is deeply questionable.

Although there are general concerns that formal classroom instruction causes the students to develop explicit knowledge and fails to encourage them to develop implicit procedures for L2 performance, the main concern in the present section is focused on the Korea-specific learning situation and in particular on the quality of L2 input provided to the Korean L2 learners. To summarize, communicative ability requiring knowledge of the language as a whole is neither emphasized nor properly addressed in the Korean English classroom. Since L2 knowledge is provided as metalinguistic knowledge in class and the L1 is the favoured medium in the learning process, L2 learning in Korea is geared neither towards forming L2 networks nor developing conceptual representations of the target language. Consequently their L1 may be activated in L2 access as they have been trained in a manner which may lead to the Konglish phenomenon.

4.4 Interim exploration of emerging issues

Why is Konglish used?

Just as a synonym may be accessed "as a back-up procedure" when the target word is not available in lexical processing in general (Aitchison 1994, p.91), so too an L1 word may be accessed by way of a compensatory strategy when an attempt is being made to access an L2 lemma (de Bot & Schreuder 1993, p.196). A question which arises in this context is why an L1 item rather than an L2 synonym is accessed in such circumstances. Given that the deployment of strategic competence presupposes a certain failure of linguistic or pragmatic competence (Færch *et al.* 1984, p.168; Kellerman & Bialystok 1997, p.34), the above phenomenon is likely to indicate a deficit in L2 knowledge (de Bot 1992, p.19). We know that beginning learners, in particular, assume the equivalence of L1 and L2 (Ringbom 1985, p.14); it may be especially difficult for Korean beginners in English to reject Konglish words which have some phonological overlap with English, as it may be problematic for them to sort out language affiliation on the basis of the cues at their disposal. On the basis of "Principles of Clarity and Economy" (Poulisse 1997a, p.54), Korean learners of English may find Konglish less demanding than L2-based strategies such as "reconceptualization" (Poulisse 1993, p.181). Konglish, viewed in terms of cross-linguistic influence, can therefore be hypothesized to result from a lack of knowledge in English if Konglish data is observed more in non-proficient learners in the present study.

What will be transferred?

According to a broad consensus, not only phonological, grammatical and semantic structures of the L1 (Seliger 1989, p.21), but also underlying representations in addition to surface phenomena may be transferred to the L2 (Meisel 1983, p.22). It is indeed claimed that a learner's L1 procedural knowledge may affect all levels of second language processing, including the learner's way of conceptualizing and verbalizing facts (Möhle & Raupach 1989, p.207). It is further suggested that L1 conversational features such as turn-taking signals and opening & closings may also be transferred to L2 (Scarcella 1993, p.109).

When will Konglish be tried?

Some degree of similarity between two languages is sometimes claimed to be a prerequisite or at least an encouragement for transfer (Wode 1978, p.116; Ard & Homburg 1993, p.47). Transferability appears to increase for less marked items (Meisel 1983, p.20) and is very much related to the learner's psychotypology (Gass 1979; Zobl 1980). According to Ringbom (1983, p.207), Finnish-speaking learners of English tend to borrow words from their L2, Swedish, which is closer to English, but, on the other hand, their systemic transfer is from their L1, Finnish, which is unrelated to English. In terms of the Korean learners' psychotypology, it may be supposed that loanwords in Korean which are perceived as identical to English, will simply be borrowed in L2 production, regardless of their language origin.

This chapter introduced the Konglish phenomenon and how Korean L2 learners in general use it from the phonological to the grammatical dimension. It was discussed that in Korea target language is provided as metalinguistic knowledge in class and L1 is the favoured medium in the learning process. As factors affecting Konglish production, it was postulated that L2 learning in Korea is geared neither towards forming L2 networks nor developing conceptual representations of the target language, and thus possibly leading to a reliance on Konglish.

To summarize Part One, the interrelation between language and concepts was stressed. Since different kinds of cognitive constructions in different languages may cause translation between different languages to be complex and problematic, the learning of Korean L2 learners through L1 translation equivalents may make it difficult for them to understand the importance of the development of target language conceptualization. Part One discussed how the concept of target language is constructed and stored in the mental lexicon and this hopefully will help to reveal how Korean L2 learners organize their mental lexicon in the following part.

PART 2

The Empirical Investigation

CHAPTER V: Introduction to the Present Study

The present study seeks to investigate how Korean L2 learners' mental lexicon is organized. It focuses on how resources required to comprehend and produce L2 are stored and accessed in their mental lexicon, and in particular on whether the L1 mediates the process. The Konglish phenomenon is drawn into the picture as a means of reflecting whether/how L1 knowledge is involved in the process of the organization of their mental lexicon. Discussion will also address possible factors which may affect the lexical organization and will aspire to providing Korean learners of English and English teachers in Korea with some clues as to the right approach to adopt in their learning/teaching.

As previously defined in Chapter IV, Konglish refers to the unique interlanguage of Korean learners of English arising from their impoverished knowledge of English and influence from Korean. As Konglish phenomenon may cause not only linguistic but also sociolinguistic and pragmatic-functional deficits, *Konglish word* refers to the Konglish phenomenon at a word level and *Konglish* covers a broader range extending to pragmatic aspects in the present study. Three studies were conducted.

Study One set out to see whether Konglish could be used as a valid tool to demonstrate that the use of Konglish words in English constituted evidence of the use of Korean resources rather than evidence of English-based communication strategies. Since Konglish words come into the category of loanwords, one might assume the possibility that such resources are stored as L2 entries but that in the midst of accessing a target L2 word, an L2 competitor is accidentally selected. If this assumption were true, the use of Konglish words in English might be simply attributable to learners' insufficient practice, rather than a matter raising the issue of the origin of the accessed item. In contrast, if it is evident that Konglish words are stored as L1 items in Korean and accessed through L1 entries in the L2 context, it becomes clear that Konglish may be a valid tool for exploring whether/how L1 is activated in L2 access.

Study Two is a full-scale investigation of the presence of the activation of the native language in L2 use. Its focus is on how Korean learners of English organize their mental lexicon. The extent of the activation of Korean in English use is examined in this study on the basis of proficiency and is also analysed in terms of lexical knowledge, pragmatic knowledge, and conceptual representations. The study addresses variation in relation to task type and learning context. The Konglish phenomenon is examined at sentence and discourse level, and the deployment of Konglish words is investigated through both written and oral type of tasks in both L2 comprehension and production. The factors affecting L1 activation in L2 will be considered based on proficiency, quantity and quality of the target language exposure, learning context and learners' perception of the language cue.

Study Three is a supplementary piece of research addressing the possibility that the information is activated from L1 entries but may intentionally not be selected for actual production. In other words, if a subject is not able to prevent a Konglish word from being activated via an L1 entry but she/he is well aware of the unsatisfactory result that would come from adopting it in an English context, the actual utterance of the activated Konglish word may be deliberately avoided. English learning-related business is flourishing in Korea both online and offline and the information about Konglish words are readily available to Korean L2 learners through the media. This means that we cannot rule out the possibility that a Korean L2 learner, informed of the list of common Konglish words as well as of the possible risks associated with using them in English contexts, may deliberately avoid using a Konglish word in an English context, even when the Konglish word stored in L1 is the only available resource at hand for L2 production. To explore this possibility, the relationship between Konglish awareness and Konglish avoidance was examined in Study Three. An inventory of Konglish words observed in the Study Two interview was compiled on the basis of their occurrence in the test and then was presented to subjects[2] to be judged drawing on their Konglish awareness. The ranking of the Konglish words on the basis of Konglish awareness in Study Three was then

[2] Subjects who participated in Study Three were not the same subjects as in Study Two. Study Three was able to start only after the analysis of the data from Study Two was complete, and there were logistical difficulties involved in testing the same subjects for Study Three.

compared with the ranking of the Konglish words on the basis of actual occurrence in the interview in Study Two. For example, if a word was recognized as a Konglish word by most subjects in Study Three and was ranked 1st in terms of Konglish awareness, and if this most frequently recognized Konglish word was found to be used least in the Study Two interview, one might assume that this indicated the avoidance of the use of best-known Konglish word. A survey in Study Three also gathered general information about Korean L2 learners' learning strategies and their L2 learning environment with a view to providing complementary information in respect of the discussion as to whether subjects' L2 learning environment was L1-inducing.

A total of 320 Koreans (120 subjects for Study One; 100 subjects for Study Two, 100 subjects for Study Three) participated in the present study. To find subjects for Study One, which required different age groups - from high-school students to members of the older generation (above 40 years old) - I sought help from teachers in locating volunteers as well as arranging times and places for the test. For Study Two I placed advertisements on a college web board and bulletin board on campus and contacted volunteers individually to set up the times for the test[3]. For Study Three I introduced my research to college students who were on a summer course at a college and the students who showed an interest in participating in the study were surveyed. A small gift (chocolate) as a token of gratitude for their participation was given to the participants in Study One and Three, while the participants in Study Two were paid 10,000 Korean won (around 7 Euro) in consideration of the time and effort required for the demanding written test and oral interview in Study Two. Agreement relating to the research use of data was audio-recorded for Study One and obtained in writing for Studies Two and Three prior to testing.

[3] I appreciate all the help from professors in locating volunteers at Sookmyung TESOL Graduate School in Korea.

Hypotheses to be examined in the present study include;

1. Konglish words, regardless of the language origin, are stored as L1 items and accessed through L1 entries both in L1 and in L2.

2. A Konglish word will be selected in English if it is tagged as "Konglish = English" and will not be employed as an English item if tagged as "Konglish ≠ English" in the Korean L2 learner's lexicon.

3. Konglish will tend to be activated in the absence of lexical knowledge in English.

4. The greater the amount of lexical knowledge stored in the learners' English mental lexicon, the less Konglish will be activated in place of English lexis.

5. The Konglish phenomenon is discernible at syntactic, semantic, conceptual and pragmatic levels.

6. Language non-selective processing in the Konglish user occurs both in language reception and in language production.

7. Cross-linguistic activation may occur from the sublexical level (phonological representations) to the higher lexical level (semantic representations).

	Hypotheses	Method	Subjects
Preliminary Survey	Korean monolinguals use loanwords including Konglish words in Korean.	Survey (a one-page questionnaire)	50 Korean monolinguals
Study One	Konglish words, regardless of the language origin, are stored as L1 items and accessed through L1 entries both in L1 and in L2.	Picture naming tasks in L1 and L2 sessions.	A total of 120 Korean L2 learners. Three groups on the basis of age (Mean age - Group A: 16.85; Group B: 24.6; Group C: 49.90).
Study Two	**1.** A Konglish word will be selected in English if it is tagged as "Konglish = English" and will not be employed as an English item if tagged as "Konglish ≠ English" in the Korean L2 learner's lexicon. **2.** Konglish will tend to be activated in the absence of lexical knowledge in English. **3.** The greater the amount of lexical knowledge stored in the learners' English mental lexicon, the less Konglish will be activated in place of English lexis. **4.** The Konglish phenomenon is discernible at syntactic, semantic, conceptual and pragmatic levels. **5.** Language non-selective processing in the Konglish user occurs both in language reception and in language production. **6.** Cross-linguistic activation may occur from the sublexical level (phonological representations) to the higher lexical level (semantic representations).	1.Written test 2.Oral interview 3.Sound recognition task	A total of 110 participants. A control group: 10 native speakers of English. Group A: 40 Korean-dominant low-proficient L2 learners ("Moderate level" of the MATE Speaking Test). Group B: 40 Korean-dominant proficient bilinguals ("Commanding level" of the MATE Speaking Test). Group C: 20 English-dominant bilinguals.
Study Three	1. Awareness of Konglish words may cause avoidance of Konglish use. 2. The L2 learning environment in Korea is L1-inducing 3. Korean learners' vocabulary learning in English is prevalent in the direction from the English word to the Korean translation-equivalent, causing them to develop a stronger L2→L1 lexical linkage.	Survey (a 2 page-long questionnaire)	A total of 100 college students.

Table 1 ***Overview of the present study***

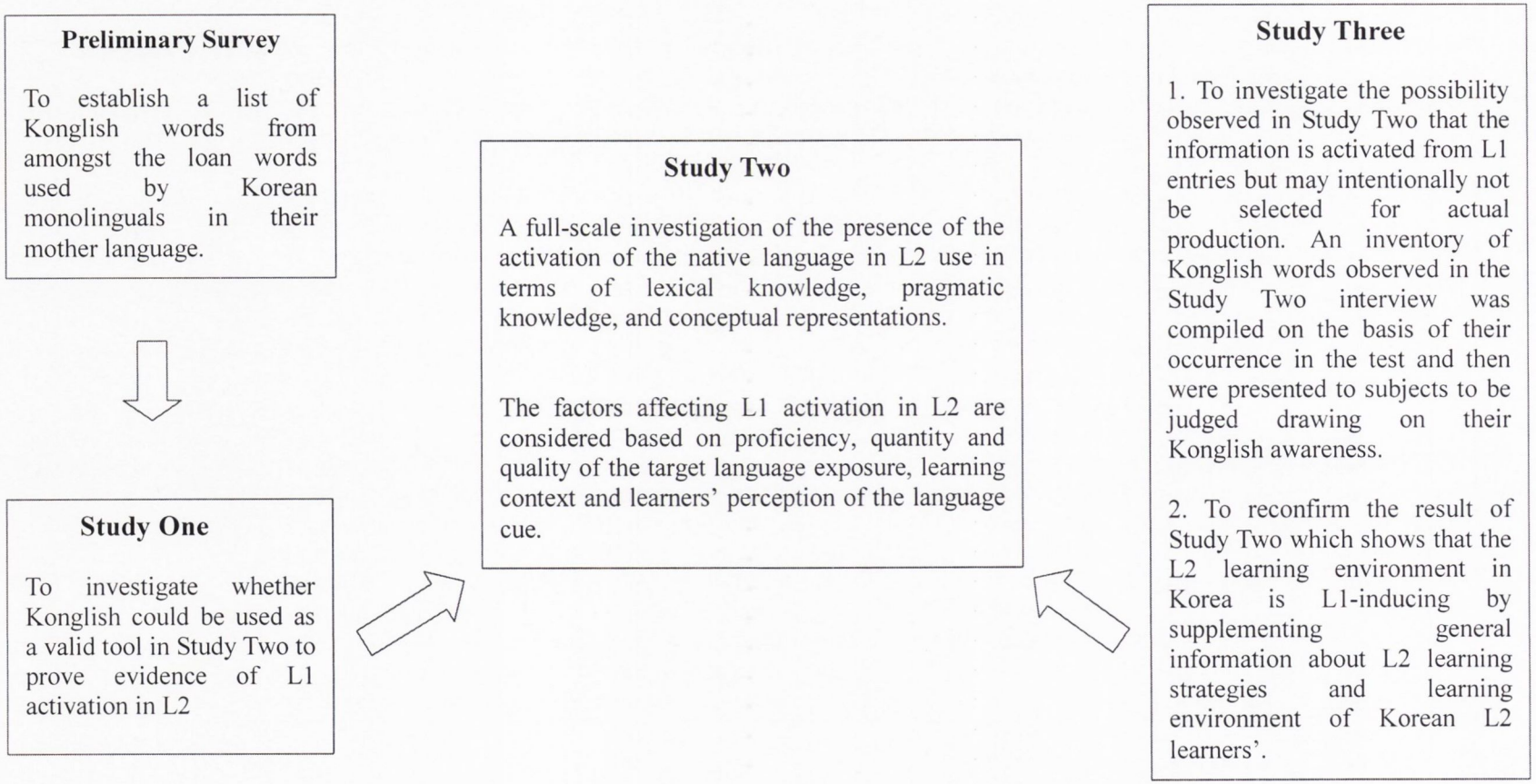

Figure 1 ***Objectives of the present study***

CHAPTER VI: Study One

6.1 Overview of Study One

Study One investigates how loanwords are accessed in L1 (Korean) and L2 (English) production. Since loanwords may embrace Konglish words but not all loanwords in Korean become Konglish in L2 (see above, Chapter IV), different terms are used in the here for clarity's sake. The term *loanwords* is used for words borrowed from any foreign language. Among loanwords, the cases where the linguistic properties of the words in Korean are equivalent to their properties in English and thus the potential risk of misunderstanding when they are used in an English context is minimal, will be labelled *cognates*. The extent of integration of English loanwords into Korean lexicon[4] may vary between individuals or between generations. In comparison with cognates, which are incorporated into both the Korean (L1) and the English (L2) lexicon, certain English loanwords have not been fully integrated into the Korean lexicon and thus have not yet attained firm cognate status yet; these will be marked as "Cognate *". Cognates and Konglish words are similar in terms of integration into the Korean lexicon in that both are loanwords which have been integrated into the Korean lexicon and thus have similar status to other words in Korean. The difference between cognates, as defined above, and Konglish words lies in their linguistic properties, in particular the degree of semantic overlap between Korean and English in such cases (see above, Chapter IV).

It can be assumed that loanwords fully integrated into Korean lexicon are accessed from L1 entries, at least in L1 production, since monolingual Koreans who do not speak English also use them in Korean. It is not always easy, however, to determine whether the loanwords are also accessed via L1 lexical entries for L2 production, especially when the words have cognate status, in the above definition, and thus share linguistic properties in two languages fit both language contexts. In the case of Konglish words, though, if the words are accessed through L1 entries in L2 production, it is clear that not all the information retrieved from L1 will fit into the L2 context, and thus L1 traces will be

[4] The term *lexicon* used as in *Korean lexicon* and *English lexicon* narrowly refers to the domain of vocabulary in the present context.

discernible. On foot of such considerations, Study One starts with a question as to whether Korean L2 learners access loanwords via L1 entries in L2 production, in particular, whether Konglish words are stored in and accessed from L1 entries.

Study One employs picture naming tasks in L1 (Korean) and in L2 (English). If a Korean L2 learner accesses loanwords through L1 entries to describe the given picture, its semantic features in Korean will fit in an English context in the case of cognates, as earlier defined, but not in the case of Konglish words. The study will scrutinize possible cases where certain loanwords with no origin in English (e.g. *아이젠 aijen* originating in German *eisen*; "crampon" in English) are used as English words in an English session in the same way as in a Korean session. Since these loanwords do not have any lexical entries in English, any attempts to transfer them to an English context carries the potential risk of misunderstanding (see above, Chapter IV). Clearly, since this kind of case of Konglish lexis has an entry in Korean but not in English, its presence in English production strongly indicates that the resource is accessed from an L1 entry.

Variation regarding the extent of the integration of loanwords into the L1 and frequency of word use in L1 is also considered. It is apparent that, even for the same loanword, individual learners of different age and gender may have different activation levels of the word on the basis of the frequency of its use in L1. Thus, it is additionally tested whether frequency/preference in respect of the use of loanwords in the L1 (Korean) affects their use of in the L2 (English) - for example, whether male L2 learners who do not use a certain word (e.g. *립크로스 lip-gloss*) in Korean do not use the word in English either, and whether young learners of English who do not use an old-fashioned Konglish word (e.g. *올드미스 old miss*; "spinster") in L1 do not use the word in English either. If these parallels do indeed emerge, we may assume that the loanwords frequently used in L1 are more activated in L1 and thus more likely to be accessed in L2 production via the highly activated L1 entry. The confirming of our assumptions in this connection by the results of the Study One, will in turn tend to confirm the hypothesis that Konglish words are stored in L1 like other L1 items, thus establishing the validity of the interpretation in Study Two

and Study Three according to which the presence of Konglish in the production of English is interpreted as L1 activation in L2.

6.2 Preliminary survey

The preliminary survey was to collect Konglish words to be used as materials in Study One. Therefore it was conducted prior to carrying out Study One. Its purpose, in particular was to establish a list of Konglish words from amongst the loan words used by Korean monolinguals in their mother language.

50 Koreans participated in the survey. A one-page questionnaire containing a list of loanwords in Korean (including Konglish words) was provided to the participants. They were asked to select the loanwords they used in Korean to communicate with other Koreans in Korea. They were also asked to write other loanwords they used, if not listed on the questionnaire. They were not, however, requested to sort out Konglish words among the loanwords since the preliminary survey does not concern monolingual Koreans' awareness of Konglish.

The most prevalent Konglish words among the loanwords the participants responded were *봉고 bongo* (a Korean van brand-name; "van"; 41 responses), *호치키스 hotchkiss* ("stapler"; 41 responses), *아이젠 eisen* (Eisen in German; "crampon"; 38 responses), *올드미스 old-miss* ("spinster"; 29 responses), *호스테스 hostess* ("prostitute"; 26 responses). Konglish words used by less than 50% of the participants (25 responses) were not used for Study 2. It should be noted that the preliminary survey does not concern the frequency of use of the Konglish words (as a form of loanwords) by Korean monolinguals.

6.3 Method

6.3.1 Subjects

A total of 120 (90 females and 30 males) Korean L2 learners participated in the study, and these were divided into three groups (A, B and C) on the basis of age. The mean age

of each group is as shown in Table 2 (Group A: 16.85; Group B: 24.6; Group C: 49.90). Group A consisted of 40 volunteers in their late teens who were L2 beginners. They were from a high school (Sewon High School) in Korea and participated in the study with the permission of their English teacher. Group B was comprised of 40 college students attending a private English institute who responded to an advertisement relating to this study. They were all in the institute's beginners' class and were attending different colleges in Korea. A further group of 40 participants constituted Group C, the oldest group. These were all over 40 years old and were studying English in a beginners' class at a local community centre (Shi Hung) in Korea.

Table 2 ***Age Statistics of the Groups A, B and C***

Group	N	Mean	Std	Std error	95% Confidence interval		min	max
					lower limit	upper limit		
A	40	16.85	.362	.057	16.73	16.97	16	17
B	40	24.60	3.986	.630	23.33	25.87	20	37
C	40	49.90	9.262	1.464	46.94	52.86	40	75
TOTAL	120	30.45	15.304	1.397	27.68	33.22	16	75

6.3.2 Design

The study is designed to track the accessing of loanwords (in respect of both cognates, as defined earlier, and Konglish words) in L1 and in L2. Attention is paid to whether the words produced by Korean L2 learners for the given pictures in the picture naming task in L1 are the same as in L2. The pictures presented in the picture naming tasks include cognates, cognates*, as characterized above, and Konglish words. The case where a subject names a picture a loanword associated with a Korean-specific meaning and thus fails to designate the picture in English, is recorded as a case of Konglish use. Such cases rather than cases of cognate use are given particular weight in the present study. Frequency of /preference for loanword use in the L1 is also be compared with that of loanword use in English according to subjects' age and gender.

6.3.3 Materials

A total of 10 pictures of *bolero*, *leggings*, *lip-gloss*, *backpack*, *van*, *stapler*, *tow truck*, *crampon*, *spinster*, and *prostitute* (see Appendix B) were prepared for picture-naming tasks on a laptop computer. The pictures represent loanwords which have either shared or non-shared linguistic properties between Korean and English. Pictures of *bolero*, *leggings*, *lip-gloss*, and *backpack* represent the meanings of the cognate pairs *볼레로 – bolero*, *레깅스 – leggings*, *립크로스 – lip-gloss,* and *백팩 – backpack*, which share linguistic properties across Korean and English. The picture of the van could be named by either the cognate pair *밴 – van* or by Konglish *봉고 – bongo*, and the picture of the stapler could also be named by either the cognate pair *스테이플러 – stapler* or by Konglish *호치키스 – hotchkiss* by the subjects. The pictures of the spinster and the prostitute could be named as Konglish *올드미스 – old-miss* and *호스티스 – hostess* respectively. The loanwords for the name of the given pictures may vary in preference according to age and gender and also differ in language origin. The Konglish word pair *올드미스 – old-miss* for the picture of the spinster and the Konglish word pair *호스티스 – hostess* for the picture of the prostitute may be considered to be old-fashioned. The loanword *아이젠 aijen* for a picture of a crampon is from German *Eisen*.

Although the same pictures were used for both the L2 and L1 session, any morphological information in respect of the words on the screen, where this was given, was presented in the Roman alphabet for the L2 session and in the Korean alphabet for the L1 session. For example, in relation to the picture of *leggings* an image of pants was also presented in order to contrast with leggings. An arrow points at the image of pants with the word for "pants" and another arrow points at the target image of *leggings* with a question mark. In the first session (picture naming in English) the English word *pants* was presented on the screen, while in the second session (picture naming in Korean) the Korean sign "바지" *paji* ("pants") was shown on the screen.

Microsoft PowerPoint was used to present the pictures, and a voice recorder was used to record the subjects' responses. The time for the viewing of each page was set at 5 seconds. After the designated time had elapsed, the next picture appeared automatically.

6.3.4 Procedure

Each participant was asked to name each picture appearing on the computer screen within the designated time. The first session required the pictures to be named in the L2 (English). The same procedure was then gone through in the L1 (Korean). The L2 session preceded the L1 session in order to avoid any possible undue native language influence via a repetition effect.

6.3.5 Data treatment

Each participant's data were recorded and quantified. The data from the L2 session and the L1 session were quantified separately. The corresponding data in the L1 and L2 data-sets were then identified. The data were analysed in relation to both age and gender. For example, a case where the picture of a van is named as 밴 *baen* ("van") in L1 and *van* in L2 session is marked as cognate, while a case where the picture of *van* is named as 봉고 *bongo* (a Korean van brand-name; "van") in the L1 session and *bongo* ("van") in English is marked as Konglish. Note that elaborate phonological adjustment is not expected for the L2 beginners in Study One. A case where the picture of a crampon is named as 아이젠 *aijen* (*Eisen* in German) both in L1 and in L2 is marked as Konglish. A loanword from English for the picture of a crampon with cognate status in L1 is not normally expected to be found in an individual's Korean lexicon; however, this case is marked as "cognates*" for convenience of comparison of the data. Another case where the picture of a tow truck is named as 레카 *reka* ("wrecker") in L1 and *wrecker*[5] in L2 is marked as a case of cognates because the loanword 레카 *reka* ("wrecker") has generally integrated into the Korean lexicon, while the case where the picture is named as 토우 트럭

[5] Based on the definition of the word retrieved from http://encarta.msn.com/encnet/features/dictionary/DictionaryResults.aspx?search=wrecker, "truck for towing: a truck with a hoisting mechanism used to tow away damaged cars or other vehicles", the word *wrecker* is also considered as a word referring to the picture of *tow truck*.

toutŭrŏk ("tow truck") in L1 and *tow truck* in L2 is marked as "cognate*" for the purpose of clear comparison with "cognates", since the loanword 토우 트럭 *toutŭrŏk* ("tow truck") is not yet integrated into the Korean lexicon.

6.4 Results

The response rates in respect of the loanwords (both cognates and Konglish words) are shown in Table 3. The results show the tendency that the group that used a loanword most in L1 also used the loanword most in L2, with the exception of item 6 (for the picture of a van). For example, in Korean item of the cognate pair 레카 *reka* ("wrecker"/"tow truck"; see Item 5 in Table 3) is the item most named by Group C in L1 session and in English item of the cognate pair, *wrecker*, is also the item named most by Group C in the L2 session. The word *crampon* (Item 7 in Table 3) appears neither in L1 naming task (0% for all groups in the L1 session) nor in L2 naming task (0% for all groups in the L2 session). Some of the words (e.g. *Eisen* and *bongo*) are not in fact of English origin but were nevertheless perceived as English by many subjects. For example, the word *Eisen* (Item 7 in Table 3) was used as an English word to name the picture of a crampon by 2.5% of Group A, 10.0% of Group B and 42.5% of Group C.

Table 3 ***Response Rates of the Loanwords***

Item	Session	Status	Name	Group A	Group B	Group C
1	L1	Cognate	볼레로	15.0%	17.5%	**22.5%**
	L2	Cognate	*bolero*	12.5%	20.0%	**20.0%**
2	L1	Cognate	레깅스	0.0%	**12.5%**	0.0%
	L2	Cognate	*leggings*	5.0%	**27.5%**	7.5%
3	L1	Cognate	립크로스	**70.0%**	57.5%	40.0%
	L2	Cognate	*lip-gloss*	**62.5%**	60.0%	40.0%
4	L1	Cognate	백팩	**30.0%**	17.5%	0.0%
	L2	Cognate	*backpack*	**70.0%**	70.0%	20.0%
5	L1	Cognate*	토우트럭	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	L2	Cognate	*tow truck*	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%
	L1	Cognate	레카	0.0%	12.5%	**55.0%**
	L2	Cognate	*wrecker*	0.0%	17.5%	**55.0%**
6	L1	Cognate	밴	2.5%	2.5%	**10.0%**
	L2	Cognate	*van*	**32.5%**	12.5%	20.0%
	L1	Konglish	봉고	**85.0%**	65.0%	70.0%
	L2	Konglish	*bongo*	17.5%	20.0%	**52.5%**
7	L1	Cognate*	크램폰	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	L2	Cognate	*crampon*	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	L1	Konglish*	아이젠	2.5%	7.5%	**37.5%**
	L2	Konglish	*eisen*	2.5%	10.0%	**42.5%**
8	L1	Cognate	스테이플러	20.0%	**27.5%**	2.5%
	L2	Cognate	*stapler*	30.0%	**82.5%**	22.5%
	L1	Konglish	호치키스	70.0%	57.5%	**75.0%**
	L2	Konglish	*hotchkiss*	27.5%	10.0%	**47.5%**
9	L1	Konglish	올드미스	0.0%	0.0%	**15.0%**
	L2	Konglish	*old-miss*	2.5%	7.5%	**22.5%**
10	L1	Konglish	호스티스	0.0%	22.5%	**45.0%**
	L2	Konglish	*hostess*	2.5%	10.0%	**47.5%**

Note Cognate : loanword from English with high overlap of semantic representations between Korean and English
Cognate* : English word that has not yet been incorporated into Korean vocabulary
Konglish : loanword from English with low/no overlap of semantic representations between Korean and English
Konglish*: loanword that does not originate in English

While Table 3 shows all the loanwords including cognates and Konglish words produced by Korean L2 learners to name the pictures in Study One, Table 4 summarizes Konglish words extracted from among all the loanwords in Table 3. Table 4 shows the cases where the subjects produce Konglish word pairs which match the picture stimulus in L1 but not in L2. Table 4 also indicates a general tendency for the oldest age Group C to use the Konglish word pairs most in the picture-naming task. For example, Table 4-a shows that a Konglish word pair *봉고 – bongo* (a Korean van brand-name; "van") is applied to the picture of a van by 20% of the Group A, 22.9% of Group B, and 57.1% of Group C. Table 4-b shows that Group C used the Konglish word pair *아이젠 – eisen* (*Eisen* in German; "crampon") the most both in L1 and L2 (Group A 5.3%, Group B 15.8%, Group C 78.9%). Table 4-d shows that an old-fashioned Konglish word pair *올드미스 – old-miss* is applied to the picture of a spinster only by the oldest age-group (Group A 0%, Group B 0%, Group C 100%). Table 4-e also shows that another old-fashioned Konglish word pair 호스티스 – *hostess* is applied to the picture of a prostitute predominantly by the oldest age-group (Group A 0%, Group B 17.6%, Group C 82.4%). The result shows – unsurprisingly – that the earlier (quasi-)borrowings from English *호스티스 hostess* ("prostitute") and *올드미스 old-miss* ("spinster") were preferred by the oldest age-group both in L1 and in L2. The Konglish word *아이젠 aijen* (*Eisen* in German; "crampon"), which the older generation is generally familiar with in L1, was also preferred by the oldest age-group in L2.

Table 4-a *Konglish word pair (봉고 in L1 -bongo in L2) applied to a picture of a van*

			Konglish (봉고-*bongo*)		Total
			0	1	
Group	A	Occurrence	33	7	40
		%	38.8%	**20.0%**	33.3%
	B	Occurrence	32	8	40
		%	37.6%	**22.9%**	33.3%
	C	Occurrence	20	20	40
		%	23.5%	**57.1%**	33.3%
TOTAL		Occurrence	85	35	120
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-b *Konglish word pair (아이젠* in L1 - *eisen* in L2) *applied to a picture of a crampon*

			Konglish (아이젠-*eisen*)		Total
			0	1	
Group	A	Occurrence	39	1	40
		%	38.6%	**5.3%**	33.3%
	B	Occurrence	37	3	40
		%	36.6%	**15.8%**	33.3%
	C	Occurrence	25	15	40
		%	24.8%	**78.9%**	33.3%
TOTAL		Occurrence	101	19	120
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-c *Konglish word pair (호치키스* in L1 - *hotchkiss* in L2) *applied to a picture of a stapler*

			Konglish (호치키스-*hotchkiss*)		Total
			0	1	
Group	A	Occurrence	29	11	40
		%	33.0%	**34.4%**	33.3%
	B	Occurrence	38	2	40
		%	43.2%	**6.3%**	33.3%
	C	Occurrence	21	19	40
		%	23.9%	**59.4%**	33.3%
TOTAL		Occurrence	88	32	120
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-d *Konglish word pair* (*올드미스* in L1 - *old-miss* in L2) *applied to a picture of a spinster*

			Konglish (올드미스- *old-miss*)		Total
			0	1	
Group	A	Occurrence	40	0	40
		%	35.1%	**.0%**	33.3%
	B	Occurrence	40	0	40
		%	35.1%	**.0%**	33.3%
	C	Occurrence	34	6	40
		%	29.8%	**100.0%**	33.3%
TOTAL		Occurrence	114	6	120
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-e *Konglish word pair* (*호스티스* in L1 - *hostess* in L2) *applied to a picture of a prostitute*

			Konglish (호스티스-*hostess*)		Total
			0	1	
Group	A	Occurrence	40	0	40
		%	38.8%	**.0%**	33.3%
	B	Occurrence	37	3	40
		%	35.9%	**17.6%**	33.3%
	C	Occurrence	26	14	40
		%	25.2%	**82.4%**	33.3%
TOTAL		Occurrence	103	17	120
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Among the loanwords elicited in the picture naming task, those which showed variation according to the subjects' gender are shown in Table 5. Table 5-a shows that the number of subjects who produced the target word *볼레로* (Korean item of the cognate pair *볼레로 – bolero*) in the L1 session was 22 from 120 subjects (90 female and 30 male), all of the *bolero*-producing subjects being female. Table 5-b shows that the number of the subjects who named the target word *bolero* (English item of the cognate pair *볼레로 – bolero*) in the L2 session was 21, all of whom, again, are female. The gender of the subjects who used the word *레깅스* (Korean item of the cognate pair *레깅스 – leggings*) in the L1 session was in 80% of cases female and the producers of *leggings*

(English item of the cognate pair *레깅스 – leggings*) were 75% female in the L2 session. The gender of the subjects who named the cognate pair *립크로스 – lip-gloss* was female in 86.6% of cases in the L1 task and in 83.1% of cases in the L2 task. These loanwords which were predominantly preferred by female subjects both in L1 and L2 relate to fashion-related items that Korean women are more likely interested in. The overall results suggest that the loanwords that male subjects do not frequently use in L1 were rarely used by the male subjects in L2.

Table 5 ***Gender Comparison***

Table ***5-a Production of bolero in the L1 session***

			Cognate *볼레로 (bolero)*		Total
			0	1	
Gender	F	Occurrence	68	22	90
		%	69.4%	**100.0%**	75.0%
	M	Occurrence	30	0	30
		%	30.6%	.0%	25.0%
TOTAL		Occurrence	98	22	120
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table ***5-b Production of bolero in the L2 session***

			Cognate *bolero*		Total
			0	1	
Gender	F	Occurrence	69	21	90
		%	69.7%	**100.0%**	75.0%
	M	Occurrence	30	0	30
		%	30.3%	.0%	25.0%
TOTAL		Occurrence	99	21	120
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table *5-c Production of leggings in the L1 session*

			Cognate 레깅스 (*leggings*)		Total
			0	1	
Gender	F	Occurrence	86	4	90
		%	74.8%	**80.0%**	75.0%
	M	Occurrence	29	1	30
		%	25.2%	20.0%	25.0%
TOTAL		Occurrence	115	5	120
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table *5-d Production of leggings in the L2 session*

			Cognate *leggings*		Total
			0	1	
Gender	F	Occurrence	78	12	90
		%	75.0%	**75.0%**	75.0%
	M	Occurrence	26	4	30
		%	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%
TOTAL		Occurrence	104	16	120
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table *5-e Production of lip-gloss in the L1 session*

			Cognate 립크로스 (*lip-gloss*)		Total
			0	1	
Gender	F	Occurrence	32	58	90
		%	60.4%	**86.6%**	75.0%
	M	Occurrence	21	9	30
		%	39.6%	13.4%	25.0%
TOTAL		Occurrence	53	67	120
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table *5-f Production of lip-gloss in the L2 session*

			Cognate *lip-gloss*		Total
			0	1	
Gender	F	Occurrence	36	54	90
		%	65.5%	**83.1%**	75.0%
	M	Occurrence	19	11	30
		%	34.5%	16.9%	25.0%
TOTAL		Occurrence	55	65	120
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The results indicate that both cognates and Konglish words are stored as L1 lexical items and accessed via L1 entries in L2 production. There is a tendency for the words that are not fully integrated into the L1 in the mind of a Korean beginning learner of English not to transfer into L2. Moreover, the loan words which do not originate in English were also transferred from Korean (L1) to English (L2). In conclusion, there is evidence that Konglish words are stored as L1 lexical items and retrieved through L1 lexical entries in L2 access.

6.5 Interpretation

The subjects were all L2 beginners and divided into three age groups (mean age: Group A 16.85, Group B 24.6, Group C 49.9). The first finding demonstrated that the loanwords (both cognates and Konglish words) that were used predominantly by a certain type of subject (in terms either of age-group or gender) in L1, were mostly used by the subjects in L2 in the same way. The second finding was that the loanwords infrequently deployed in L1 production did not appear frequently in L2 either. Moreover, the words that do not exist in the subjects' L1 were not at all transferred into L2. The third finding was that loanwords originating from languages other than English were also deployed as if they were English items in English production.

Given that older generations tend to use outdated loanwords (Hoffer 1990, p.12), it is interesting to observe that the Konglish words호스티스 *hostess* ("prostitute") and 올드미스 *old-miss* ("spinster"), which are generally considered as old-fashioned

loanwords, were most used by the oldest age-group in L1 session. The results for 호스티스 *hostess* ("prostitute") were: Group A: 0.0%, Group B: 22.5%, Group C: 45.0%, and for 올드미스 *old-miss* ("spinster"): Group A: 0.0%, Group B: 0.0%, Group C: 15.0%. Since hiking or mountain climbing is a popular pastime among Koreans in their 40s or above in Korea, it is unsurprising that the Konglish word 아이젠 *aijen* (*Eisen* in German; "crampon") was predominantly used in Korean by Group C who were over 40 (Group A: 2.5%, Group B: 7.5%, Group C: 37.5%). These Konglish words used mostly by the oldest group were transferred to the L2 naming task by the oldest group predominantly, as shown in the results; the Konglish word pair 호스티스 — *hostess* ("prostitute") was produced by 0% of Group A, 17.6% of Group B and 82.4% of Group C; the Konglish word pair 올드미스 — *old-miss* ("spinster") was produced by 0% of Group A, 0% of Group B, and 100% of Group C; the Konglish word pair 아이젠 — *eisen* (*Eisen* in German; "crampon") was used by 5.3% of Group A, 15.8% of Group B, and 78.9% of Group C. The cognate words with which females are more familiar in L1 were also used more by female subjects in the L2. A Korean item of cognate pair 볼레로 ("bolero") was used by 22 subjects (out of 120) in L1. This consisted of 100% female subjects. The subjects who used *bolero* in L2 were also 100% female subjects. Other cognate pairs produced mostly by female subjects were 레깅스 – *leggings* (80% in L1, 75% in L2) and 립크로스 – *lip-gloss* (86.6% in L1, 83.1% in L2). This suggests that if the cognate words are not stored in the male subjects' L1, the words are not retrieved in L2 contexts.

The word 크램폰 *crampon* was used by none of the groups in the L1 task (Group A: 0%, Group B: 0%, Group C: 0%). This word was not transferred either into L2 (Group A: 0%, Group B: 0%, Group C: 0%). The word 토우트럭 *tow-truck*, which is more likely to be encountered in L2, as compared to the infrequent word *crampon*, did not appear in any of the groups in L1 (Group A: 0%, Group B: 0%, Group C: 0%) but was recalled in L2 by a few subjects (Group A: 0%, Group B: 5%, Group C: 0%). There was a tendency words not used in L1 not to be transferred to L2 (e.g. 레카 *wrecker*: L1 0%, L2 0% in Group A).

Given that monolinguals use borrowed forms, not code-switched forms, and thus borrowed forms (not code-switched forms) are part of their mental lexicon (Myers-Scotton 1993, p.193), both cognates and Konglish words in this study are part of the Korean lexicon of both Korean monolinguals and Korean beginners in English. Whereas Japanese has a distinct form of writing, "*katakana*", for Western loanwords, Korean does not make an orthographical or any other formal distinction between loanwords and native Korean words. Since loanwords such those discussed earlier are fully integrated into the Korean lexicon and pronounced in the same way as Korean native words, Koreans often do not realize that the words they are using are in fact loanwords. Given that a majority of loanwords in the L1 maintain semantic features which are the same as or similar to those of the source language, it should be noted again that not all loanwords are labelled as Konglish (see above, Chapter IV). As noted in Chapter IV, Konglish words are defined as those cases that do not show a semantic resemblance to the English items from which they derive their forms, including the case of euphemisms with negative connotations (Hoffer 1990, p.13) such as 호스티스 *hostess* (negatively interpreted as "prostitute"). Only when loanwords undergo such semantic changes and convey a different sense from the L2 words from which they developed are they designated here as Konglish words.

As already mentioned, another case of Konglish words is that of those loanwords that do not originate in English but which are used in English contexts. The word *eisen* ("iron" in German, "crampon" in English) was deployed as an English word in the L2 naming task involving a picture of a crampon (Group A: 17.5%, Group B: 20.0%, Group C: 52.5%).

In this study, both loanwords and Konglish words were included. In order to explore the use of the Konglish word 봉고 *bongo* (a Korean van brand-name; "van") in a comparative manner, a loanword from the preliminary survey, the cognate word *van*, was added to the study, in order to investigate whether the degree of the word's integration into the L1 affects L2 access. The integration of the cognate word *van* into Korean was found to be low (Group A: 2.5%, Group B: 2.5%, Group C: 10.0%) as compared to its Konglish counterpart 봉고 *bongo* (Group A: 85.0%, Group B: 65.0%, Group C: 70.0%). The percentages of the group that transferred this Konglish word into the English context

were: Group A: 20.0%, Group B: 22.9%, Group C: 57.1%. This result was different from other results showing a similar pattern of word use in L1 and L2. This Konglish word did not seem to show a clear correlation between L1 and L2 use. This result can be explained by two factors. First, since the L2 word *van* had recently been taught in class (mentioned by the English teacher of Group A subjects), there is a possibility that a learning effect may have helped the subjects in Group A to retrieve the target L2 item *van* directly from L2 entry and that they thus did not need to rely on the Konglish word 봉고 *bongo* (a Korean van brand-name; "van"). This may explain why Group A used the Konglish word in L2 least, despite the high volume of use in L1 (Group A: 17.5%, Group B: 20.0%, Group C: 52.5%). This suggests that Konglish words are not accessed when the target L2 word is learned and thus stored as an L2 entry. Loanwords may be accessed via L1 or L2; this is dependent on their degree of integration into either language. Since Konglish words are fully integrated into L1, they are accessed through L1 entries, where there is an absence of the relevant knowledge in L2. This notion is supported by findings from Japanese speakers that little or no activation of lexical representations of the original English words were involved in the case of the processing of adopted loanwords but only in the case of less than fully integrated loanwords (Tamaoka & Miyaoka 2003).

Although the three groups were all of low-proficiency level with respect to English, it was the oldest group that had the most noticeable difficulty recalling the target word (recall in L2: Group A: 85, Group B: 111, Group C: 52). It seems that when learners have not used the target language for a long time, the status of activation becomes "dormant" and it hardly impinges on ongoing processing (Green 1986, p.215; see also Green 2002, p.207; Schreuder & Weltens 1993, pp.144-147). Group C had only recently resumed L2 learning and the lengthy period of disuse of the target language can be assumed to be responsible for their slow responses. This seems eventually to have caused their failure to name the picture within the time constraints.

Another observation from this study is that 7 of the 120 participants named the picture of the stapler as "stamp". In terms of spreading activation, it can be assumed that the target word *stapler* did not receive sufficient activation owing to its infrequent use. The word

stamp almost certainly has higher frequency than *stapler*; it is frequently encountered in English, and also as a common loanword in Korean, and so it is likely to receive activation from both languages. This presumably is what enables it to reach the threshold before the target word *stapler*.

In addition, phonological adjustment into L2 was not complete in most cases, which may be attributed to subjects' low proficiency. This also suggests that the words were accessed via Korean and then transferred into English. The cognate word *lip-gloss*, for example, was often pronounced as /lip kɻlosɻ/ in the L2 task, which is similar to its pronunciation in L1.

6.6 Summary

In conclusion, when Korean L2 beginners named pictures in English in Study One, they tended to use Konglish words in place of the target L2 words. It was found that both cognates and Konglish words present in the L1 tended to be copied into English, and that words absent from the L1 were also likely to be absent from L2 production. Even though the L2 naming task preceded the L1 naming task in order to eliminate additional native language influence from the repetition, the results still showed cross-linguistic interference. The results indicate that in the case of Korean learners of English, Konglish words are stored as L1 items in the L1 mental lexicon and accessed via the L1 entry in L2 production.

CHAPTER VII: Study Two

7.1 Overview of Study Two

The results of Study One suggest that Konglish words are stored as L1 lexical items and accessed via L1 entries in L2 production. It was also observed that Konglish words still carry L1 characteristics in L2 production, in particular, in terms of frequency or preference. Study One, as the first step of the present study, employed Korean beginning learners of English, who were expected to manifest the Konglish phenomenon most distinctively. Picture-naming tasks involving single words were used with these subjects because their knowledge of English was deemed not sufficient to be tested on the basis of longer stretches of language. It is necessary at this point to extend the discussion of Konglish use at word level to the broader Konglish phenomenon. To examine dimensions of the Konglish phenomenon ranging from linguistic to pragmatic and conceptual aspects, Study Two accordingly employed new subjects who were capable of being tested on the basis of complex sentences or paragraphs. Given that the use of Konglish words is attributed to lack of resources in English, it seems likely that the quantity of Konglish words accessed via L1 entries to compensate for deficiencies in knowledge of English may decrease as the resources stored in English entries become sufficient to meet learners' needs. To explore the relationship between reliance on Konglish and the resources stored in lexical entries in English, Study Two examined the Konglish data of the subjects in relation to their knowledge of English. The approach taken to investigating the latter was two-fold. Consideration was given to subjects' proficiency as well as to subjects' exposure to the target language in terms of quantity and quality. In contrast to Study One, which was limited to language production, Study Two explored the Konglish phenomenon with regard to the comprehension as well as to the production of English.

7.2 Method

7.2.1 Subjects

10 native speakers of English were employed as a control group in Study Two. The control group was composed of seven Americans, one Irish person, one Canadian, and

one South African. The mean length of stay in Korea of the control group was 2.05 months, and the participants' knowledge of Korean was either non-existent or limited to simple phrases such as greetings.

100 Korean participants were recruited for Study Two through on-campus posters which specified that people with knowledge of Korean and English were needed for a research project. 80 participants were Korean-dominant bilinguals/L2 learners and 20 participants were English-dominant bilinguals. With regard to Korean-dominant bilinguals/L2 learners, only those participants who had obtained the certificate testifying to their English proficiency from the Multimedia Assisted Test of English (MATE 2008) were accepted into the project. 40 college students who had achieved the "Moderate level" of the MATE Speaking Test were assigned to Group A (low-proficiency group). According to the rating scale of the test, "Moderate" level is broadly defined as "the ability to create with language [produce language creatively], start, maintain, and end a simple conversation by asking and answering simple questions" (see Appendix A). According to Grosjean's distinction between "language learners" and "bilinguals" (Grosjean 1998, p.136), subjects in Group A are L2 learners because they do not speak the L2 on a regular basis. The other 40 participants, who had attained the "Commanding" level of the test, were allotted to Group B (proficient Korean dominant bilinguals). Given that the "Commanding Mid" level was the minimum requirement for the TESOL MA program on which the participants assigned to Group B were enrolled, their proficiency was above the minimum level for inclusion in this group. According to the test criterion, "Commanding Mid" speakers are able to "fully control their speech while narrating and describing in the past, present, and future tense" (see Appendix A). Since the proficient bilinguals in Group B are required to use L2 (English) exclusively in class, they use the L2 on a regular basis, which enables them to maintain themselves as "bilinguals", as compared to the subjects in Group A, who are clearly "L2 learners".

The 20 participants allocated to Group C were Korean-Americans who were taking the summer course at Yonsei University in Korea when the study was carried out. While Korean was the dominant language for Group A and Group B, English was the dominant

language for Group C. While the subjects in Group A and Group B were late L2 learners, most of the participants in Group C were early bilinguals. Thirteen subjects were born in an English-speaking country, four subjects have lived in an English-speaking country since the age of one, and one subject from the age of five. Two participants had moved to America when they were ten years old. The mean length of residence in Korea of the Group C was 10.18 months (SD 21.11) and the percentage of use of Korean language in daily life was 27.35% (SD 20.49).

Table 6 ***Length of Stay in English-Speaking Country***

Group	Length of stay in English-speaking Country
A	3.93 months
B	13.76 months
C	19.75 months

7.2.2 Design

Study Two was designed to investigate - by observing the Konglish phenomenon - how participants' resources required to comprehend and produce English are stored and accessed in the mental lexicon. The study examined how resources from Korean were employed to compensate for deficits in knowledge of English, taking a broad definition of the Konglish phenomenon, covering linguistic, pragmatic and conceptual aspects in both language reception and production. The tests thus contained not only word-level but also sentence-level and moreover discourse-level context, so that the processing of English at all levels could be observed. While most pragmatic research has used a questionnaire-type approach, which may not reflect real-time language processing, the present study utilized both written tasks and oral interview.

Studies in this area have tended to yield inconsistent results, which have been attributed to the type of stimuli employed in the studies (see above, Chapter II). As discussed in Chapter 2.4, different word-types tested in experiments may be relevant to inconsistent results, since the extent of overlapping conceptual features between translation-equivalents may vary according to word-type (e.g. De Groot & Nas 1991; Sánchez-Casas,

Davis and García-Albea 1992; Kroll & De Groot 1997). For example, noun translation pairs tend to have more shared conceptual representations than verbs (van Hell & De Groot 1998). In order to circumvent this problem, the present study contained various types of words: concrete words, abstract words, cognates and non-cognates, and also various grammatical categories - noun, verb etc. In addition, there were no stimuli in Korean, in order to minimize influence from Korean.

In addition to word-type, task difference in experiments may also influence the results, since different tasks involve different processes of L2 access (see above, Chapter II; Kolers & Gonzalez 1980; Durgunoğlu & Roediger 1987; Kim & Davis 2003). The subjects in Study Two were thus tested on various tasks where visual stimuli from pictures and reading texts as well as auditory stimuli were presented to the subjects. In contrast to the lexical decision task, where participants rely on the orthographic–semantic path, not necessarily with phonological activation (see discussion in Chapter II, e.g. Kim & Davis 2003), the sound recognition task in Study Two, in the form of a dictation test, examined the phonological-semantic path. The case of Korean users of English presents different challenges from that of subjects involved in the studies of the processing of interlingual homographs (e.g. Van Heuven, Dijkstra & Grainger 1998; De Groot, Delmaar & Lupker 2000) in that the Korean language does not use the Roman alphabet. In the much-earlier studies of the processing of interlingual homographs, the common orthographic representations enabled all corresponding semantic and phonological codes connected to the orthography to be activated in both languages (Dijkstra, Grainger & Van Heuven 1999, p.512). The sound recognition task included in Study Two was designed to investigate the phonological-semantic path solely by means of auditory stimuli, without the presence of orthographic stimuli. The auditory input provided for the dictation in this task also contained numbers, which may be more cognitively demanding in the retrieval of the semantic representations.

The study was designed to investigate how various factors such as proficiency, language exposure and the learning strategies might be relevant to the structure of their mental lexicon. It involved subjects with different backgrounds in terms of English proficiency and English learning history. With regard to subjects (Group C) who acquired English in

an English-speaking country from birth or childhood, their data was also compared with the data from the control-group in order to uncover any influence on their English from Korean.

7.2.3 Materials

Pictures and realia were prepared for the oral interview. The pictures were obtained from internet search engines and magazines. The realia, such as a band aid and soft drinks, were purchased, any labels on the products being removed. The written test was presented as a seven-page-long pen and paper test (see Appendix D). The rubrics of this test were entirely in English. The administration of the written test was followed by the administration of a questionnaire in Korean focused on participants' learning history.

7.2.4 Procedure

The data-elicitation was conducted in two sessions, consisting in the oral interview and the written test respectively. For the oral interview, five native English speakers (four Americans and one Canadian) were employed as interviewers. The interviewers had in no case resided in Korea for no longer than 3 months and had no command of Korean beyond simple greetings and names. To keep the interviewees in monolingual mode, the interviewers were instructed not to speak or respond in Korean and not even to use Korean greetings during the interview. For the duration of the interview, there was only one interviewer and one interviewee in the room – in consideration of the fact that Korean students are highly apprehensive about being tested in general and that Korean female students in particular tend to be shy. Extra caution clearly needed to be exercised in the study to avoid any adverse effects that might arise from the test setting. The interviewers had been trained to "break the ice" before the test proper, beginning with some general chatting before proceeding with the tasks. Also, some naming tasks were presented in the form of a game in order to lower anxiety. This game is popular among young people in Korea and is seen as a fun psychology test or a fun personality test. Thus, rather than being asked to perform a straightforward naming task, the participants would be asked to open a small box and take out each item it contained and to name what they extracted. After the subject had finished taking all the items out of the box, the

interviewer would guess the participant's preference. For instance, if the participant had first picked up an item related to fashion, the interviewer would tell her that she might have an interest in fashion. Another naming task was performed as a tasting game. The participants would be asked to close their eyes and to take a sip of two different kinds of soft drink, one of which was designated by the target English word. They then were asked to guess what they tasted. From their comments after the oral activities, the participants said they enjoyed the test. The above-described type of task manipulation can plausibly be assumed to have decreased their anxiety and to have facilitated their involvement in the study.

The sound recognition test was conducted before or after the oral interview. The subjects were informed that a code was assigned to each of them for the sake of data filing. All the subjects, however, were given "5 /faiv/ 2 /tu:/ 1 /wʌn/ O /ou/ E /i:/" and a random number for the last digit. For example, one subject might hear "521OE3" from the interviewer, while another subject might hear "521OE4". What was examined in this test were the sound-shapes of the numbers "5" and "2" and English letters "O" and "E", since the sound-shapes of "5" and "2" in Korean resemble the pronunciation of "O" and "E" respectively. The subjects were informed that the code would not be repeated, and they were asked to listen carefully and handwrite what they heard when the interviewer uttered it. It was spoken at a rate which native speakers of English would normally expect.

The written test was performed in a specially designated room. The participants were asked to handwrite their answers. Since the test was time-consuming and demanding, there was realistically no way of reducing test-related anxiety in this case.

7.2.5 Data treatment

The data from the subjects in Study Two were assessed in relation to the data from the English native-speaker control group. That is, any expressions which were judged to be acceptable by the native speakers of English were not counted as Konglish, and thus the words or phrases identified as Konglish words were limited to the items which were not used by any of the native English speakers or which were judged to be unacceptable in

the given English context. As Konglish, as defined earlier (see above, Chapter IV), is restricted to Korean-driven reception or production, any English-driven items deriving from such processes as ''overgeneralization'' or "simplification" (Lightbown 1985, p.177) were also excluded. For example, if a subject used the word *house* instead of the target word *studio apartment*, this would not be considered to be Konglish, since the word *house* is also English-driven lexical item and yields no trace of Korean influence. In the sound recognition task, some of the participants occasionally corrected their Korean-based responses and eventually produced the correct English-based response. One example is a case where a subject transcribed "5" on the paper when she heard the letter "O" and then realized that the interviewer (a native speaker of English) did not speak Korean, and changed her answer to the target item "O". Although these self-corrected but correct answers were not counted as Konglish production in the quantitative data analysis, they were included in the discussion of the results, since they clearly support the notion of L1 activation.

7.3 Results

Table 7 shows Konglish use as observed in the written test (Total I), in the oral interview (Total II), and in the sound recognition task (Total III), and also the total amount of Konglish use across the three tests of Study Two (Sum Total). The mean of Total I in Table 7 demonstrates that the least proficient Group A produced the most Konglish in the written test (Group A: 0.642, Group B: 0.507, Group C: 0.147; see also footnote 5). The mean of Total II in Table 7 also shows that the least proficient Group A produced the most Konglish in the oral interview as well (Group A: 0.492, Group B: 0.242, Group C:0.092). The mean of Total III in Table 7, however, indicates the different result that Group B produced Korean-driven data most in the sound recognition task (Group A: 0.050, Group B: 0.088, Group C: 0.000), although the most proficient Group C produced no Korean-based data. The mean of Sum Total in Table 7 for overall Konglish use across all three test-types indicates that the least proficient Group A produced Korean-driven data most in general and that the extent of the Konglish phenomenon decreased as the proficiency of the group increased (Group A 0.395, Group B 0.279, Group C 0.079). No

significant difference was observed in the amount of Konglish produced according to test-type, with the exception of the data of Group B in the sound recognition task.

Table 7 ***Mean and Standard Deviation*** **of** ***Konglish Use***

	Group	N	**Mean**[6]	Std[7]	Std error[8]	95% Confidence interval[9] lower limit	upper limit	Min score	Max score
Total I written test	**A**	40	**0.642**	0.075	0.012	0.618	0.666	0.488	0.800
	B	40	0.507	0.123	0.019	0.467	0.546	0.226	0.709
	C	20	0.147	0.105	0.023	0.098	0.196	0.000	0.418
	Total	100	0.489	0.209	0.021	0.447	0.530	0.000	0.800
Total II oral interview	**A**	40	**0.492**	0.203	0.032	0.427	0.557	0.000	0.917
	B	40	0.242	0.155	0.025	0.192	0.291	0.000	0.667
	C	20	0.092	0.066	0.015	0.061	0.122	0.000	0.167
	Total	100	0.312	0.227	0.023	0.267	0.357	0.000	0.917
Total III sound recognition task	A	40	0.050	0.152	0.024	0.001	0.099	0.000	0.500
	B	40	**0.088**	0.192	0.030	0.026	0.149	0.000	0.500
	C	20	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	Total	100	0.055	0.157	0.016	0.024	0.086	0.000	0.500
Sum Total all three tests	**A**	40	**0.395**	0.095	0.015	0.364	0.425	0.193	0.641
	B	40	0.279	0.087	0.014	0.251	0.306	0.146	0.507
	C	20	0.079	0.038	0.008	0.062	0.097	0.033	0.167
	Total	100	0.285	0.142	0.014	0.257	0.313	0.033	0.641

Table 8 shows Konglish use in the written test; these data later were subject to an ANOVA[10] procedure, looking at inter-group differences, the results of which are shown

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[6] The full scores for each test -Total I (39), Total II (12), and Total III (2)- were rendered into scores out of 100 for the sake of comparison across the different type of tests and then divided by the number of the subjects in the respective groups.

[7] The standard deviation indicates how widely spread the values in a data set are. For example, the smaller std is, the closer the data are to the mean, while the larger std is, the farther the data are from the mean.

[8] The standard error refers to the estimated standard deviation of the error in that method, which indicates the standard deviation of the difference between the estimated and the true values.

[9] Confidence intervals indicate the reliability of an estimate and are often stated at the 95% level in statistics.

[10] Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to test for differences among the groups.

in Table 9. Data from the written test were categorized in the sections conceptual representation (labelled as CON), word order (WO), selectional restrictions of verbs (SR), pragmatics (PRAG), meaning appropriateness (MA), collocations (COL), and lexical selection (LS). For example, a case where a subject related the concept of the word *pumpkin* ("a kind of vegetable") to the word *ugly* referring to an unattractive female person on the basis of its Korean conceptual representations was assigned to the CON section. An example of the SR (selectional restrictions of verbs) section is the case where a subject judged the verb *work* in a sentence "Everything worked just fine" to be unacceptable on the basis that the verb for "work" does not allow the subject to be an inanimate noun in Korean. An example from the LS (lexical selection) section is the subjects' choice of the word *drives* over the word *flies* in the context "My father ( ) an airplane".

The effects of proficiency were significant in all three sections as illustrated in Table 8. The mean of each section shows that the least proficient group (Group A) produced the most Konglish in all sections of the written test. For example, the data regarding the subjects' conceptual representations (the section CON in Table 8) show that the least proficient Group A produced the most Konglish (Group A: 0.413, Group B: 0.350, Group C: 0.200).

Among the sections relating to the written test, a distinctly high volume of Konglish data was observed in two sections. As shown in Table 8, the total mean of VOICE (voice of a verb) was 0.75 (SD 0.435) and that of PRAG (pragmatics) was 0.70 (SD 0.355), which are markedly higher than figures in the other sections (e.g. the mean of SR - selectional restrictions of verbs- was 0.300, SD 0.269). In the PRAG section in particular, even the most proficient Group C produced a considerable amount of Konglish (mean 0.330, SD 0.373) compared to other sections (e.g. mean 0.010, SD 0.056 in the SR section), which suggests that the activation of Korean-driven pragmatic resources, as compared to other types of Korean representations, was hard to circumvent even for the most proficient group.

Table 8 ***Means and Standard Deviations with respect to Konglish Use in the Written Test***

Section	Group	N	**Mean**	Std	Std error	95% Confidence interval		min	max
						lower	upper		
CON	A	40	**0.413**	0.192	0.030	0.351	0.474	0.000	0.500
	B	40	**0.350**	0.258	0.041	0.267	0.433	0.000	1.000
	C	20	**0.200**	0.251	0.056	0.082	0.318	0.000	0.500
	Total	100	**0.345**	0.243	0.024	0.297	0.393	0.000	1.000
WO	A	40	**0.483**	0.252	0.040	0.402	0.563	0.000	1.000
	B	40	**0.425**	0.240	0.038	0.348	0.501	0.000	1.000
	C	20	**0.017**	0.074	0.017	-0.018	0.051	0.000	0.330
	Total	100	**0.366**	0.283	0.028	0.310	0.422	0.000	1.000
SR	A	40	**0.430**	0.284	0.045	0.330	0.520	0.000	1.000
	B	40	**0.310**	0.208	0.033	0.240	0.370	0.000	1.000
	C	20	**0.010**	0.056	0.012	-0.010	0.040	0.000	0.000
	Total	100	**0.300**	0.269	0.027	0.240	0.350	0.000	1.000
VOICE	A	40	**0.980**	0.158	0.025	0.920	1.030	0.000	1.000
	B	40	**0.830**	0.385	0.061	0.700	0.950	0.000	1.000
	C	20	**0.150**	0.366	0.082	-0.020	0.320	0.000	1.000
	Total	100	**0.750**	0.435	0.044	0.660	0.840	0.000	1.000
PRAG	A	40	**0.900**	0.203	0.032	0.840	0.960	1.000	1.000
	B	40	**0.690**	0.314	0.050	0.590	0.790	0.000	1.000
	C	20	**0.330**	0.373	0.083	0.150	0.500	0.000	1.000
	Total	100	**0.700**	0.355	0.036	0.630	0.770	0.000	1.000
COL	A	40	**0.590**	0.212	0.034	0.520	0.660	0.000	1.000
	B	40	**0.460**	0.206	0.033	0.390	0.520	0.000	1.000
	C	20	**0.150**	0.136	0.030	0.080	0.210	0.000	1.000
	Total	100	**0.450**	0.254	0.025	0.400	0.500	0.000	1.000
MA	A	40	**0.770**	0.171	0.027	0.720	0.830	0.000	1.000
	B	39	**0.540**	0.260	0.042	0.450	0.620	0.000	1.000
	C	20	**0.240**	0.272	0.061	0.110	0.370	0.000	1.000
	Total	99	**0.570**	0.302	0.030	0.510	0.630	0.000	1.000
LS	A	40	**0.577**	0.135	0.021	0.534	0.620	0.077	0.846
	B	40	**0.469**	0.140	0.022	0.424	0.514	0.077	0.846
	C	20	**0.081**	0.140	0.031	0.015	0.146	0.000	0.462
	Total	100	**0.435**	0.229	0.023	0.389	0.480	0.000	0.846

Note CON: conceptual representations, WO: word order, SR: selectional restrictions of verbs, VOICE: voice of a verb PRAG: pragmatics, MA: meaning appropriateness, COL: collocation, LS: lexical selection.

ANOVA (Analysis of variance) was employed in order to test for differences amongst the groups. That is, since the groups were divided on the basis of proficiency levels and the data was Konglish use from the written test, ANOVA used in Table 9 suggests the possibility that the relation between Konglish use and proficiency is statistically significant. This statistical method is to confirm the indications of Table 8 that the subjects produced a different amount of Konglish based on their proficiency level. Given that the p-value (see footnote 13) indicates statistical significance in reference to all sections of Table 9, the variation in the amount of Konglish use among the groups can be interpreted to be statistically significant in relation to all sections of written test.

Table 9 ***ANOVA Results Referring to Table 8***

		Sum of squares	Degree of freedom[11]	Mean square	F[12]	**P value[13]**
CON	between	.604	2	.302	5.584	**.005**
	within	5.244	97	.054		
	TOTAL	5.848	99			
WO	between	3.123	2	1.561	31.368	**.000**
	within	4.828	97	.050		
	TOTAL	7.951	99			
SR	between	2.277	2	1.139	22.561	**.000**
	within	4.895	97	.050		
	TOTAL	7.172	99			
VOICE	between	9.450	2	4.725	49.282	**.000**
	within	9.300	97	.096		
	TOTAL	18.750	99			
PRAG	between	4.419	2	2.209	26.519	**.000**
	within	8.081	97	.083		
	TOTAL	12.500	99			
COL	between	2.639	2	1.319	34.084	**.000**
	within	3.755	97	.039		
	TOTAL	6.394	99			
MA	between	3.846	2	1.923	36.095	**.000**
	within	5.114	96	.053		
	TOTAL	8.960	98			
LS	between	3.362	2	1.681	88.171	**.000**
	within	1.849	97	.019		
	TOTAL	5.212	99			

Note Between: between groups, Within: within the group

Note CON: conceptual representations, WO: word order, SR: selectional restrictions of verbs, VOICE: voice of a verb PRAG: pragmatics, MA: meaning appropriateness, COL: collocation, LS: lexical selection.

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[11] The term *degrees of freedom* refers to is the number of categories or classes being tested minus one.

[12] The null hypothesis is rejected if the F ratio is large.

[13] The p-value needs to be lower than the significance level (1% in this case) for the result to be interpreted as "statistically significant". The smaller the p-value, the more significant the result is said to be.

Table 10 shows the Konglish data elicited by the oral interview. The Konglish words produced by the subjects in the oral interview are *one room* ("studio apartment") labelled as "OR" in Table 10, *sharp* ("pound/hash" key) labelled as "#", *talent* ("actor/actress") labelled as "T", *gips* (" [plaster-] cast") labelled as "G", *band* ("band-aid") labelled as "B", *one piece* ("dress") labelled as "OP", *meeting* ("blind date") labelled as "M", and *cider* ("soda pop") labelled as "CI". Other Korean-driven data yielded by the interview are also presented in Table 10. The subjects' responses based on Korean sociolinguistic values to a compliment are marked as "CO", and sociolinguistically inappropriate questions from an English speaker's point of view are marked as "IQ" in Table 10. Pronunciation based on Korean phonological properties is marked as "P" and Korean-driven responses to negative questions are marked as "NQ". For example, a case where a subject responded "No" to show his/her modesty as expected in their L1 (Korean) to a compliment from the interviewer was counted as belonging in the CO section (response to compliments). A case where a subject posed personal questions to the interviewer whom she/he has just met for the first time was placed in the domain of the IQ section (inappropriate questions). A case where a subject responded to negative questions on the basis of the Korean pattern (discussed previously in Chapter IV) was counted as belonging in the NQ section (response to negative questions).

The results shown in Table 10 indicate that # *sharp* ("pound/hash" key) was the Konglish word used by most subjects (mean 0.62, SD 0.488 in total). Among all the Konglish words produced by the least proficient Group A, # s*harp* ("pound/hash" key) was the most produced Konglish word (mean 0.85, SD 0.362), while t*alent* ("actor/actress") was the least produced (mean 0.15, SD 0.362). The most proficient Group C did not produce any of the following Korean-driven words; T *talent* ("actor/actress"), B *band* ("band-aid"), OP *one piece* ("dress"); nor did they produce Korean-driven any utterances in the sections CO (response to a compliment) or P (pronunciation). The most proficient Group C did, however, produce a considerable number of Korean-based responses in the NQ section (response to negative questions), as shown in Table 10 (mean 0.45, SD 0.510). This suggests that activation of Korean in responses to negative questions could not be totally eliminated even for the most proficient group.

Table 10 ***Means and Standard Deviations with respect to the Oral Interview***

Item	Group	N	Mean	Std	Std error	95% confidence interval		Min score	Max score
						lower limit	upper limit		
OR	A	40	.60	.496	.078	.44	.76	0	1
	B	40	.25	.439	.069	.11	.39	0	1
	C	20	.10	.308	.069	-.04	.24	0	1
	Total	100	**.36**	.482	.048	.26	.46	0	1
#	A	40	**.85**	.362	.057	.73	.97	0	1
	B	40	.65	.483	.076	.50	.80	0	1
	C	20	.10	.308	.069	-.04	.24	0	1
	Total	100	**.62**	.488	.049	.52	.72	0	1
T	A	40	**.15**	.362	.057	.03	.27	0	1
	B	40	.03	.158	.025	-.03	.08	0	1
	C	20	.00	.000	.000	.00	.00	0	0
	Total	100	**.07**	.256	.026	.02	.12	0	1
G	A	40	.55	.504	.080	.39	.71	0	1
	B	40	.18	.385	.061	.05	.30	0	1
	C	20	.05	.224	.050	-.05	.15	0	1
	Total	100	**.30**	.461	.046	.21	.39	0	1
B	A	40	.73	.452	.071	.58	.87	0	1
	B	40	.13	.335	.053	.02	.23	0	1
	C	20	.00	.000	.000	.00	.00	0	0
	Total	100	**.34**	.476	.048	.25	.43	0	1
OP	A	40	.55	.504	.080	.39	.71	0	1
	B	40	.18	.385	.061	.05	.30	0	1
	C	20	.00	.000	.000	.00	.00	0	0
	Total	100	**.29**	.456	.046	.20	.38	0	1
M	A	40	.40	.496	.078	.24	.56	0	1
	B	40	.08	.267	.042	-.01	.16	0	1
	C	20	.15	.366	.082	-.02	.32	0	1
	Total	100	**.22**	.416	.042	.14	.30	0	1

CI	A	40	.50	.506	.080	.34	.66	0	1
	B	40	.45	.504	.080	.29	.61	0	1
	C	20	.20	.410	.092	.01	.39	0	1
	Total	100	**.42**	.496	.050	.32	.52	0	1
CO	A	40	.43	.501	.079	.26	.59	0	1
	B	40	.18	.385	.061	.05	.30	0	1
	C	20	.00	.000	.000	.00	.00	0	0
	Total	100	**.24**	.429	.043	.15	.33	0	1
IQ	A	40	.25	.439	.069	.11	.39	0	1
	B	38	.39	.495	.080	.23	.56	0	1
	C	20	.05	.224	.050	-.05	.15	0	1
	Total	98	**.27**	.444	.045	.18	.35	0	1
P	A	40	.38	.490	.078	.22	.53	0	1
	B	40	.03	.158	.025	-.03	.08	0	1
	C	20	.00	.000	.000	.00	.00	0	0
	Total	100	**.16**	.368	.037	.09	.23	0	1
NQ	A	40	**.53**	.506	.080	.36	.69	0	1
	B	40	**.40**	.496	.078	.24	.56	0	1
	C	20	**.45**	.510	.114	.21	.69	0	1
	Total	100	**.46**	.501	.050	.36	.56	0	1

Note OR: one room (studio apartment), #: sharp (pound key), T: talent (actor/actress), G: *gips* ([plaster-] cast), B: band (band aid), OP: one piece (dress), M: meeting (blind date), CI: cider (soda pop), CO: compliment IQ: inappropriate questions, P: pronunciation, NQ: negative questions.

ANOVA in Table 11 is to investigate the possibility that the amount of Konglish use in the oral interview is different among the groups. Note that the groups were divided on the basis of proficiency level. As shown in Table 11, variations in the amount of Konglish use in the oral interview among the groups can be interpreted as being statistically significant in all sections except two[14]; the CI section (using the Konglish word *cider* in

[14] The p-value needs to be lower than the significance level (5% in this case) for the result to be interpreted as "statistically significant". The p-value of the CI section ($F(2,97)= 2.645$, $p>.05$) and the NQ section ($F(2,97)=.623$, $p>.05$) is higher than .05, and thus can not be interpreted as "statistically significant".

place of *soda pop*) and the NQ section (Korean-driven response to negative questions) section. This means that the amount of Konglish use was distinctively different among the groups of different proficiency level in most cases in the oral interview, indicating a strong proficiency effect.

Table 11 ***ANOVA Results Referring to Table 10***

		Sum of squares	Degree of freedom	Mean square	F	**P value**
OR	between	4.140	2	2.070	10.624	**.000**
	within	18.900	97	.195		
	TOTAL	23.040	99			
#	between	7.560	2	3.780	22.916	**.000**
	within	16.000	97	.165		
	TOTAL	23.560	99			
T	between	.435	2	.217	3.473	**.035**
	within	6.075	97	.063		
	TOTAL	6.510	99			
G	between	4.375	2	2.188	12.763	**.000**
	within	16.625	97	.171		
	TOTAL	21.000	99			
B	between	10.090	2	5.045	39.625	**.000**
	within	12.350	97	.127		
	TOTAL	22.440	99			
OP	between	4.915	2	2.458	15.207	**.000**
	within	15.675	97	.162		
	TOTAL	20.590	99			
M	between	2.235	2	1.118	7.263	**.001**
	within	14.925	97	.154		
	TOTAL	17.160	99			
CI	between	1.260	2	.630	2.645	**.076**
	within	23.100	97	.238		
	TOTAL	24.360	99			
CO	between	2.690	2	1.345	8.390	**.000**
	within	15.550	97	.160		
	TOTAL	18.240	99			
P	between	3.090	2	1.545	14.480	**.000**
	within	10.350	97	.107		
	TOTAL	13.440	99			
NQ	between	.315	2	.158	.623	**.538**
	within	24.525	97	.253		
	TOTAL	24.840	99			

Note Between: between the group, Within: within the group

The Korean-driven data obtained from the written test and the oral interview were compiled and then categorized into syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and conceptual aspects in Table 12. For example, all the sections regarding pragmatic knowledge regardless of the test type (written/oral) were included in the section "pragmatic knowledge" in Table 12: that is to say, the data in the PRAG section (pragmatics) in Table 8 from the written test and the data in the CO section (compliment) and the IQ section (inappropriate questions) in Table 10 from the oral interview were all combined under the category of "pragmatic knowledge". On the whole, Konglish was most observed in the sections concerning semantic knowledge (see the category "semantic knowledge" in Table 12; mean 0.5091, SD. 0.2329). For the least proficient Group A, Korean-based data were most observed in the category of semantic knowledge (mean 0.6820, SD. 0.1278). The Korean-driven data of the most proficient Group C were most observed in the conceptual knowledge-related sections, as shown in the category of "conceptual representations" in Table 12 (mean 0.2350, SD. 0.1886). This suggests that the conceptual representations of the L1 are difficult to eliminate, even for proficient L2-dominant bilinguals.

Table 12 ***Means and Standard Deviations with respect to Syntactic, Semantic, Pragmatic, and Conceptual Categories***

Category	Group	N	Mean	Std	Std error	95% Confidence interval		min	max
						lower limit	upper limit		
Syntactic Knowledge (WO+SR+VOICE)	A	40	0.6275	0.1228	0.0194	0.5882	0.6668	0.2233	0.8333
	B	40	0.5186	0.1762	0.0279	0.4622	0.5749	0.1100	0.7500
	C	20	0.0597	0.1366	0.0305	0.0043	0.1236	0.0000	0.4433
	TOTAL	100	0.4704	0.2583	0.0258	0.4191	0.5216	0.0000	0.8333
Semantic Knowledge (MA+COL)	A	40	**0.6820**	0.1278	0.0202	0.6411	0.7229	0.4400	1.0000
	B	40	0.4936	0.1746	0.0276	0.4378	0.5495	0.1250	0.7750
	C	20	0.1940	0.1362	0.0305	0.1303	0.2577	0.0000	0.4800
	TOTAL	100	**0.5091**	0.2329	0.0233	0.4628	0.5553	0.0000	1.0000
Pragmatic Knowledge (PRAG+CO+IQ)	A	40	0.5292	0.2229	0.0352	0.4579	0.6005	0.1667	1.0000
	B	40	0.4125	0.2032	0.0321	0.3475	0.4775	0.0000	1.0000
	C	20	0.1250	0.1311	0.0293	0.0637	0.1863	0.0000	0.3333
	TOTAL	100	0.4017	0.2474	0.0247	0.3526	0.4508	0.0000	1.0000
Conceptual Representations (NQ+CON)	A	40	0.3913	0.1839	0.0291	0.3324	0.4501	0.0000	0.7500
	B	40	0.3100	0.2039	0.0322	0.2448	0.3752	0.0000	0.7500
	C	20	**0.2350**	0.1886	0.0422	0.1468	0.3232	0.0000	0.6500
	TOTAL	100	0.3275	0.2001	0.0200	0.2878	0.3672	0.0000	0.7500

Note WO: word order, SR: selectional restrictions of a verb, VOICE: voice of a verb
MA: meaning appropriateness, COL: collocation
PRAG: pragmatics, CO: compliment IQ: inappropriate questions
NQ: negative questions, CON: conceptual representations

Given that the groups were divided on the basis of proficiency level and the data was Konglish in terms of syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and conceptual aspects, ANOVA used in Table 13 suggests the possibility that in each category the relation between Konglish use and proficiency is statistically significant. ANOVA Results in Table 13 show that the amount of Konglish use varies among the groups in all the categories[15]. This suggests that there are significant relations between subjects' proficiency and the activation of Korean-based syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and conceptual representations.

Table 13 ***ANOVA Results Referring to Table 12***

Category	Group	Sum of squares	Degree of freedom	Mean square	F	**P value**
Syntactic Knowledge (WO+SR+VOICE)	between	4.454	2	2.227	100.338	**.000**
	within	2.153	97	.022		
	TOTAL	6.607	99			
Semantic Knowledge (MA+COL)	between	3.191	2	1.596	71.037	**.000**
	within	2.179	97	.022		
	TOTAL	5.370	99			
Pragmatic Knowledge (PRAG+CO+IQ)	between	2.186	2	1.093	27.358	**.000**
	within	3.875	97	.040		
	TOTAL	6.061	99			
Conceptual Representations (NQ+CON)	between	.346	2	.173	4.640	**.012**
	within	3.616	97	.037		
	TOTAL	3.962	99			
Total	between	1.327	2	.663	96.132	**.000**
	within	.669	97	.007		
	TOTAL	1.996	99			

Note Between: between the group, Within: within the group

Table 14 displays subjects' L2 learning history as well as their L2 lexical knowledge. Since the subjects were already divided according to their English proficiency levels, the L2 lexical knowledge section (labelled as "L2K" in Table 14) may be considered to be

[15] Since the p-value of all categories is lower than the significance level (5% in this case), the differences among the groups can be interpreted as "statistically significant".

supplementary. Subjects' L2 lexical knowledge was assessed on the basis of their performance in the relevant section in the written test. This section included sentences and short dialogues with a blank. The subjects were asked to fill in the blanks, which were preceded with the first letter of the target words. For example:

A: Look at the car in front of us. He is driving so slowly.
B: Yeah, he's driving at a s_____'s pace

The mean of L2 knowledge is shown in Table 14. The mean of the each group is as follows: Group A: 1.95 (SD 1.09), Group B: 3.40 (SD 1.22) and Group C: 4.45 (SD 0.826); this clearly indicates that Group C was lexically most proficient in English.

Subjects' learning history includes length of stay in English-speaking countries (labelled as "Exposure in L2 Country" in Table 14), exposure to English out of class in Korea (labelled as "Exposure in L1 Country"), use of Korean in class (labelled as "K Use"), experience of translation-based vocabulary testing in class (labelled as "Trans in Class"), experience of translation-based self-study of vocabulary (labelled as "Trans in Self-study"), and experience of rule-based grammar learning (labelled as "Gram"). This information on the subjects' learning history is required to investigate how Korean affects their English learning and also how different kinds of experience of English affect their English learning. Since the participants in Group C are English-dominant bilinguals, and received official schooling in English-speaking countries, only Group A and Group B (Korean-dominant late bilinguals who received official schooling through the medium of Korean language in Korea) were considered in the investigation of the relationship between English lexical knowledge and English learning history. The background of Group C is different in terms of the respective time spent in Korea and English-speaking countries, the latter being predominant. The mean length of stay in Korea for Group C was 10.18 months, and the percentage of Korean use in everyday life was reported as 27.35%. 70% of the subjects in this group responded that they were aware of Korean influence on their English.

Table 14 *Means and Standard Deviations Relative to L2 Lexical Knowledge and Subjects' Background*

Group		L2K	Exposure in L2 Country	Exposure in L1 Country	K Use (%)	Trans in Class	Trans in Self-study	Gram
A	Mean	**1.95**	.01	.03	83.82	.90	.80	.48
	N	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
	Std	1.09	.014	.16	18.22	.30	.41	.51
B	Mean	**3.40**	.05	.53	85.38	.87	.70	.55
	N	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
	Std	1.22	.070	.51	25.05	.34	.46	.50
C	Mean	**4.45**	.79					
	N	20	20					
	Std	.826	.124					

Note L2K: L2 lexical knowledge, Exposure in L2 Country: the length of the stay in English-speaking countries, Exposure in L1 Country: Exposure to English in non-instructional setting in Korea, K Use: L1 use in class, Trans in Class: translation based vocabulary test in class, Trans in Self-study: translation based vocabulary self-learning, Gram: Rule-based grammar learning.

Table 15 shows the correlation between lexical knowledge in English (labelled as "L2K") and the amount of Korean-driven data produced by the subjects (labelled as "Total Konglish Use"). The table also presents the correlation between lexical knowledge in English and the subjects' background, with respect to Korean influence on their learning of English, and the correlation between lexical knowledge in English and exposure to English. As shown in Table 14, the sections regarding the subjects' background concerning L1 influence on their L2 learning relate for present purposes only to Korean-dominant bilingual Group A and to Group B, who have received Korean-medium English education in formal schooling in Korea. Group C, in contrast, have received English-medium education in formal schooling in English-speaking countries.

The sections which show statistically significant correlations with lexical knowledge in English (L2K) are Total Konglish Use, Exposure in English-speaking countries, and Exposure in L1 country, as marked * in Table 15. The negative correlation, r=-.636,

between subjects' L2 lexical knowledge (L2K) and the total amount of Korean-driven data produced (Total Konglish Use) is statistically significant at the 1% level, which indicates that the Konglish phenomenon decreases as the subjects' L2 knowledge increases. The positive correlation, r=.544, between subjects' L2 lexical knowledge (L2K) and their exposure to English in English-speaking countries (Exposure in L2 Countries) was significant at the 1% level, which suggests that L2 knowledge increases as subjects' exposure to English in English-speaking countries increases. The positive correlation, r=.276, between subjects' L2 lexical knowledge (L2K) and their exposure to English outside of English class in Korea (Exposure in L1 Country) is significant at the 5% level, which suggests that L2 lexical knowledge increases as subjects' exposure to English outside of formal instructional settings in Korea increases.

Table 15 ***Pearson's Correlation Coefficients[16] with respect to Subjects' L2 Lexical Knowledge***

		Total Konglish Use	**Exposure in L2 Countries**	**Exposure in L1 Country**	K Use	Trans in Class	Trans in Self-study	Gram
L2K	r[17]	**-.636****	**.544****	**.276***	.063	-.087	-.184	-.028
	P value[18]	.000	.000	.014	.582	.446	.104	.806
	N	99	99	79	79	79	79	79

Note Planned comparisons[19]: **p , .01; *p , .05.
r: Pearson's Correlation Coefficient

Note L2K: lexical knowledge in English, Total Konglish Use: overall Konglish use observed in written, oral interview and sound recognition test, Exposure in L2 Countries: exposure to English in English-speaking countries, Exposure in L1 Country: exposure to English in Korean-speaking

[16] In statistics, the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient is a common measure of the correlation between two variables (e.g., L2K and Total Konglish Use in this table).

[17] r (Pearson's Correlation Coefficient) ranges from +1 to -1. A correlation of +1 means that there is a perfect positive linear relationship between variables. A correlation of -1 means that there is a perfect negative linear relationship between variables.

[18] In statistics, only data whose p value falls below either 1% or 5% are considered to have statistical significance. Therefore, in Table 24, the data satisfying the conditions are the sections of Total Konglish use, Exposure in L2 countries, and Exposure in L1 country, which are labelled with *. The data labelled with * thus can be interpreted to be "statistically significant".

[19] Planned comparison is a statistical test of a difference between two means when one focuses on a few scientifically sensible comparisons.

environment, K Use: Korean) use in class, Trans in Class: translation-based vocabulary testing in class, Trans in Self-study: translation-based self-instructional vocabulary learning, Gram: L1-medium rule-based grammar learning

Table 16 shows the correlation between Korean-based pronunciation and total Konglish use, the correlation between Korean-based pronunciation and exposure to English, and the correlation between Korean-based pronunciation and the subjects' background relative to Korean influence on the learning of English. The sections which show statistically significant correlation with Korean-based pronunciation (marked with *) are production of Korean-driven data (Total Konglish Use), subjects' L2 lexical knowledge (L2K), their exposure to English in Korean-speaking countries (Exposure in L2 Countries), and their exposure to English outside of English class in Korea (Exposure in L1 Country). The positive correlation between Korean-based pronunciation and Total Konglish Use, r=.401, is statistically significant at the 1% level, which, predictably, indicates that subjects who produced more Korean-driven data also produced more Korean-based pronunciation. The resulting negative correlation between Korean-based pronunciation and English lexical knowledge, r=-.444, is significant at the 1% level, which means that Korean-based pronunciation decreases as L2 lexical knowledge increases. The negative correlation between Korean-based pronunciation and Exposure to English in English-speaking countries, r=-.233, is significant at the 5% level, which indicates that Korean-based pronunciation decreases as Exposure to English in English-speaking countries increases. The negative correlation between Korean-based pronunciation and exposure to English outside of English class in Korea country, r=-.308, is significant at the 1% level, which suggests that Korean-based pronunciation decreases as Exposure to English in a non-instructional setting in Korea increases. The results imply that the reliance on Korean phonological representations decreases as exposure to English increases and as English lexical knowledge develops.

Table 16 ***Pearson's Correlation Coefficients with respect to Korean-based Pronunciation***

		Total Konglish Use	L2K	Exposure in L2 Countries	Exposure in L1 Country	K Use	Trans in Class	Trans in Self-study
Korean-based Pronunciation	*r*	**.401****	**-.444****	**-.233***	**-.308****	-.040	.079	**.289****
	P value	.000	.000	.020	.005	.726	.485	.009
	N	100	99	100	80	80	80	80

Note Planned comparisons: **p , .01; *p , .05.

Note Korean-based pronunciation: Pronunciation based on Korean phonological representations, L2K: Total Konglish Use: Overall Konglish use observed in written, oral interview and sound recognition test, L2 lexical knowledge, Exposure in L2 Countries: Exposure to English in English-speaking countries, Exposure in L1 Country: exposure to English in Korean speaking environment, K Use: Korean use in class, Trans in Class: translation-based vocabulary testing in class, Trans in Self-study: translation-based self-instructional vocabulary learning.

As shown in Table 17, the (negative) correlation between Konglish use and exposure to English is statistically significant. The negative correlation between Total Konglish Use and exposure to English in English-speaking countries, r=-.746 was significant at the 1% level, which indicates that the more exposure to English in English speaking countries the subjects have, the less Korean-driven data they yield. The negative correlation between overall Konglish use and exposure to English outside of class in Korea, r=-.300 was significant at the 1% level, which shows that the subjects with more exposure to English in a non-instructional setting in Korea produced less Korean-driven data. The results indicate that Konglish use decreases as the exposure to English increases either in a country using the target language or in a non-instructional setting in Korea.

Table 17 ***Pearson's Correlation Coefficient with respect to Overall Konglish Use***

		Exposure in L2 Countries	Exposure in L1 Country
Total Konglish Use	*r*	**-.746****	**-.300****
	P value	.000	.007
	N	100	80

Note Planned comparisons: **p , .01; *p , .05.

The relation between Konglish use and Exposure to English in English-speaking countries shown in Table 17 is presented below in the form of a figure (Figure 2), which demonstrates that the more exposure to English subjects receive in English-speaking countries, the lower the amount of Konglish use in English contexts. The point where Konglish use starts to decrease markedly is around the 0.3 point (90 months[20]).

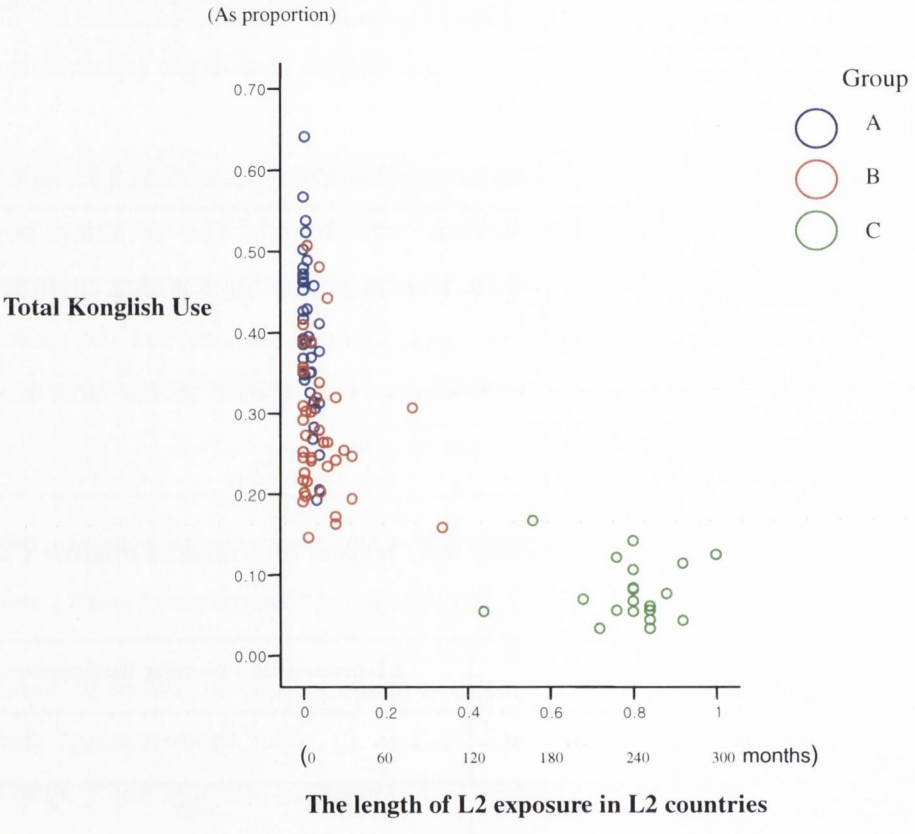

Figure 2 ***Relation between Overall Konglish Use and Exposure to English***

To examine the correlation between overall Konglish use and Korean-promoting learning environments further, the data including those of the English-dominant Group C were compared to data excluding those of Group C. Table 18 relates to Group A and Group B, who have received English education in formal schooling in Korea, as well as Group C, who have received formal schooling in English-speaking countries. Table 19 relates only to Group A and Group B, and is intended to point up any differences associated

[20] This is calculated based on the maximum length of exposure in L2 speaking countries (300 months).

specifically with subjects who have received Korean-medium English education in formal schooling in Korea. Table 18 and Table 19 refer back to all the sections regarding Korean-promoting learning environments presented in Table 14. L1-promoting learning environments in Table 18 and Table 19 thus subsume use of Korean in class (marked as "K Use" in Table 14), translation-based vocabulary testing in class (marked as "Trans in Class" in Table 14), translation-based self-instructional vocabulary learning (marked as "Trans in Self-study" in Table 14), and rule-based grammar learning (marked as "Gram" in Table 14).

As shown in Table 18, a statistically significant correlation between overall Konglish use and a Korean-promoting learning environment was found. The resulting positive correlation between total Konglish use and the Korean-promoting learning environment, r=.644, is statistically significant at the 1% level, which indicates that the more of a Korean-promoting learning environment the subjects were exposed to, the more Korean-driven Konglish data they produced.

Table 18 ***Pearson's Correlation Coefficient with respect to Overall Konglish Use for All Groups***

		L1-promoting Learning Environment
Total Konglish Use	*r*	**.644(**)**
	P value	.000
	N	100

Note Planned comparisons: ***p* , .01; **p* , .05.

In the Table 19, focused on subjects who have received official English education in Korea, the positive correlation, r=.092, between overall Konglish use and Korean-promoting learning environments was found to be statistically insignificant (p>.05[21]).

[21] The p-value needs to be lower than the significance level (5% in this case) for the result to be interpreted as "statistically significant".

According to Table 14, displayed earlier, both Group A and Group B showed similarly high percentages in the sections regarding L1-promoting learning environments. For example, the mean of use of Korean in class (K use in Table 14) was 83.82 for Group A and 85.38 for Group B, and the mean of translation-based vocabulary testing in class (Trans in Class in Table 14) was .90 (90%) for Group A and .87 (87%) for Group B. Consequently, the differences across Group A and Group B, who have exposed to similar L1-promoting learning environments, may not be expected to be dramatic enough to yield a statistically significant correlation.

Table 19 ***Correlation between Group A and Group B's Total Konglish Use***

		L1-promoting Learning Environment
Total Konglish Use	*r*	**.092**
	P value	.418
	N	80

Note L1-encouraging learning environment: K use +Trans in Class +Trans in Self-study +Gram

Note Planned comparisons: ***p* , .01; **p* , .05.

Table 20 shows the factors that may affect subjects' Korean-driven data in syntax-related tests (presented in Table 12 earlier). The positive correlation between syntax-related Konglish use and rule-based grammar learning (marked as "Gram" in Table 20) was r = 0.30; however, was not found to be statistically significant (p>.05)[22]. Note that the rule-based grammar learning referred to in this study presupposes explicit explanation in Korean and thus concerns only subjects who have received English education in Korea (Group A and Group B). The result indicates that differences in syntax-related Konglish use across Group A and Group B, who have in both cases learned rule-based grammar in Korea, was not significant.

[22] The p-value needs to be lower than the significance level (5% in this case) for the result to be interpreted as "statistically significant".

A correlation, however, was found subjects' lexical knowledge in English and semantics-related Konglish use, as shown in Table 20. A negative correlation was found between Konglish use in the syntax-related sections and English lexical knowledge – in the order of r=-.597, significant at the 1% level - which indicates that the more English lexical knowledge was present, the less the likelihood of Korean syntactic resources being accessed. The positive correlation between syntax-related Konglish use and semantics-related Konglish use, r= .748, was significant at the 1% level, which indicates that the more use there was of syntax-related Konglish, the more use there was also of semantics-related Konglish use. Given that both L2 lexical knowledge and semantics-related Konglish use concern lexical meaning, the results suggest that syntax-related Konglish use is related to meaning configurations.

Table 20 ***Pearson's Correlation Coefficient with respect to Syntax-related Konglish Use***

		Gram	L2K	Semantics- related Sections (MA+COL)
Syntax-related Konglish (WO+SR+VOICE)	*r*	.030	**-.597(**)**	**.748(**)**
	P value	.791	.000	.000
	N	80	99	100

Note Planned comparisons: **p , .01; *p , .05.

Note WO: word order, SR: selectional restrictions of verbs, VOICE: voice of a verb, Gram: L1-medium rule-based grammar learning, L2K: L2 lexical knowledge, MA: meaning appropriateness, COL: collocation.

The factors related to the semantics-related Konglish use are shown in Table 21. The negative correlation with English lexical knowledge, r=-.639, is significant at the 1% level, which indicates that as subjects' L2 lexical knowledge increased, their semantics-related Konglish use decreased. A positive correlation was found with L1-inducing learning environments, (r=.277, p<.05), which suggests that L1-inducing learning contexts in Korea affected the subjects' semantics-related Konglish use.

Table 21 ***Pearson's Correlation Coefficient with respect to Semantics-related Konglish Use***

		L2K	L1 encouraging Learning Environment
Semantics-related Konglish (MA+COL)	*r*	**-.639(**)**	**.277(*)**
	P value	.000	.013
	N	99	80

Note Planned comparisons: **p , .01; *p , .05.

Note L2K: MA: meaning appropriateness, COL: collocation, L2 lexical knowledge.

The interaction between pragmatics-related Konglish use and Exposure to English is shown in Table 22. The negative correlation with Exposure to English in L2-speaking countries, r=-.564, is statistically significant at the 1% level, which means that the more the subjects are exposed to the L2 in L2-speaking countries, the less L1 pragmatic knowledge is accessed. The correlation between pragmatics-related Konglish use and Exposure to English in L1 country is r=.025, but it is found to be statistically insignificant (p>.05). The results suggest that use of L1 pragmatic resources are likely to decrease significantly only when the Exposure to English is very intensive – as is the case within the environment of the target culture.

Table 22 ***Pearson's Correlation Coefficients with respect to Pragmatics-related Konglish Use***

		Exposure in L2 Countries	Exposure in L1 Country
Pragmatics-related Konglish (PRAG+CO+IQ)	*r*	**-.564(**)**	-.025
	P value	.000	.829
	N	100	80

Note PRAG: pragmatics, CO: compliment IQ: inappropriate questions, Exposure in L2 Countries: exposure to English in English speaking countries, Exposure in L1 Country: exposure to English in Korea

The relation between pragmatics-related Konglish use and exposure to English in English-speaking countries shown in Table 22 is presented below in the form of figure (Figure 3), which shows that pragmatics-related Konglish use decreased significantly

around the 0.4 point (120 months[23]). Compared to the case of overall Konglish use, which decreased significantly after 90 months of exposure to English in English-speaking countries, as shown in Figure 2, the amount of exposure to English in English-speaking countries required for subjects to circumvent employment of Korean pragmatic knowledge was relatively larger.

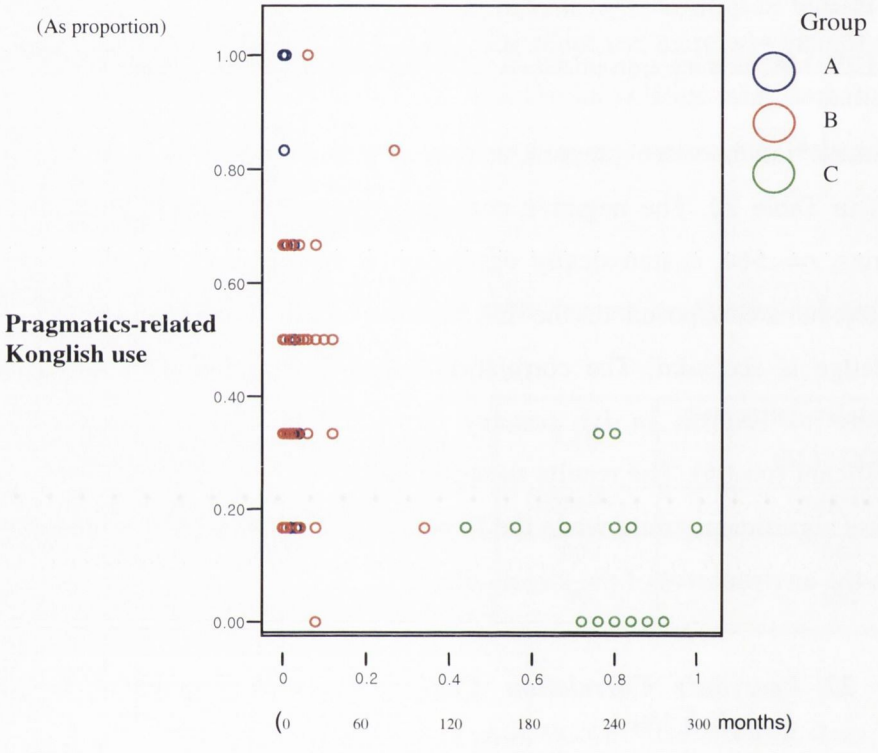

Figure 3 ***Relation between Pragmatics-related Konglish Use and Exposure to English***

Table 23 shows the interaction between Konglish use based on L1 conceptual representations (marked as "Concept-related Konglish") and Exposure to English. The negative correlation with the exposure in L2 speaking countries, r=-.230, is significant at the 5% level, which indicates that the more the subjects are exposed to L2 in L2-speaking countries, the less they access Korean-driven conceptual representations. However, the negative correlation between concept-related Konglish use and Exposure to English in the

[23] As in Figure 2, this is calculated based on the maximum length of exposure in L2 speaking countries (300 months).

L1 country (r=-.166) is not found to be statistically significant (p>.05). The results suggest that the access to L1 conceptual representations decreases where Exposure to English takes place in English-speaking countries, but not where such exposure occurs in Korea.

Table 23 ***Pearson's Correlation Coefficient of Concept-related Konglish Use***

		Exposure in L2 countries	Exposure in L1 country
Concept-related Konglish (NQ+CON)	*r*	**-.230***	-.166
	P value	.021	.141
	N	100	80

Note Planned comparisons: *p , .05.
r: Pearson's Correlation Coefficient

Note Concept-related Konglish: Konglish use based on L1 conceptual representations NQ: negative questions, CON: conceptual representations, Exposure in L2 Countries: Exposure to English in English speaking countries, Exposure in L1 Country: Exposure to English in Korean speaking countries

The relation between concept-related Konglish use and length of the Exposure to English in L2- speaking countries shown in Table 23 is presented graphically in Figure 4. The point where the concept-related Konglish use dramatically decreases is not distinctive in Figure 4. The figure reveals that concept-related Konglish use still continues even at the point of 0.9 (270 months of residence in L2 speaking countries). Compared to pragmatically related Konglish use shown in Figure 3, Korean-driven conceptual representations emerge as harder to avoid even for English-dominant subjects who have resided in the English-speaking country over 20 years.

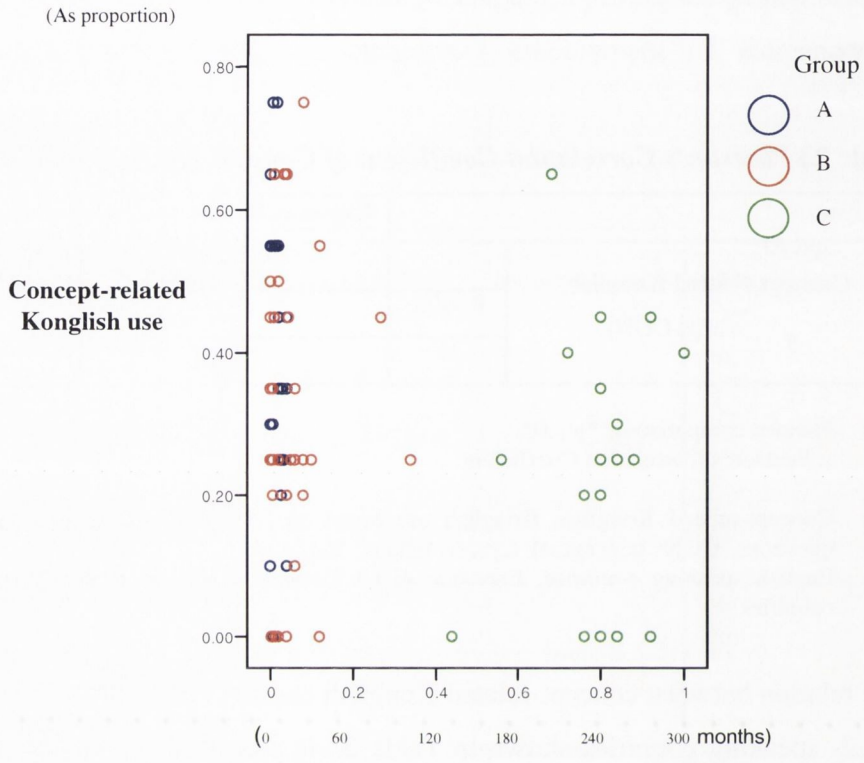

Figure 4 ***Relation between Concept-related Konglish Use and Exposure to English in English-speaking Countries***

The subjects in Study Two responded that they had experienced difficulties in L2 production. As shown in Table 24, Group A responded that retrieving the target lexical item was the major difficulty (35.0%), followed by lack of vocabulary (32.5%) and anxiety (12.5%). In the case of Group B, interference from Korean was judged to be the most serious problem (35.0%), followed by retrieving the target lexical item (32.5%) and lack of vocabulary (17.5%). The total percentage indicates that the Korean-dominant subjects (Group A and Group B) have encountered major difficulties in respect of retrieving the target lexical item (33.8 %) and L1 interference (21.3%).

Since Group C mostly consisted of English-dominant bilinguals, they were not asked these questions. Instead, they were asked whether their Korean affected their English. 70% (SD 0.47) of the participants in Group C responded that they were aware of their Korean influencing their English.

Table 24 ***Difficulties Experienced by the Korean-dominant Subjects in their Production of English***

Difficulties of L2 production	Group A	Group B	Total
L1 interference	**7.5%**	**35.0%**	**21.3%**
Form-function mapping	10.0%	5.0%	7.5%
Lack of vocabulary	**32.5%**	**17.5%**	25.0%
Anxiety	**12.5%**	2.5%	7.5%
Retrieval	**35.0%**	**32.5%**	**33.8%**
Pronunciation	7.5%	0.0%	3.8%
Word order	7.5%	7.5%	7.5%
Chunks and idioms	2.5%	2.5%	2.5%
Others	0.0%	5.0%	2.5%

7.4 Interpretation

7.4.1 The presence of the activation of Korean in accessing English

While Study One focused on the word level of English production (picture naming), participants' production of English above the word level was investigated in Study Two. Study Two consisted of three parts: a written test, an oral interview and a sound recognition test. Overall Konglish use (Group A: 0.395, Group B: 0.279, Group C: 0.079) supports the hypothesis that the activation of Korean is present in the process of accessing English amongst these subjects. It is interesting to observe that the activation of Korean in accessing English did not completely disappear even in the case of the English-dominant bilinguals (Group C).

The other evidence supporting the role of the activation of Korean is the "blends" found in the oral interview. Nine cases were observed in the least proficient Group A (40 participants). Examples are *blind-meeting* ("blind date") and *soap-drama* ("soap opera"). These examples seem to derive from two English words being blended. It should be noted, however, that the Korean translation-equivalent of the English word *blind date* is 미팅 *miting* ("meeting"), which is commonly used by monolingual Koreans, and *soap opera* is 드라마 *dŭrama* ("drama") in Korean, which is also fully incorporated into the Korean lexicon. It is plausible to assume, therefore, that in each case a Korean element is blended with an L2 word. Similar examples can be found in other research such as *springling* blended from *spring* and *Frühling* (Green 1986, p.213) and *he cwame* (Dutch *kwam* and English *came*) (Poulisse & Bongaerts 1994, p.41). The above authors suggest that in such instances two lexical items reach the activation threshold simultaneously (Green 1986, p.214; Poulisse & Bongaerts 1994, p.42). In relation to the case of the blend, *blind-meeting*, observed in the interview, it can be speculated that the concept triggered the English entry, *blind*, but that the information stored in the entry did not contain the wherewithal for the retrieval of the second part of the target item, *date*. It may also be speculated that the target item *blind date* was present in their lexicon but the connection between *blind* and *date* was not strongly developed, possibly owing to insufficient practices. When accessing the target English item was delayed for these possible reasons, the Korean translation equivalent 미팅 *miting* ("meeting") also possibly reached the threshold. This may explain the fact that three participants in Group A self-corrected their unintended Konglish word *meeting* into the target item *blind date*. It may be worth taking into account that in the oral interview, where written forms of morphological information were absent, and accordingly the phonological overlap between the Konglish word and English might have been relied on more, the language cue might have been less efficacious in inhibiting the Korean competitor.

In the interview, when the participants referred to the # button on the phone, the Konglish word was pronounced as either /ʃap/ or /ʃarp/, or self-corrected from /ʃap/ to /ʃarp/. /ʃap/is based on Korean phonological features and /ʃarp/ is phonologically modified in the direction of English. This phonologically modified case is similar to the case "this special

sort of rock, of, dress (pronounced with an English /r/ sound. Du. rok = skirt)" (Poulisse & Bongaerts 1994, p.52). It can be assumed in both cases that the L1 lemma was accidentally accessed and underwent L2 phonological conversion.

As for "noises" transferred from "highly automatized L1 elements" (Færch & Kasper 1983, p.220), Korean pause fillers, exclamations, and monologue were observed in the interview with the Korean learners of English. When the native English interviewer did not understand what the interviewees meant, some of the frustrated participants inserted these Korean elements. As noted in other studies (Poulisse & Bongaerts, 1994; Costa & Santesteban 2004, p.494), such L1 lexical intrusions decreased in the more proficient subjects.

7.4.2 Factors affecting the activation of Korean

The factors affecting the amount of Konglish in the production of English, as observed in the present study are discussed below.

7.4.2.1 Proficiency

The highest proportion of Konglish was observed in the data from the least proficient group in each task of the study. This result can be interpreted according to the widely agreed view that L1-based transfer strategies are more prevalent among learners of lower proficiency (see e.g. Poulisse 1993; Poulisse & Bongaerts 1994). The amount of Konglish use in English production was found in the present study to decrease as proficiency increased. This indicates a developmental shift from word-association to concept-mediation as suggested by many researchers. For instance, Chen & Leung (1989) found that a translation task was faster than picture naming for adult L2 beginners, but that both tasks were equally fast in the case of a more proficient group. This suggests that L2 beginners rely on a lexical link between L1 and L2 while proficient bilinguals can conceptually mediate L2 directly. The finding that Konglish words were more frequently accessed by the less proficient learners of English appears to indicate that the lexical link between Korean and English is strong and that the link between English and concepts has not been fully developed. In the cases where the lexical link between Korean items and

English items seemed not to exist because the subjects had not yet learned the target English word and thus the English lemma was empty, the only links available to them were the false connections between Konglish words in Korean lexical form and the Konglish words in English lexical form. Since Konglish words in Korean share neither semantic nor morphological features with English, the overlap of two items so linked may be expected to be manifest only at the phonological level (e.g. 샵 pronounced as /ʃap/ for *sharp* in place of *pound/hash* key). As the Korean L2 learners become more proficient, the English lemma is equipped with English knowledge and thus the reliance on the link to Konglish decreases. This is also in accordance with the general view that level of proficiency in an L2 determines how the L1 and L2 lexical systems are connected (Chen & Leung 1989; Kroll & Sholl 1992; Potter *et al.* 1984; De Groot & Hoeks 1995).

The more proficient Group B tended to choose English-based strategies such as description or circumlocution rather than rely on Konglish when the intended target words were not available in their lexicon. This is in accordance with the view that higher proficiency results in more efficient cognitive control over inhibitory competition and selection of L2-based strategies (e.g. Bialystok 1983; Dijkstra 1998). A considerable amount of Konglish however was found in the English production of Group B, most of whom are current or potential English teachers with relatively high proficiency (see the description of the subjects above). This is consistent with the findings of other researchers that native language influence is present even in the case of proficient L2 learners (e.g. Ijaz 1986; Liu 1995). Moreover, a small but non-negligible amount of Konglish was also observed in Group C, whose dominant language is English. This indicates that the activation from either language is hard to suppress completely.

7.4.2.2 The quantity and quality of target language exposure

Although there have been suggestions that additional factors besides proficiency may affect the activation of the L1 in L2 production (e.g. Bialystok 1983; Chen & Leung 1989), not many researchers have included all factors in their studies. Not only the quantity but also the quality of target language exposure needs to be involved in the discussion of the factors affecting the activation of Konglish at this point.

It has been widely agreed that if the acquisition of an L2 begins before the completion of L1 development, interference from L1 is expected to be limited, but that L1 interference will be of greater magnitude in the case of late bilinguals (e.g. Politzer 1970; Kroll *et al.* 2006). In Study Two Group A and Group B (except one subject) are late bilinguals[24] but Group C (except two subjects) are early bilinguals[25]. Silverberg & Samuel (2004) found semantic priming effects in early L2 learners but not in late L2 learners who had acquired the L2 after the age of seven. They suggest that late L2 learners encode the new L2 words into the L1 representation system and therefore have shared representations at the lexical level, but not at the semantic/conceptual level (*ibid.*, pp.391-392). The age of acquisition alone may not be enough to explain some of the cases such as Group C, where most were early bilinguals but still produced Konglish data. The discussion of the present study will embrace the quality of language input as well as the quantity of the language exposure.

The finding that two subjects (hereafter P and L) in Group B yielded data similar to those of most subjects in Group C, and the finding that two subjects (hereafter Y and C) in Group C produced data similar to those of most of Group B, lead us to consider another factor affecting the activation of Konglish. With regard to the two subjects in question in Group B, the length of residence in an English-speaking country was 102 months (8.5 years) for subject L and 80 months (6.7 years) for subject P. This is highly divergent from the Group B mean, 13.76 months (1.1 years) (SD 20.95). In addition to their relatively larger amount of exposure to English, the length of formal instruction (before college) received in Korea was much shorter than that experienced by the rest of the group. The group mean in this case was 6 years, whereas subject L had received 0 years of formal instruction, and subject P 2.5 years. The age of L2 onset for the two subjects was as follows: 10 for subject L and 3 for subject P - much earlier in both cases than for the rest of the subjects in Group B. In terms of learning strategies, subject L reported learning new L2 words in English contexts, while subject P reported using L1 translations. In short, the two subjects had been exposed to more English and less Korean than the other subjects in the group in terms both of quantity and quality.

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[24] Most of the subjects started learning English from the age of 13.
[25] Most of the subjects started learning English from birth.

In Group C, two subjects (Y and C) produced the most Konglish in English production. Length of residence in an English-speaking environment amounted to 14 years for subject Y and 11 years for subject C, which is shorter than the mean of Group C, 19.75 years (SD 0.124). The age of English onset was 1 for subject Y but 10 for subject C. While subject Y started L2 acquisition early in his life, the percentage of use of Korean in his life was higher than in the case of subject C (85% for subject Y and 40% for subject C). Both were found to use considerably more Korean than the rest of Group C (mean 27.35%). The finding that the two subjects produced more Konglish than other subjects in Group C can therefore be plausibly attributed to their more limited exposure to English and to the relatively larger extent of L1 exposure.

Considering all the groups in the present study, the general findings also support the exposure to English effect. A significant negative correlation coefficient between amount of Konglish used and length of stay in an English-speaking environment was found, $r = -.746$ ($p < .01$), which indicates that the longer the subjects stayed in English-speaking countries the less Konglish they produced. The amount of Konglish used by the subjects considerably decreased after a minimum of 90 months' stay in the L2-speaking country. This length of stay seems to have enabled the learners to receive sufficient "comprehensible input" (Krashen 1987) to overcome interference from their native language to a very large extent. The more English-rich input the learners received, the less assistance they appeared to need from their Korean lexicon. Konglish was, however, observed even in Group C, whose members had very considerable exposure to English (mean 19.75 years). Although the extent of Konglish use seems trivial (Group C: 0.079) compared to other groups (Group A: 0.395, Group B: 0.279), activation of Korean was nevertheless evident. To explain Group C's case in terms of the effect of exposure to English, it is necessary to compare their exposure to English with that of monolingual English speakers. Whereas the percentage of language exposure a monolingual has per day is 100% hypothetically, in the case of bilinguals the exposure to one or other language will be less than that of monolinguals. Given the mean of Group C's use of Korean in their daily lives was 27.35%, it can be taken that they were exposed to English only 72.65% of the time, which means a lower amount of English than in the case of

English-speaking monolinguals, unless they interacted more linguistically across the board than the monolinguals. Consequently, they would have had relatively less input from the interaction with native English speakers and also comparatively fewer opportunities to access their English than English-speaking monolinguals. Owing to this relatively limited English exposure, their access to the language would undoubtedly have been less efficient than monolingual access.

In addition to length of stay in L2-speaking countries, the quality of exposure also provides revealing sidelights on the early bilinguals in Group C (20 subjects). English exposure began from birth for 17 subjects and their dominant language was English. The language used at home was Korean for 12 subjects, both Korean and English for 5 subjects, and exclusively English for 3 subjects. The Korean population is large in North America, and Korean immigrants tend to be involved with the Korean-speaking community owing to the collectivist complexion of Korean society. It is therefore plausible to assume that the subjects' parents may not be fully proficient bilinguals and that they use Konglish in their English. Thus, if subjects had been exposed to English at home in interaction with their Korean parents, the quality of the English exposure would not have been the same as the nature of English exposure provided by English monolingual parents. It is likely that their parents' English containing Konglish influenced their own English. This possibility cannot be excluded considering the findings of Paradis & Navarro (2003). In data from a Spanish-English bilingual child, they found a larger quantity of subjects and subject pronouns deployed in Spanish than in the case of a Spanish-speaking monolingual child (*ibid.*, pp.377-388). From the observation of her parents' speech data, they also found a higher proportion of overt subjects in her British mother's Spanish and a large quantity of pronoun subjects in her Cuban father's Spanish. They suggest the particular nature of the input from her parents' utterances as one of the reasons for what looked like cross-linguistic influence (*ibid.*).

The effect of exposure was also examined in terms of English language exposure experienced in Korea. Group A consisted of college students based in Korea and, except for one subject (out of 40) none of the subjects in the group had opportunities to be

involved in interaction with native English speakers in Korea. Group B were current or potential English teachers, and 15 subjects (out of 40) responded that they had occasional interactions with other English teachers at work. Only 5 subjects in Group B said they had friends who were native English speakers. Considering the fact that occasional interactions with co-professionals at work may be qualitatively different from casual interaction with friends, exposure to English in non-instructional settings must also be limited for them. There was a significant negative correlation, r=-.300 ($p<.01$) between exposure in non-instructional settings in Korea and Konglish use, which suggests that the more English exposure the Korean L2 learners had in non-instructional settings in Korea, the less Konglish they produced. The way in which words are actually used in communication clearly impacts on the way in which their representations are organized (Votaw 1992, p.302). The conclusion must be that the more Korean English learners or Korean-English bilinguals encounter English words in non-instructional settings, the more contextual knowledge of the target language they will acquire, and consequently the less will be their need to borrow resources from Korean.

7.4.2.3 Learning process

English language exposure was generally found to be limited in formal instructional settings in Korea. The subjects responded that Korean was used as the medium of instruction in their English class (reported by 83.82 % of Group A and 85.38 % of Group B). Korean translation-based vocabulary tests were taken (reported by 90% of Group A and 87% of Group B – an extremely high percentage). According to a wide consensus, a bilingual's intention is encoded in "the earliest perceptually driven processes" through the different tasks, such as retrieving abstract concepts and translating a word, which accordingly determine language selective processing (Kroll *et al.* 2006, p.129). It can be plausibly posited that since these Korean learners have learned the L2 via its translation-equivalents in their English class, their intentions have been encoded in a process whereby the L1 translation-equivalents initiate their intentions rather than the concepts themselves. This L2 learning process might have induced the activation of their L1 in the form of Konglish in L2 access.

The subjects in Group A and Group B had formal instruction in Korea and there was no statistically significant relation between reliance on Konglish and exposure to English via formal instruction in within these groups. Given that the L2 learning process in Korea undoubtedly induced L1 reliance, this finding raises the possibility that their such learning-induced reliance on Konglish overrode any proficiency effect. This assumption seems plausible given that, although Konglish use was observed less in the more proficient Group B, interference from Korean was still significant in this group. This effect of learning environment is more evident if one includes in one's consideration all three groups, insofar as a significant relationship was found between overall Konglish use and experience of an L1-promoting L2 learning environment. The positive correlation, r=.644 ($p<.01$), suggests that the L1-rich learning environment in Korea played a role in Korean L2 learners' reliance on Konglish use.

According to Felix's competition model, there are two cognitive systems in the human mind; a language-specific cognitive system (LS-systems) activated only for the purpose of language acquisition, and a general problem-solver (PS-systems) applied to an extensive range of knowledge (Felix 1985, p.70; Felix 1987, p.158, 159). Korean L2 learners appear to tend to rely more on PS-systems because they approach English in the way required by Korean society (see above, Chapter III). In Korea, L2 learning is conducted in a "test-oriented learning environment" in which multiple-choice tests are widely used (Lassche 2004, p.116), such as CSAT (College Scholastic Ability Test) for college matriculation, and another multiple-choice type of test, TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication), in the context of post-college job seeking. Korean learners of English therefore have to adjust their learning style to these tests in order to meet the challenges of a competitive society. Although the lack of oral communicative competence of Korean L2 learners has long been pointed out, it still seems to be a "secondary objective" (O'Neal Cooper 2003, p.94). The survey of Cheong & Joo (2005) evidently reflects the real situation regarding English teaching in Korea. 261 high-school students in Korea responded to the question "what is taught in your current English classes?" with the answers "reading comprehension focused on grammar" (67%), "ability to get a big picture of reading passages" (62%), "techniques for taking CSAT test" (53%),

"vocabulary memorization" (38%), "listening comprehension" (0%) (*ibid.*, p.9). The responses referring to techniques for taking the college entrance exam (53%) and the absence of responses referring to listening comprehension (0%), in particular, suggest that L2 learning is focused on preparation for the college entrance exam, disregarding communicative aspects.

Paradis (1994) suggests that in a formal foreign language learning environment, "explicit knowledge such as knowledge of chemistry and geography" is encouraged (*ibid.*, p.406). Thus, L2 learning for test preparation based on L1 mediation in Korea may develop explicit knowledge. Given that L2 spoken production and the translation process are functionally different, L2 learning, excluding communicative ability as a goal but focusing on explicit knowledge, inevitably encourages the development of lexical connections rather than concept mediation. Since Korean L2 learners are exposed to an environment which lacks contextualized input and promotes explicit knowledge and PS-systems, and which consequently induces L1 use, they are hampered from developing implicit linguistic competence and from overcoming the constant activation of their L1. Given that the L2 acquisition based on L1 causes learners to ignore the possibility that the L2 may have different semantic boundaries and a different conceptual classification (Ijaz 1986, p.443), the involvement of L1 representations in the process of L2 learning may be too intensive to allow for resistance to L1 influence. It may accordingly be inevitable for even proficient subjects to be free from significant L1 influence - and this is what the present study appears to show.

7.4.2.4 The learners' perception of the language cue

In the oral interview, in contradistinction to the frequent occurrence of other Konglish words, the Konglish word 탤런트 *talent* ("actor"/ "actress") appeared in only 6 cases from among the 40 subjects in the least proficient Group A. This indicates that even the least proficient subjects could avoid this well-known Konglish word more efficiently than other words. This finding leads to the consideration of the learners' perception of the language cue. In the case of Konglish, in particular, the semantic equivalence hypothesis, according to which learners hypothesize that meanings of L2 lexemes correspond closely

to those of their L1 counterparts, may be more appealing to Korean learners of English in respect of Konglish words sharing phonological features with English to a certain extent.

The finding that the Konglish word 탤런트 *talent* ("actor"/ "actress") was the least used Konglish word (ranked 8th from 8) in the interview in the least proficient Group A can be also explained in terms of frequency effects. In the selection of L2 lemmas through spreading activation, the L1 lexical item may reach the activation threshold before the target L2 item owing to its higher frequency. As L2 learners' proficiency increases, the L2 words retain a higher level of resting activation from frequent use (Poulisse & Bongaerts 1994, p.46). Since the target English words *actor/actress* have been frequently accessed even by the least proficient learners, the process of L2 access has probably become sufficiently efficient to collect the requisite resources to reach the activation threshold. As activation of the target L2 becomes more proficient, L2 access presumably does not need to detour via the link to the L1 lexical translation-equivalent 탤런트 *talent*. To apply the notion of frequency effect to L2 words within the L2, the target expressions *pound key* or *hash key* (#), which have not been frequently encountered in English, may be slower to reach the threshold than the Konglish equivalent *sharp,* which is frequently used in English as well as in Korean. As expected, this Konglish word *sharp* was most observed even in the more proficient Group B. The different extent of Konglish word use on the basis of the individual word's frequency is in line with the view of De Groot (1995), according to which both concept-mediation structures and word-association structures may co-exist in one mind. On this view, it is "word-specific encounters" that determine the bilingual lexico-semantic structure, inasmuch as frequently encountered words are seen as represented in concept-mediation, while low-frequency words are seen as encoded on a word-association basis (*ibid.*, pp.164-165). A word frequently encountered in English, such as *actor/actress,* is seen as encoded conceptually, while an infrequently accessed word such as *pound* or *hash* is not. The frequency with which certain forms appear in the classroom also seems to affect the frequency of use of these forms in the learners' language (Lightbown 1983, p.239). The L2 learning environment in Korea focused on test preparation, with a lack of

communicative input, may fail to provide an opportunity for the learners to encounter extensive lexis in class.

7.4.2.5 Variation according to task

The Konglish use observed in the study can be related to task-type. The mean of Konglish use in the written task was 0.489 (SD 0.209), in the oral interview 0.312 (SD 0.227) and in the sound recognition test (dictation) 0.055 (SD 0.157). The reason why learners produced more Konglish in the written rather than the oral test can be assumed to derive from a context effect. In the oral interview, apart from in the pragmatic section, the Konglish words were mostly measured at the single word level, via, e.g. picture naming. Since there was no other contextual information, it was up to the subjects to deliver the meaning that initiated the process of access to English. In the written test, on the other hand, the questions were presented in sentences, dialogues and paragraphs, and most of the questions required knowledge about relations between words (e.g. collocational relations). In terms of grammatical categories, the target words were mostly limited to nouns in the interview, while various grammatical categories were used for the target words in the written test. The result may suggest that Korean learners have a particular deficiency of knowledge specifically in respect of semantic and syntactic relations between lexical items. In particular, their Korean-biased learning context, their learning strategies based on episodic memory and Korean-mediated vocabulary learning, may be responsible for their failure to develop knowledge of networks of relations between lexical items in English. In the interview, word-naming tasks were conducted using pictures or realia, tasting, sign-reading and tasks involving listening to the interlocutor in the conversation. There were no significant differences in outcome based on the different stimuli. The detailed variations and relations will be discussed by section and group in what follows.

7.4.3 Lexical knowledge in the Korean L2 learners' lexicon

Group A generated the second largest amount of Konglish data in the syntactic sections (mean: 0.6275, SD 0.1228) and Group C generated the least (mean: 0.0597, SD 0.1366). Learners/bilinguals with higher proficiency in English seemed to be more capable of retrieving English syntactic information directly and thus to rely less on Korean syntactic representations.

The present study revealed the presence of Korean syntactic representations in English in respect of word order, selectional restrictions of verbs and voice. Salamoura & Williams (2006) found shared syntactic representations across languages (English and Dutch) in the bilingual mental lexicon observing bilinguals' the PO (Prepositional Object) and DO (Double Object) structures. Upon presentation of Dutch verbs that take either PO or DO, they observed syntactic priming from L1 (Dutch) to L2 (English) with PO and DO datives. Hartsuiker, Pickering and Veltkamp (2004) also conducted a cross-linguistic syntactic priming study. In a dialogue game where Spanish-English bilingual participants described cards in both languages, they found that a participant who had just heard a sentence in L1 (Spanish) tended to use the same type of sentence (e.g. passive form) when describing the next card in English. The difference between the studies using cross-linguistic syntactic priming and the present study is that the activation of L1 syntactic resources occurred even though no L1 stimuli had been presented as primes in the present study. It is also worth noting that the participants in the present study judged the English passive forms on the basis of their Korean syntactic knowledge, even though there was no syntactic resemblance between Korean and English in terms of the relevant structures. The sentence *I fell down and my leg was broken* in the present study was judged to be acceptable in this context by a large majority of the subjects in Group A (98%) and Group B (83%) – as compared to a relatively small minority in the English-dominant bilinguals in Group C (15%). All of the native English speakers in the control group judged this to be unacceptable in this context and corrected it to *I fell down and I broke my leg*. It is evident that the Korean subjects' judgment was influenced by their familiarity with the Korean usage: *다리가 부러졌어 tariga purŏjyŏttŏ* "my leg is broken"; the Korean form meaning "I broke my leg", *나는 다리를 부러뜨렸어 nanŭn*

tarirŭl purŏttŭrŏttŏ, is rarely used in a normal context and would refer to a deliberate action.

The correlation between syntax-related Konglish and explicit grammar learning within Group A and Group B was not statistically significant: r=.17 (p>05). However, a correlation was found with semantics-related Konglish. The positive correlation between syntax-related Konglish and semantics-related Konglish was found at the level r=.277, (p<.05), and a negative correlation between syntax-related Konglish and English lexical knowledge was found at the level r=-.639 (p<.01). This suggests that subjects who accessed Korean syntactic information also accessed Korean semantic resources more. This result also suggests that the more English lexical knowledge subjects had the less their syntactic judgments were based on Korean. The relation between syntax-related Konglish and semantics-related Konglish can be explained in terms of overall lexical knowledge. The questions presented in the syntactic section of the test also required knowledge about the selectional restrictions of verbs or the chunking mechanism. For example, in the word-order task, ordering words such as *the law of supply and demand* requires not only deployment of knowledge of syntactic categories but also the capacity to chunk *supply and demand* appropriately. A subject who did not possess the relevant English chunking information would rely on Korean chunking – the equivalent of "demand and supply" – instead. As a similar instance, this kind of chunking recalls the finding of de Bot & Schreuder (1993) that Moroccan-Dutch bilinguals transferred the Moroccan Arabic chunking *dyla-ek* (="of you") into Dutch instead of using the Dutch *jouw* (="your") (*ibid.*, p.207). The transfer of Korean conventional syntagms into English (cf. Sajavaara & Lehtonen 1989, p.41) exhibited by Konglish users indicates that access to the required collocations had not been automatized. The other examples in the test are the verbs *catch* and *work*. Since these verbs disallow an inanimate subject in Korean, the Konglish users judged the inanimate noun subject *house* (e.g. *The house caught on fire*) and *everything* (e.g. *Everything worked just fine*) to be unacceptable. Lemma nodes are widely seen as being linked to other nodes, such as combinatorial and category nodes, so as to specify combinatorial information and grammatical category (Pickering & Branigan 1998, p.646). On this view, when a verb is used in certain syntactic construction, for

example, when the verb *give* is used in a PO construction, it activates connected nodes which can be combined with the verb, such as the NP, PP nodes (*ibid.*). In L2 lexical processing the node connected to translation-equivalents is also likely to be activated and the L1 syntactic information is likely to be retrieved through this node (Hartsuiker *et al.* 2004, pp.412-413). It is probable that when the Konglish users tried to access syntactic information in English, because the targeted English combinatorial nodes were not fully constructed in their lexicon, the Korean translation-equivalent's combinatorial node was activated and reached the threshold first. The finding that Konglish users had deficient knowledge concerning relations between English words suggests that their knowledge of English is largely composed of linguistic rules encoded through declarative memory.

It might be wise to note in this regard that there is a view of L2 lexical research as tending towards a blurring of the distinction between lexicon and grammar (Singleton 1999). If this view is correct, attaining lexical knowledge should embrace both syntactic and semantic knowledge, in the sense that syntactic and semantic knowledge are correlated in lemma selection. Not only syntax-related Konglish but also Konglish affected by Korean semantic representations was observed in this study. The means of Konglish use observed in the semantics-related section were: Group A: 0.6820 (SD 0.1278), Group B: 0.4936 (SD 0.1746) and Group C: 0.1940 (SD 0.1362). This indicates that more proficiency in English was associated with less use of semantics-related Konglish. In addition, there was a clear relation between semantics-related Konglish and subjects' learning environment and English lexical knowledge. A positive correlation between semantics-related Konglish use and a Korean-biased learning environment was found (r=.277, $p<.05$), which indicates that the more the subjects had learned English on the basis of a Korean-mediated learning environment, the more semantics-related Konglish they produced. A negative correlation between semantics-related Konglish use and English lexical knowledge was also found (r=-.639, $p<.01$), which suggests that the subjects with the more English lexical knowledge relied less on Korean semantic representations.

It is acknowledged that "organisation" as well as "size" is important in lexical competence (Meara 1996, pp.49-50). It can be plausibly speculated that Konglish users who relied on their knowledge of Korean semantic relations had deficits in English lexical organization. Richards (1976) claims that knowing a word means knowing how often it occurs, the company it keeps, its appropriateness in different situations, its syntactic behaviour, its underlying form and derivations, its word associations and its semantic features (see also Nation 1990, 2001). From my own class observations, I conclude that students often believe that the Korean translation-equivalent is all they need to learn when coming to grips with an L2 word, and thus believe that they "know" a word without knowing how to apply the word in a sentence. Owing to this misconception of "knowing a word", their L2 lexicon is often poorly organized, which is shown in present study in the task relating to semantic associations. It is generally acknowledged that as the L2 learner progresses in proficiency, the L2 lexical system incorporates relations with other L2 words and forms its own semantic network, which consequently renders the L2 lexicon similar to the L1 lexicon (cf. Færch *et al.* 1984, p.94).

The finding in the present study that semantics-related Konglish decreased in the more proficient group is consistent with the view of Ijaz (1986), according to which, as L2 acquisition proceeds, learners move from a semantic-equivalence hypothesis to a process whereby they "restructure existing L1 concepts" by investigating an L2 words' semantic relations to other L2 words in order to develop their own semantic boundaries in the L2 (*ibid.*, pp.402-405). For the restructuring process to happen, sufficient target language experience, such as encountering words above the word level in order to learn about their relations with other L2 words, is a critical prerequisite. Such experience benefits overall lexical knowledge, and liberates the learner from reliance on the possibility of falling back on L1 resources. However, the fact that Korean learners have their learning of English mediated by translation into Korean at the individual word level impedes the development of overall lexical knowledge, in particular, the knowledge of relations between English items such as collocational restrictions. To take an example in the collocation section, subjects who had not yet encountered the word *answer* with the word *door* judged the co-occurrence of the two words to be unacceptable on the basis of

Korean semantic relations. The restructuring process from Korean toward English semantic relations was not clearly complete in such subjects. The example of *develop* co-occurring with the *cancer* was also judged to be unacceptable by subjects, which also suggests that the semantic boundaries for the word *develop* have not yet evolved from the Korean-English common prototypical sense to its English-specific meaning. There was an interesting case in the oral interview. When a participant in the least proficient Group A was asked to describe how to withdraw money, she confused the native English speaker interviewer by saying "find money", which is the word-for-word translation of 돈을 ("money") 찾다 ("find"). It can be assumed that the node of the target word *withdraw* did not exist in her lexicon, which led to the activation of the most available lexical node connected to the Korean translation. Other similar examples are *Where is here?* in place of *Where am I?* and *How do you think of my new dress?* for *What do you think of my new dress?* (see the Study Two written test). Among the three stages of L2 vocabulary acquisition (Jiang 2000, p.52) discussed in Chapter II, Group A is seen to be closer to lemma mediation stage than Group B, insofar as the L1 lemma is seen to be copied into the L2 in Group A. Group B is closer to the L2 integration stage, but still susceptible to L1 transfer, partly owing, no doubt, to lexical connections which have long been trained by translation-based L2 learning.

There was sufficient evidence to support the above mentioned assumption that the word-for-word basis for translation used in English teaching in Korea encouraged lexical-level connections and inhibited the development of English-internal semantic associations. In the section of the elicitation instrument focused on learners' English lexical knowledge, the participants were asked to fill in blanks where the first letter was provided. The questions required lexical knowledge of a wide-ranging nature, including syntactic and semantic knowledge. The English lexical knowledge mean for Group A was 1.95 (SD 1.09), for Group B 3.40 (SD 1.22), and for Group C 4.45 (SD .826), which, unsurprisingly, indicates that the more proficient group had more English lexical knowledge. A negative correlation was found between Konglish use and English lexical knowledge (r=-.636, $p<.01$), which suggests that subjects with more L2 knowledge produced less Konglish. A positive correlation was found between English lexical

knowledge and length of stay in English-speaking countries (r=.544, p<01), and a positive correlation was found between English lexical knowledge and non-instructional exposure to English in Korea (r=.276, p<05). These results indicate that in terms of target language exposure, the subjects with more target language exposure either in English-speaking countries or in a non-instructional setting in Korea showed the more English lexical knowledge. It seems, however, that exposure to English in English-speaking countries was more influential than exposure to English in Korea. Within Group A and Group B, the correlation coefficient between English lexical knowledge and a Korean-inducing learning context was negative, r=.144, but was not statistically significant (p>.05). It seems that for Group A and Group B who both had Korean-medium English education in formal schooling in Korea, the learning context was not distinctively different and thus it did not separate the two groups. However, with the inclusion of Group C, who had not been exposed to the formal instruction in Korea, a significant negative interaction emerged - r=.485 (p<.01). These results can thus be seen as strengthening the position that L2 lexical knowledge is likely to be affected by amount of Exposure to English and learning context.

7.4.4 Phonological representations in Korean L2 learners' lexicon

In the phonological domain, the findings in respect of L1 phonological representations from the general observation of the participants' production in the oral interview can be summarized as follows. Firstly, vowel insertion based on the Korean phonological system was observed predominantly in the least proficient Group A - for example, the insertion of the high unrounded front vowel /ɨ/ between and after consonants in *expensive* /iksɨpensɨbɨ/ and *piece* /pisɨ/. Secondly, Korean learners of English tend to replace the target sound with an existing sound from their L1 - such as substituting /p/ for /f/, for example in *friend* /prend/, and /d/ for /ð/ in *that* /dæt/. Thirdly, there is the matter of the length of vowels; for instance *live* /li:vɨ/, is often misunderstood as *leave*, the length distinction having gradually disappeared in the Korean context.

The pronunciation of the word *model* in particular was focused on, and the least proficient Group A was found to produce the most Korean-based instances of

pronunciation, (mean: .38), while Korean-based instances of pronunciation did not appear in the most proficient Group C (mean .00). A negative correlation was found between Korean-based pronunciation and exposure to English in English-speaking countries, r= -.233 ($p<.05$), and the negative correlation was also found between Korean-based pronunciation and naturalistic exposure to English outside of English class in Korea, r= -.308 ($p<.01$). There was a positive correlation between Korean-based pronunciation and translation-based self-instructional vocabulary learning, r=.289 ($p<.01$). This is not an unexpected result insofar as when new L2 words are learned through written L1 translation equivalents, learners are likely to focus more on morphological information (spelling) than on phonological information (pronunciation). It is notable also that the tests the learners took, such as CSAT, which constituted the practical endpoint of their L2 learning, do not focus on phonological information (Heo & Yoon 2004; I-S Lee 2006; Y-C Kim 2006). One can cite here the extreme statistical data from 359 college students in Korea, where they received 4½ minutes of oral-aural English input per instruction hour and in total just 2 ½ days' worth of English speaking and listening instruction (Margolis & Kim 2000, p.41); this illustrates the lack of L2 phonological information given to Korean L2 learners. In short, the results indicate that reliance on Korean phonological knowledge decreased as proficiency increased, and that exposure to English facilitated the attainment of target phonological representations, whereas vocabulary learning based on translation induced the activation of Korean phonological representations.

With regard to the sound recognition test (dictation task), there is some evidence to suggest the activation from Korean phonology to semantic encoding in English access. The means of Konglish use in this section are as follows: Group A: .10; Group B: .18 Group C: .00. An additional finding (excluded in the counting) was that two subjects in Group A and five subjects in Group B self-corrected the Konglish response to the target English item. This appears to suggest that the Korean L2 learners recognized the English sound-shapes on the basis of L1 phonological representations. With the inclusion of errors, it was found that the more proficient Group B recognized the target L2 sounds more successfully (78.75 %) than the least proficient Group A (71.25%). The overall

result indicates that proficiency facilitated English target sound recognition but did not guarantee efficient inhibition of Korean phonological activation.

It is worth recalling the details of the test at this stage. The participants were asked to identify the English sounds and write them down. The English sound "O" and "E" was identified as "5" and "2" in some cases. Two different languages may share phonological encoding but not the language specific phonetic encoding (Roelofs & Verhoef 2006, p.169). For example, in Korean the word for the number 5 is pronounced as closed /o/ (not /ou/) and the word for the number 2 as a high front unrounded vowel /i/ with different phonetic features from English "O" and "E". Given that shared phonological representations may cause the activation of the non-target language at the level of form (*ibid.*), it can be postulated that the participants were not able to distinguish the English-specific phonetic features and encoded the sound-shapes concerned in terms of Korean phonological segments. This result is significant in that phonological activation of Korean occurred even under circumstances where only English was present and licensed. Another example was observed in the interview in this connection. A participant misinterpreted the interviewer's comment *Good* ! as 끝 / ḱ ị t / ("end"/ "finish").

There are discussions and experiments in the literature relevant to this finding. According to the BIA+ model, "the task/decision system" may function on its own even when "the identification system" experiences delay owing to insufficient information (Dijkstra & Van Heuven 2002, p.191). On the basis of this model, it can be hypothesized that the participant in the present study was not able to pool all the necessary information, such as the contextual clue from the interviewer's utterance, in order to activate the target word. The only information available to her was the phonological information, which normally does not require a complex conceptual retrieval process. She may have tried to decode the phonological representations in English but the English-specific phonetic features may not have been fully encoded whereas the Korean phonological representations were presumably readily available and strong enough to be promptly activated. If this is true, the decision system would have reached a conclusion based on the limited resources, which was in essence Korean-based phonological information. The result that the more proficient Group B exhibited activation of Korean phonological representations is in line

with the view that the L1 phonological system may not be totally de-activated in L2 sound recognition even in the case of proficient bilinguals (De Bot 1992, pp.16-17). The bilingual auditory word recognition test results in Dijkstra & Van Heuven's (2002) study, also points to a non-selective language process, where initial activation involves both the bilingual's languages. Many experiments, however, have not been conducted by means of an oral interview, which may be closest to real-life language production (one thinks, e.g., of the eye tracking paradigm in Marian & Spivey 2003 or the reading of words in a lexical decision task in Dijkstra *et al.* 1999). The result from the oral interview in the present study may be a persuasive contribution in this connection.

In short, the results from the sound recognition test in the present study suggest that an L2 word may be identified as an L1 item when shared cross-language phonological representations are focused on and L2 specific phonetic features are disregarded. The more the system experiences, the better it can identify the subtle language-specific features. However, in the case of Konglish users', owing to lack of exposure, English phonemic segments are not fully specified, and this leads to failure to decode relevant phonetic information in the rapid flow of real-time utterances.

Since the Korean language has a different writing system from English, one may raise the question as to how the Korean learners' native language, with a different script, was activated in the processing of English. The present findings relating to the activation of non-target language, in the absence of orthographical similarity, is consistent with the finding of Hoshino & Kroll (2008). They compared Spanish-English bilinguals and Japanese-English bilinguals in a picture naming task and found phonological facilitation, even in languages with different scripts such as Japanese and English. On the basis of this result, they argue that shared phonology between two languages is sufficient to lead to cognate effects. English and Korean sound-shapes may be perceived by Konglish-users as homophones, and the perceived phonological overlap may be sufficient to activate the non-target L1.

Another question that needs to be answered in this section is how the phonological aspect of Konglish may affect L2 production and L2 reception differently. In the case of Konglish users, it can be postulated that Korean semantic/conceptual information is employed in English production and L1 phonological information in the English sound recognition process. In English production, an extreme case is that of the Konglish word *gips* (*Gips* in German; "[plaster-] cast"), which is not taken from English and is neither semantically nor formally close to an English word. In this case one can plausibly assume that it is the speaker's intention that initiates the activation; that the activation starts from the concept in Korean and that the L1 semantic information is retrieved with or without phonological adjustment. This is different from the role of Konglish in reception, as in this instance it is undoubtedly the phonological resemblance between the given English word and Korean false cognate that initiates the recognition process. The perceived phonological overlap may activate both Korean and English words, but on account of a lack of semantic or contextual information in respect of English, it may be the Korean semantic information that is retrieved. In the case of Korean cognates (not Konglish) which share the English meaning, the Korean semantic information will clearly facilitate processing in the right direction. In the case of Konglish words, however, the phonological overlap triggers the activation of semantic representations which do not coincide with those of English. Dijkstra *et al.*'s (1999) result supports this conjecture. The comparison of reaction times to interlingual homographs, cognates and interlingual homophones in their recognition task, showed a facilitation effect in respect of words with semantic overlap but an inhibitory effect in respect of interlingual homophones (*ibid.*, p.509). From their result, it can be said that a facilitation effect is to be expected in respect of Korean-English cognates owing to the semantic overlap between English and Korean, and an inhibitory effect can be expected for the English sounds "O" and "E" and Korean sounds "5" and "2" respectively where subjects perceive the sounds to be interlingual homophones (see above, Study Two – discussion of sound recognition).

As L2 knowledge becomes internalized, there seems to be a gradual transition "from a more phonological to a more semantic profile" (Singleton 1999, p.136). Konglish users with an undeveloped knowledge of English may thus focus more on phonological

resemblance. In English production, where activation starts from semantic/conceptual retrieval, the phonological resemblance between Konglish and English is not directly responsible for Konglish production, but the phonological similarity facilitates the speaker's misperception that the Konglish is equivalent to English. In the reception of spoken language, phonological resemblance directly initiates a recognition process which results in the activation of non-target Korean semantic representations.

7.4.5 Conceptual representations in Korean L2 learners' lexicon

The means in respect of Konglish use in the conceptual knowledge-related sections of the elicitation were as follows: Group A: 0.3913 (SD 0.1839); Group B: 0.3100 (SD 0.2039); Group C: 0.2350 (SD 0.1886). Even the English-dominant bilinguals (Group C) produced a relatively higher volume of Konglish in the conceptual knowledge-related sections (mean 0.2350) as compared to other sections such as the syntactic knowledge-related sections (mean 0.0597). This result indicates that the conceptual level of control is challenging even for highly fluent bilinguals. A negative correlation was found between conceptual knowledge-related Konglish use and exposure to English in English-speaking countries: r=-.230 ($p<.05$). However there was no statistically significant correlation with exposure to English in Korea (r=.166, $p>.05$). This suggests that exposure to English was beneficial with respect to inhibiting conceptual knowledge-related Konglish use only if it took place in English-speaking countries. No distinctive point clearly emerged in the period of exposure to English at which conceptual knowledge-related Konglish use dramatically decreased. The results show that conceptual knowledge-related Konglish use was still substantial even at the point of 0.9 (270 months of residence in English-speaking countries). In short, exposure to English in English-speaking countries emerges as beneficial in reducing the amount of Konglish use, but not by any means as overwhelmingly effective in impeding the activation of the Korean conceptual representations.

There is a view that "semantic relatedness as metalinguistic knowledge" represents general cognitive principles rather than linguistic knowledge (Murphy 2003, pp.42-43) and that category relations require conceptual level representations (Kroll 1993, p.58;

Dong, Gui and MacWhinney 2005, p.223). According to these perspectives, semantic relations such as congruence relations and spatial relations in the present study may be considered at the conceptual level. The least proficient Group A most relied on their L1 conceptual representations; they related the concept of the word *pumpkin* to the word *ugly* (referring to an unattractive female person), and *hostess* to *bar* (rather than *official reception*). It is worth noting that after the study, it was reconfirmed that they did not relate *hostess* to *waitress*. The word *hostess* has negative connotations in Korean (being applied to a prostitute working at a specific type of bar in Korea) and the word *pumpkin* is often used to describe unattractive women in Korean. It is thus evident whence the subjects retrieved the relevant conceptual representations.

Since responses to negative questions require more than a lexical level of representation for Korean learners of English, this matter is also considered in this section. In Korean, the listener takes the speaker's question as a premise and the answer is based on the truth or falsehood of the premise. For instance, considering the question Didn't you do it?, the listener takes the question as the premise and responds Yes where the truth lies in the premise (I did not do it) and No where the premise has negative truth value (I did it). Such contexts therefore require the Korean learner of English to use a conceptual level of control beyond the lexical level. Considering the results of this negative question section only (means: Group A: .53, SD.506; Group B: .40, SD.496; Group C: .45, SD.510), there was no significant difference between the groups, which suggests that Korean-based responses seem hard to resist for both the L2 learners and the proficient bilinguals.

7.4.6 Pragmatic knowledge in the Korean L2 learners' lexicon

The importance of acquiring pragmalinguistic/sociolinguistic knowledge has been stressed in work on conversational competence (Richards & Sukwiwat, 1983), sociolinguistic competence (Canale & Swain, 1980), and conversational routines (Coulmas 1981). The inclusion of a treatment of pragmalinguistic/sociolinguistic knowledge as well as linguistic knowledge should complete the picture of Korean learners' lexical resources. The study therefore also ranged above the level of the sentence. Two dialogues in the written test and oral interview were analysed to measure

pragmatic knowledge-related Konglish. The means in respect of Konglish use in this section were as follows: Group A: 0.5292 (SD 0.2229); Group B: 0.4125 (SD 0.2032); Group C: 0.1250 (SD 0.1311). These results indicate that the least proficient group produced the most pragmatics-related Konglish.

Three findings evidenced in the data merit comment. Firstly, Korean L2 learners tend to ask personal questions on topics such as age, place of residence, job and marital status/personal relationships at the very beginning of a conversation with strangers. This information is important to tune their honorific language and may also function as an ice-breaker in their native language. Such personal questions therefore can be seen as evidence of pragmatic transfer. Secondly, it is clear that Korean L2 learners' utterances often sound impolite because of a neglect of politeness markers. There may be a misperception among Korean novice learners that, since English does not have honorific terms, they do not need to pay attention to politeness markers apart from the word *please*. Thus, the sentence "Please give me a cup of coffee" in the written test was judged appropriate by many subjects. It can be assumed that this misperception starts from the moment that the learners learn the word *you* to address even older people. In Korean this would be extremely impolite and not licit. According to my observations in class, Korean learners of English occasionally omit *thank you* in the expression *No, thank you*, because to say simply *No* to an offer in Korean is not considered to be impolite. This lack of appropriate politeness markers may make their utterances sound blunt or discourteous. Thirdly, Korean L2 learners tend to use direct speech acts. Clearly, when the "downtoning structure" is not available in the learner's lexicon, he/she may have to use whatever more direct resources are to hand (Færch *et al.* 1984, p.57). In the case of Konglish users, one can discern lack of indirect speech act routines coupled with reliance on Korean. Some of the instances observed in the interview are as follows:

Case 1

A participant:	How old are you?
The interviewer:	23 years old
A participant:	Do you have a boyfriend?
The interviewer:	No

A participant: Why?

The interviewer: …

Case 2

A participant: What's your favorite Korean food?

The interviewer: Dumpling

A participant: Why?

The interviewer: Well…

Case 3

A participant: Where do you live?

The interviewer: I live in (the name of the place)

A participant: Do you like staying in Korea?

The interviewer: Yes, it's fun.

A participant: Why?

The interviewer: …

The result of Group B (mean 0.4125) is noteworthy. For example, even though the participants were proficient bilinguals and current or potential English teachers, they produced a significant amount of Konglish relative to the least proficient Group A (mean 0.5292). Other research findings are relevant to this. Liu (1995) suggests that even proficient L2 speakers may be aware of cultural differences at a surface level but not in terms of their deeper socio-cultural values (*ibid.*, p.263). J-S Lee (2002) compared 15 native English speakers and 15 Korean proficient ESL learners in a university in USA and found that the proficient Korean learners of English interpreted the pragmatic implicatures on the basis of Korean cultural norms (*ibid.*, pp.11-12). Færch *et al.* (1984) also observed something similar in advanced Danish learners of English, where the Danish L2 learners' request "I would like a pint of lager, please" was transferred from Danish "*jeg vil gerne have* (= 'I would like')" (*ibid.*, p.57). This is comparable to the example in the present study: "Please give me a cup of coffee" (="커피 "coffee" 한잔 "a cup of" 주세요 "Please give").

A negative correlation was found between pragmatic knowledge-related Konglish and amount of exposure to English in English-speaking countries, r=-.564 ($p<01$), but the negative correlation with amount of exposure to English in Korea was not statistically significant, r=-.025 ($p>.05$). This indicates that it was exposure to English in English-speaking countries but not in Korea which was effective in promoting the avoidance of Korean-influenced speech acts. The data suggest that a substantial amount of exposure to English in English-speaking countries, approximately 120 months, is required in order significantly to reduce L1 pragmatic influence. Schmidt's (1993) comments are relevant to the present results. According to these comments, not all L2 learners are able to notice the subtle differences between L1 and L2 pragmatic values, and to learn sociolinguistically appropriate speech acts only from simple exposure to the target culture because the noticing may take longer than the period of exposure available to learners (*ibid.*, p.36). In terms of quality of exposure to English, attaining English pragmatic knowledge by noticing from input and from interactions with native English speakers seems impossible under the current formal English learning conditions in Korea (K-S Paik 2005; O'Neal Cooper 2003, pp.93-94; Yoo 2004, p.101). It is often the case that Korean learners' English production is acceptable in purely grammatical terms but not in terms of appropriateness. This may result from English learning in Korean classrooms being focused on written types of input (Tarone *et al.* 1983, p.9). The written type of test-oriented L2 learning in Korea, bereft as it is of communicative aspects, may thus in part be blamed for the persistent pragmatic influence from Korean observed in the present study.

One interesting finding in this connection is that many participants focused on the grammar elements in the dialogue in the written test and overlooked its pragmatic features. Given that pragmalinguistic/sociolinguistic aspects are not dealt with in the tests routinely taken by Korean learners of English - such as CSAT, TOEIC and TEPS – it is highly likely that they had no experience whatever of detecting pragmatic inappropriateness in dialogues. Niezgoda & Röver (2001) report similar results. They found that pragmatic errors were considered to be significant by ESL learners, who identified more pragmatic errors in the relevant test, whereas grammatical errors were

rated critical by EFL learners, who identified more grammatical errors. They attribute their result to the different learning environments of the respective categories of learners, each of which, they say, encourages the noticing of one aspect more than of the other (*ibid.*, p.68, 79). The conscious awareness of syntactic rules rather than of pragmatic functions can be seen as leading to "low metacommunicative awareness", thus causing pragmatic transfer to outweigh the transfer of lexis and syntax (Færch *et al.* 1984, p.194).

It should be explained why a modest number of Korean-based pragmatic realizations are still discernible in Group C's data (mean 0.1250), despite the fact that these participants have lived in an English-speaking country for most of their lives. The findings of Yoon (1991) bear on this question. Using a questionnaire, Yoon compared the speech patterns of Americans, native Koreans, and Korean–English bilinguals who had lived in the USA for at least sixteen years. He found that the American group's preference was for an agreement strategy, that the Koreans' preference was for a modesty strategy, and that the Korean-English bilinguals' responses were intermediate between those of the other two groups, insofar as they favoured the agreement strategy less than the Americans and more than the Koreans. This result is consistent with the present result, where the Korean-English bilinguals in Group C showed less pragmatic transfer than the Korean-dominant Korean subjects (Group A and Group B). However, when compared to the control group (English-speaking monolinguals), it became obvious that they were exhibiting some Korean pragmatic influence.

7.5 Summary

Konglish was observed in all aspects of the test results in Study Two, phonological and pragmatic levels included. It was found that proficiency, exposure to English, and English learning environment affected the extent of reliance on Konglish. On the basis of test data and of subjects' responses in the survey which followed the actual testing, L1 influence was identified as one of the factors responsible for undermining the native-likeness/intelligibility/appropriateness of English production. In Group A 7.5% of participants, in Group B 21.3%, and in Group C 70% were aware of the role of influence from Korean in their use of English. It is interesting that the less proficient group, who

produced the most Konglish, were less aware of influence from Korean than the more proficient groups. This can be related to the tendency exhibited by the more proficient subjects to make more attempts to avoid Konglish by dint of self-correction and English-based communication strategies.

CHAPTER VIII: Study Three

8.1 Overview of Study Three

Study Three is a supplementary piece of research bearing on Study Two. It is two-fold: firstly to confirm one of the results in Study Two and secondly to collect general information about Korean L2 learners. It was originally designed for the latter purpose; however, an interesting result of Study Two leads to additional investigation in Study Three.

In Study Two it was established that Korean users of English access resources for English comprehension and production via Korean to an extent that varies in accordance with their proficiency and English learning context. Among the Konglish words observed in Study Two, certain Konglish words were used by subjects more than others. For example, in the oral interview the Konglish word *sharp* ("pound/hash key") was produced most by the subjects (mean 0.62, SD 0.488) while *talent* ("actor/actress") was produced least (mean 0.07, SD 0.256). One may assume that the target English word *actor/actress* has a higher frequency than the target English word *pound/hash*, and that the subjects had not encountered (or rarely) the lower-frequency English word *pound/hash*; hence the more frequent accessing of its Konglish equivalent than in the case of the Konglish word for the higher-frequency word *actor/actress*.

On the other hand, there may be another possibility one may point to. Both the least produced Konglish word *talent* ("actor/actress") and the most produced Konglish word *sharp* ("pound/hash key") may have been initially activated in the mental lexicon. If the subject had been aware that the word *talent* does not share the semantic properties of Korean with English and thus it can not refer to *actor/actress* in English, she/he might have consciously avoided using the word in the L2 task. If the subject had not been aware that the Konglish word *sharp* does not mean *pound/hash* key in English as it were in Korean, the Konglish word would not have been avoided and thus would have been produced in the English task. The possibility, therefore, may be that not all the Konglish words activated during processing are chosen to be produced in English, since the subject

may abandon the activated Konglish word if it is the case that she/he is aware that the meaning of the Konglish word in Korean is not the same as in English. If this possibility is taken into account, it may be posited that a subject's knowledge in respect of certain Konglish words about whether they are Konglish words or not may affect the actual production of Konglish in English tasks regardless of the lexical knowledge of the target English word itself. This discussion relates very much to the point of departure for Study Three, which is the question of whether information activated from a Korean lexical entry may be deliberately discarded prior to the commencement of actual production.

Given that the term *Konglish* (콩글리시 *konggŭllisi* in Korean) is widely known to Korean learners of English, the possibility cannot be excluded that such learners may be able to identify Konglish words and may also know that these words do not fit in L2 contexts, even if they do not know the correct English words for the Konglish words. It may be, then, that whether or not the learner perceives a word to be Konglish word may determine whether or not he/she deploys it in English. Put differently, awareness of Konglish words may cause avoidance of Konglish use. When a subject cannot prevent a word from being activated via an L1 entry and consequently a Konglish word is accessed, she/he may avoid using the word for actual production if she/he is aware of its ineligibility for deployment in an L2 context. To avoid producing the Konglish word, she/he may simply give up or try to find an alternative, if she/he is proficient enough to find other words, to cover the intended word-meaning. On this kind of basis, well-known Konglish words might be avoided in production but perhaps not lesser-known Konglish words. This perspective would predict that *talent* (for *actor/actress*), well-known to be a Konglish word, would be avoided more than *sharp* (*pound/hash key*), which is less well-known to be a Konglish word. If the relation between Konglish awareness and avoidance is illuminated in Study Three, the question as to why in Study Two t*alent* was produced the least while *sharp* was used the most will be answered.

To investigate the relationship between Konglish awareness and Konglish avoidance, Konglish words observed in the interview in Study Two were presented to participants in Study Three in order to determine the frequency of their being identified as Konglish.

Study Three did not set out to track individual cases but rather to explore in a general way the relationship between Konglish awareness and Konglish avoidance.

The survey in Study Three also elicited general information about Korean learners' learning strategies and their learning environment and thus yielded data which fed into the discussion regarding the issue of the influences induced by the learning environment. Regarding learning strategies, the question arises as to whether Korean learners' vocabulary learning in English is based on the memorization of Korean translation-equivalents. This prompts the further question of whether Korean learners tend to learn new English words more in the direction from English word to Korean translation-equivalent more or in the other direction from Korean word to English translation-equivalent. If Korean learners encounter new English words through reading materials and find the word meaning in a English-Korean dictionary, they may memorize the translation-equivalents in the direction English→Korean. If, on the other hand, they need to know certain English words rather for speaking or writing, they may use a Korean-English dictionary, and memorize the translation pair in the direction Korean→English. This area of discussion clearly relates to the claim of the Revised Hierarchical Model (Kroll & Stewart 1994) that the connection from L2 to L1 is stronger than that from L1 to L2 at the lexical level.

As for the English-language learning environment in Korea, the quality as well as the quantity of English input provided to Korean learners in their English education was evaluated. The question of whether Korean learners of English are aware of mediation from Korean in their English production was also explored in order to seek out insights regarding the organization of their mental lexicon.

8.2 Method

8.2.1 Subjects

An advertisement on college campus and personal announcements in class during recess were used to recruit volunteer participants for this study - 100 in all. They were college

students who were taking a summer course at a university in Korea (Korea University), all of whom have received formal English education in Korea. Since Study Three was intended to gather information in respect of Korean learners of English in general, the participants were neither divided on the basis of proficiency level as in Study Two, nor according to age or gender as in Study One. On completion of the survey, the participants were given small gifts (chocolate) as a token of gratitude.

8.2.2 Design and Procedure

The survey consisted of 10 sections in a 2 page-long questionnaire (see Appendix F). The first section was to reconfirm that the pragmatics-related Konglish data in Study Two were Korean-driven. The participants in Study Three were asked the question: "What are the common questions that are asked in Korea in a first conversation with newly encountered people?". Since the survey did not concern participants' performance in English, the questions in the survey were posed in Korean. In the second section, participants were asked to judge whether the words presented were well-known Konglish items. The words were the Konglish words noted in the interview data from Study Two. Sections 3-5 concerned participants' leaning strategies with respect to grammar and vocabulary. Section 6 set out to check whether new English words tended to be learned more in the direction Korean→English or in the direction English→Korean more. Section 7 focused on whether respondents were aware of mediation from Korean in their production of English. Section 8 concentrated on quality of English input in formal English instruction in Korea. In this section, participants were asked to evaluate their English instructors' proficiency and the proportion of English use in class. Section 9 probed whether participants had been informed in English class of the possible risk of transferring their Korean sociolinguistic values into their use of English. The final section explored participants' exposure to English in English-speaking countries and outside the classroom in Korea.

8.2.3 Data treatment

The data were quantified separately for each section. With respect to the Konglish awareness section in particular, eight Konglish words observed in the Study Two

interview of were ranked according to their frequency of occurrence, and also according to the extent of being identified as Konglish by participants in Study Three. Next, the rank order of the Konglish words emerging from Study Two was compared with the rank order from Study Three. For example, if a word had been identified as a Konglish word by the most participants in Study Three, it was ranked 1st in terms of Konglish awareness. In the same way, the Konglish word produced the least in the Study Two interview was ranked 8th in terms of occurrence in English production. If the word ranked 1st in terms of Konglish awareness turned out to be ranked 8th in terms of occurrence in production, it was considered that the results could be treated as supportive of a relationship between Konglish avoidance and Konglish awareness.

8.3 Results

The data treated as personal questions in the pragmatics-related sections in Study Two were age, place of residence, salary, and marital status. To confirm that the questions were based on Korean pragmatic values, the common questions to ask or to be asked in first conversations with newly-met people in Korean were surveyed in the first section of Study Three. "Where do you live?" was the most commonly reported question[26] (53 responses), "How old are you?" the second most commonly reported (51 responses), and "What's your job?" the third most commonly reported (18 responses). Other responses were "What's your major?" (15 responses), "Which school do you go to?" (11 responses), "Where are you from?" (6), "Have you eaten meal? (8 responses), and "Do you have a boy/girl friend?" (3 responses). It is thus confirmed that personal questions recorded in Study Two are questions frequently associated with first encounters in Korean. However, the questions about salary and marital status noted in Study Two did not crop up in the responses in Study Three. Considering that the subjects in Study Two differ from the Study Three subjects in terms of generation, marital status and employment status, this is not really surprising. It is likely that the topics of salary and marital status are not yet of especial interest to the Study Three participants, all of whom are college students. Other questions mentioned were "What's your blood type?" and "How tall are you?", which again would be unexpected to English speakers on an occasion of first encounter.

[26] This survey allowed multiple responses in this section.

Table 25 and Table 26 show the relationship between Konglish awareness and Konglish avoidance. The rankings in Table 25 indicate the extent of the awareness of Konglish words based on 100 participant responses in Study Three. For example, the word 미팅 *meeting* ("blind date"), ranked 1st, is the Konglish word which was identified as Konglish by the most learners. 8th rank means that the least Korean L2 learners identified 샵 *sharp* ("pound/hash key") as a Konglish word.

Table 25 ***The Extent of the Awareness of Konglish Words***

Items	Mean	Rank
원룸 *one-room* ("studio apartment")	0.44	3
기브스 *gips* ("plaster-cast")	0.34	6
샵 *sharp* ("pound/hash key")	0.15	**8**
탤런트 *talent* ("actor/actress")	0.46	**2**
원피스 *one-piece* ("dress")	0.35	5
사이다 *cider* ("clear soda pop")	0.41	4
미팅 *meeting* ("blind date")	0.63	**1**
밴드 *band* ("band-aid")	0.34	6

Table 26 shows the Konglish words observed in the Study Two oral interview. Ranked 1st in Table 26 is *sharp* ("pound/hash key"), which indicates that this Konglish word *sharp* was produced in place of *pound/hash* by the most subjects in Study Two. The Konglish word which was produced by the least number of subjects in Study Two was *talent* ("actor/actress"), ranked 8th.

Table 26 ***The Konglish Words Observed in Study Two***

Items	Group A		Group B		Group C		**Total**	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	**Mean**	**Rank**
원룸*one-room* ("studio apartment")	0.40	6	0.25	3	0.10	3	0.28	6
기브스 *gips* ("plaster-cast")	0.55	3	0.18	4	0.05	5	0.30	4
샵 *sharp* ("pound/hash key")	0.85	1	0.65	1	0.10	3	0.62	**1**
탤런트 *talent* ("actor/actress")	0.15	8	0.03	8	0.00	6	0.07	**8**
원피스 *one-piece* ("dress")	0.55	3	0.18	4	0.00	6	0.29	5
사이다 *cider* ("clear soda pop")	0.50	5	0.45	2	0.20	1	0.42	2
미팅 *meeting* ("blind date")	0.40	6	0.08	7	0.15	2	0.22	**7**
밴드 *band* ("band-aid")	0.73	2	0.13	6	0.00	6	0.34	3

The Konglish words observed in Study Two and the Konglish awareness observed in Study Three are compared in Table 27. The Konglish word *sharp* ("pound/hash key"), ranked 8th in terms of Konglish awareness in Study Three, is ranked 1st in terms of Konglish production in Study Two. This suggests that *sharp* ("pound/hash key") is the word least known to be Konglish by Korean learners of English, and indicates that is produced by the most subjects in Study Two. The Konglish word *talent* ("actor/actress"), ranked 8th in terms of Konglish production in Study Two is ranked 2nd in terms of Konglish awareness in Study Three. This suggests that the word *talent* ("actor/actress") is the word which is second most widely recognized as Konglish and indicates that it is produced by the least subjects in Study Two. In other words, items which are well-known as a Konglish seem to be reluctantly used.

Table 27 ***Comparison of Konglish Production and Konglish Awareness***

Items	Konglish production	Konglish awareness
	Rank (Study 2)	Rank (Study 3)
샵 *sharp* ("pound/hash key")	**1**	**8**
사이다 *cider* ("clear soda pop")	2	4
밴드 *band* ("band-aid")	3	6
기브스 *gibs* ("plaster-cast")	4	6
원피스*one-piece* ("dress")	5	5
원룸 *one-room* ("studio apartment")	6	3
미팅 *meeting* ("blind date")	7	**1**
탤런트 *talent* ("actor/actress")	**8**	**2**

Table 28 shows the correlation between the extent of the L2 learners' awareness and the Konglish production statistically. The negative correlation, r=-.826 is statistically significant at the 5% level, which means that the more the word is perceived as a Konglish word, the less the word is used as an L2 word by Korean L2 learners. The results suggest that the Konglish awareness affects Konglish avoidance.

Table 28 ***Spearman Correlation Coefficient***[27]

	Spearman correlation coefficient
Total	**-.826*** (.011)

Note Planned comparisons: *p , .05.

Table 29 and Table 30 concern Korean L2 learners' learning strategies. Table 29 shows how Korean learners of English learn English grammar. The case where grammar learning is based on memorization of grammar rules out of context, mainly aimed at English exams, is labelled as Type A in Table 29. This type of grammar learning was most prevalent before college (middle school: 90%, high school: 85%, college: 30%).

[27] Spearman's rank correlation coefficient is used for the ranks of the variables.

Type B of grammar learning is the case where the grammar learning was based on memorization of grammar rules as in Type A but the grammar rules were presented with examples in context. This type of grammar learning was mentioned by just 5% of subjects in respect of middle school, 8% in respect of high school but increased to 32% in respect of college. In contrast to L1-mediated grammar learning represented by Type A and Type B, Type C is the case where grammar was learned in various contexts without explicit explanation of the rules in Korean. This type was reported as the least used method in middle school (4%) and high school (6%), but the most used method in college (33%). The case where the participants learned with the method Type A during the entire duration of schooling/studies was reported by 23% of subjects, while none of the participants reported learning grammar with Type B or Type C during the entirety of schooling/studies. The results suggest that examples in various contexts are rather sparsely provided to Korean learners of English in formal instructional settings in Korea.

Table 29 ***Grammar Learning Methods***

Type	Middle school	High school	College	Entire schooling
A	90%	85%	30%	23%
B	5%	8%	32%	0%
C	4%	6%	33%	0%
No response	1%	1%	5%	

Note Type A: rule-based grammar learning focused on test preparation
Type B: rule-based grammar learning in context
Type C: implicit grammar learning

Table 30 shows how Korean L2 learners learn new English words. Type A is the case where vocabulary learning is limited to attention to the L1 translation-equivalent without form and function mapping. In this type, learners do not learn when/how to use the L2 lexical item. This type of vocabulary learning (Type A) was reported as the most predominantly used method in respect of middle school (98%) and high school (85%), but its profile decreased in respect of college (31%). Type B is the case where vocabulary learning is based on attention to L1 translation equivalent, as in Type A, but where

examples of the new L2 lexical items are provided in context. This type was reported as being used by only 2% of participants in respect of middle school and 14% in respect of high school, but by 41% in respect of college. Type C is the case where vocabulary learning bypasses L1 translation, and copious examples are provided in various contexts to the learners. This type was not reported at all in respect of middle school and by only 1% of participants in respect of high school. 29% of the participants reported that Type A of vocabulary learning was provided during the entire period of their schooling/studies, while only 1% of the participants reported receiving Type B and 0% reported receiving Type C during the entire period of their schooling/studies.

Table 30 ***Vocabulary Learning Methods***

Type	Middle school	High school	College	Entire schooling
A	98%	85%	31%	29%
B	2%	14%	41%	1%
C	0%	1%	21%	0%
No response	0%	0%	7%	

Note A: learning L2 vocabulary based on L1 translation without form and function mapping
B: learning mediated L1 translation with the presence of the context and examples
C: implicit learning without L1 mediation

Table 31 shows the direction of vocabulary learning. That is, if Korean L2 learners learn new English words through language reception such as reading, the word meaning will be retrieved from an English-Korean dictionary and a lexical connection from L2 to L1 may develop. It is worth recalling in this connection that the results from Table 30 show that subjects' vocabulary learning is mainly based on L1 translation-equivalents. If Korean learners of English learn new English words for language production such as speaking or writing, the word will be retrieved from a Korean-English dictionary and a lexical link from L1 to L2 may be more developed. As shown in Table 31, 94% of the participants responded that they had learned L2 words in the direction from L2 word to L1 translation equivalent. Only 2% of subjects responded that they had learned L2 words in the direction from L1 to L2. The results suggest that Korean L2 learners' learning method

may cause them to develop a stronger L2→L1 lexical linkage rather than a linkage in the opposite direction.

Table 31 ***The Direction of Vocabulary Learning***

Direction of learning	Mean
L2→L1	**0.94**
Both L2→L1 and L1→L2	0.04
L1→L2	0.02

Table 32 shows the Korean L2 learners' awareness of L1 mediation in their L2 production. The question "Which language pops up first when you speak English?" was given to participants. As shown in Table 32, 83% of the participants responded that the L1 word was first accessed in L2 production. Only 2% of the subjects responded that they accessed English directly. 15% of the subjects responded that some English words were directly accessed and others accessed via Korean.

Table 32 ***The Language Mediating in Accessing English Words***

Language	Mean
Korean	**0.83**
Depends on the individual word	0.15
English	0.02

To evaluate the quality of English input, the participants were questioned about the amount of Korean used in their English class. The reported mean amounts of Korean used as a medium in class were 81.14% in respect of middle school, 77.46 % in respect of high school, and 45.67% in respect of college. The participants were also asked to assess their teachers' English proficiency. As displayed in Table 33, only 2% of the participants responded that their English teachers in middle school were highly proficient; the figures for high school and college were 11% and 59% respectively.

Table 33 ***The Proficiency of English Instructors Assessed by L2 Learners***

Middle school	Mean	High school	Mean	College	Mean
Excellent	**0.02**	Excellent	**0.11**	Excellent	**0.59**
ok	0.19	ok	0.27	ok	0.22
Not good	0.37	Not good	0.34	Not good	0.02
I don't know	0.42	I don't know	0.28	I don't know	0.16

In relation to quantity of English input, participants were questioned about the length of their stays in English-speaking countries. The mean length of stay in English-speaking countries turned out to be 0.72 months. The percentage of participants who reported having had opportunities to communicate with native English speakers in Korea was 18%. The results suggest that the English input received by Korean learners of English leaves much to be desired in terms both of quantity and quality.

Regarding the learning experience in respect of socio-linguistic appropriateness in English-speaking cultures, 46% of the participants responded that they had had experience of learning about such matters in class, while 53 % said they had never been informed about this aspect of English use. Only 8% of the participants considered the information about appropriate speech acts (pragmatics) provided in their English classes to have been sufficient.

8.4 Interpretation

8.4.1 The relation between Konglish awareness and Konglish avoidance

Among the Konglish words observed in the Study Two interview, the word 샵 *sharp* ("pound/hash key") was the Konglish word most frequently used by Study Two participants. According to the survey in Study Three, this most frequently used Konglish word was the word least perceived to be Konglish. A negative correlation between Konglish use in Study Two and awareness of Konglish in Study Three, r=-.826 ($p<.05$), which supports the notion that the more a word is perceived as Konglish the more it is avoided in English. The result suggests that the L2 learner's perception of the language cue affects the L2 selection process. Given that "real" and "perceived" distance between

languages may also determine the extent of the activation of the non-target language (Ringbom 1983, p.211), Konglish words in general are perceived as cognates that share semantic and phonological features with English words and are thus relatively easily activated in English. However, words known to be Konglish words among Korean learners of English are not perceived as cognates and are thus easy to avoid in English. In some extreme cases, such as *기브스 gibŭsŭ* / *깁스 gipsŭ* (*Gips* in German; "[plaster-] cast") or *아이젠 aijen* (*Eisen* in German; "crampon"), the words are perceived as English cognates, and their activation is intense in English, despite the fact that the words did not even originate from English. Thus it can be postulated that perception of the language cue as well as extent of target language knowledge affects L1 activation.

8.4.2 Korean L2 learners' L2 learning environment

The Korean L2 learners responded that their vocabulary learning was to a substantial degree based on translation without form and function mapping - in middle school (98%); in high school (85%); and in university (31%). The subjects who reported learning new English words on the basis of both translation and the presentation of examples amounted to 2% in middle school, 14% in high school, and 41% in college. This shows that the provision of contextual information via examples characterizes L2 lexical learning more in college than in middle school and high school. However, the overall result suggests that in Korea English learners' vocabulary learning is mainly based on translation with little regard for contextual information.

Such lack of contextual information is also found in respect of grammar learning. The percentage of participants who responded that their grammar learning was based on rule memorization and rule application to test questions, was 90% in respect of middle school, 85% in respect of high school, and 30% in respect of college. Not many participants reported learning grammar rules with the support of examples (5% in respect of middle school, 8% in respect of high school, and 32% in respect of college).

As for acquiring pragmatic knowledge, only 8% of the participants responded that they had had any initiation into English pragmatics in class, and 53% said they had not had

any. This finding may explain why a significant amount of pragmatics-related Konglish was observed in Study Two. To the Study Three questions "What are the common questions that are asked in Korea in a first conversation with newly encountered people?", "Where do you live?" was cited by 53% of participants, "How old are you?" by 51%, "Have you eaten?" by 8%, and "Do you have a boy/girl friend?" by 3%. This result clearly relates to the findings regarding pragmatics-related Konglish observed in Study Two. It will be recalled that in the written test, in particular, the dialogue between two strangers containing personal questions such as questions about age was judged appropriate by the majority of the low-proficiency learners (Group A: 90%). This result strongly suggests that Korean learners' pragmatic performance in English is highly influenced by their L1.

In their evaluation of English classes in middle and high school, 49% of the participants described it as memorization-focused learning aimed at test preparation. 61% of the participants reported a lack of speaking or writing practice in class as a problem. An evaluation of English teachers was also conducted. The percentage of subjects who evaluated their teachers' proficiency as "Excellent" was 2% in respect of middle school, 11% in respect of high school, and 59% in respect of college, whereas the percentage of subjects who evaluated their teachers' proficiency as "Not good" was 37% in respect of middle school, 34% in respect of high school, and 2% in respect of college. This result is a delicate matter and also may be questionable because the assessment was based solely on the students' point of view. However, the English proficiency of non-native English teachers in Korea has been similarly evaluated in other studies (J-H Lee 2005; Y-C Kim 2006). There are also views from teachers reported elsewhere which is consistent with the present result. In one study 133 middle school teachers in Korea confessed that they have a lack of confidence in their English proficiency (Moon & Lee 2002, p.301).

Use of Korean in English classes was reported as reaching the level of 81.14% in middle school, 77.46% in high school, and 45.67% in university, which indicates relatively modest amounts of exposure to English in class up to college entry. Even though an increasing number of learners of English leave for an English-speaking country every

year to enhance their English proficiency, the mean length of stay in such countries was found in the present survey to be 0.06 year (0.72 months). Coupled with limited exposure to English in class in Korea, exposure to English in non-instructional settings in Korea was also found to be limited (Only 18% of the participants responded that they had experiences of speaking English in non-instructional settings in Korea).

8.4.3 The organization of the mental lexicon of Korean learners of English

94% of the participants responded that they studied new English words in an English→Korean direction and only 2% that they studied new L2 words in a Korean→English direction. This result is consistent with the finding from Kent (2001). In an investigation of Korean university freshmen's dictionary use, it was found that translation occurred predominantly in the direction English→Korean (76%) and only 24% in the Korean→English direction (*ibid.*, p.82). The present result indicates that Korean learners of English encounter the English word in an English context such as reading and then have to find its Korean translation-equivalent. This can be related to their practical learning goal which is aimed at attaining the best possible score on written types of tests such as CSAT and TOEIC, which examine language reception rather than language production such as speaking and writing.

As already mentioned in Chapter II, according to the Revised Hierarchical Model (Kroll & Stewart 1994), the link between the shared concept and the L1 is stronger than the link between the concept and L2, while L2→L1 links at the lexical level are in any case likely to be stronger than L1→L2 links. In addition to the concept mediation suggested in the model - according to which the concept mediates L1→L2 links rather than L2→L1 links - there may be another possibility to explain the stronger L2→L1 lexical links. The present result that 94% of participants studied new L2 words in an L2→L1 direction may indicate that learning methods encourage learners to develop L2→L1 links more than L1→L2 links. That is, at least the architecture of Korean L2 learners' lexicon may also be affected by their learning methods promoting L2→L1 links. Accordingly, the stronger L2→L1 links may be explained not only by the lesser amount of concept mediation in

L2→L1 links than in L1→L2 links, as suggested by the RHM, but also in terms of the more prevalent L2→L1 direction of learning methods experienced by Korean learners.

83% of the participants responded that Korean mediated L2 access, which indicates that they were aware that their native language was activated first in English production. J-W Kim (2006) points to L1 mediation as a problem in the L2 learning environment in Korea and suggests "thinking in English" as an effective learning method. This indirectly reveals how prevalent L1-promoting learning methodology is in the English language learning environment in Korea.

15% of the responses were to the effect that English was accessed directly in some cases and via Korean in others, depending on the extent of the familiarity of the target English word. This is consistent with the view of Dong, Gui and MacWhinney (2005), according to which the shift from word association to concept mediation occurs on the basis of familiarity with the L2 word. Where the L2 entry of a word is sufficiently equipped with lexical, conceptual and pragmatic representations, the activation of alternative candidates from the L1 may thus be unnecessary even if there is a lexical link between translation-equivalent pairs; on the other hand, where the L2 entry of a word is not very developed L1 activation via the relevant lexical link may be inevitable. This assumption is in line with the view that lexical development may occur on an item-by-item basis. In this perspective, since words are differently represented in the bilingual lexicon, "word-specific encounters" determine the structures of the lexicon in terms of concept-mediation and word-association (De Groot 1995, pp.164-165).

To conclude, since Konglish words were found to be stored as Korean items and borrowed into English by Korean learners of the latter language, the presence of Konglish in English was interpreted as the evidence of activation of Korean in the accessing of English and thus as an indication that both the intended and the unintended languages may be activated. Since there is little or no semantic overlap between Konglish and English, the phonological resemblance was given particular consideration. While phonological resemblance seems to have inhibited English sound recognition, in English production it apparently functioned to reassure Konglish users in their identification of

Konglish words with English words. Konglish awareness, on the other hand appears to have generated self-restraint, as it were, and avoidance of Konglish. There was evidence that the extent of word association and concept mediation may have been affected by participants' learning history, as well as by the nature of lexical organization deriving from particular ranges of encounters with individual L2 items. The factors in the shift from word association to concept mediation which seemed to emerge were proficiency, age of acquisition, the quantity and the quality of the target language exposure, and teaching/learning methods. The L2-exposure-poor learning environment in Korea was seen as likely to encourage L1 activation and obstruct the development of L2-particular networks.

CHAPTER IX: General Discussion and Conclusions

9.1 The study of Konglish

There is a view that the learner's previous knowledge, in particular L1 knowledge, may be beneficial at the initial stage of learning, in particular for receptive competence, and that this positive effect may be expected more where the L1 and L2 are similar, as in the case of Swedish and English, than when they are dissimilar, as in the case of than Finnish and English (Ringbom 1986, pp.151-152). Despite the language distance between Korean and English, the phonological and semantic similarity between certain cognates (not Konglish) resulting from borrowing such as between *커피* /kəpi/ and *coffee*, may facilitate Korean learners' acquisition of receptive competence in English. "Konglishness" can be determined on the basis of the extent of semantic and phonological overlap between the pairs of Korean and English items. The first kind of "Konglishness" is associated with items used in Korean that do not share the prototypical meaning of a formally similar English item, although it may share certain meaning properties of the English word. Examples are: *호스티스 hostess* ("a kind of prostitute"), *원피스 one piece* ("one-piece dress"), and *원룸 one-room* ("studio apartment"). The other kind of Konglish words are those that are imagined to be English in origin but which share neither formal nor semantic properties with any English term. Examples are *기브스 gibŭsŭ* / *깁스 gipsŭ* (*Gips* in German; "[plaster-] cast") or *아이젠 aijen* (*Eisen* in German; "crampon"). There is a view that L1 resources should be drawn upon in L2 learning, even where false friends are involved (Morrissey 1981, p.65). On the other hand, knowledge of Konglish words, as false friends, may not be expected to yield benefits in the learning of English in the Korean environment, since this environment is not of a nature to promote the restructuring of prior knowledge through extensive encounters with English. It needs to be clarified, however, that the present study does not take a position regarding the desirability or otherwise of transferring L1 knowledge in L2 acquisition and use. The goal of the study is rather to investigate what the Konglish phenomenon is, how this phenomenon mirrors the organization of the lexicon of Korean learners of English, and what affects the process of the formation of such learners' lexicon.

Konglish words can be traced back to loanwords borrowed from English or other languages. As used by Korean monolinguals, such loanwords frequently undergo a partial meaning extension or an overall meaning change. The loanwords then become completely integrated into the Korean lexicon. Newly introduced loanwords, on the other hand, cannot be understood without knowledge of the source language, indicating that the word is not yet completely integrated into the Korean lexicon. The loanword *van* (from Study One) is an example. Study One revealed that *van* was deployed in Korean by a only a small number of subjects, as compared to its Konglish equivalent 봉고 *bongo* (a Korean van brand-name; "van"), which was deployed by the majority of the subjects. This indicates that the newly introduced loanword *van* is in the process of integration, while the Konglish word 봉고 *bongo* is completely integrated into the Korean lexicon.

Although the loanwords integrated into the Korean lexicon are stored as L1 items as shown in Study One, not all the loanwords integrated into the Korean lexicon become Konglish words. Genuine cognates still share meanings with their English sources and thus facilitate English access, while features of false cognates in the Korean lexicon do not work in English contexts. Thus it was considered that the loan-word 밴 *baen* ("van") is not a Konglish word but the word 봉고 *bongo* is. It should be noted that the word 봉고 *bongo* (a Korean van brand-name; "van") used in a Korean context is not a Konglish word at this stage since it functions only as a Korean item in a Korean context. It becomes, however, a problematic Konglish word where an attempt is made to use it as an English item in English, because its use may jeopardize communication with English speakers. Konglish words at this stage are the main concern of the present study, where Korean-unique properties of loan-words are transferred into English contexts. Konglish words in the present study also include some false cognates which do not originate in English, contrary to the belief of Konglish users - examples being 기브스 *gibŭsŭ* / 깁스 *gipsŭ* (*Gips* in German; "[plaster-] cast") or 아이젠 *aijen* (*Eisen* in German; "crampon").

A code-switched form may become a borrowed form through frequent and repeated use, and a borrowed form may become fully integrated into many language users' L1 mental

lexicon. At this point it is accessed as an L1 lexical item (Myers-Scotton 1992, 1993). Thus, Konglish words are introduced as borrowings and then integrated into the L1 (Korean) lexicon, with their own entries and their own L1 lemmas. When Konglish users then use these words in an English language context, they appear as code-switched forms in their users' L1 lexicon, insofar as they are activated as Korean entries. Study Two lends support to this account, showing that Konglish words were retrieved as L1 entries. The definition of Konglish use in English as code-switching, however, invites further discussion. If one accepts the view that "especially in low-proficiency NNS, code-switching is mostly ... a strategy to compensate for insufficient linguistic knowledge" (Kasper 1997, p.353), Konglish use in English can be considered code-switching. However, the prevalent view is that most code-switching is essentially a "most available word phenomenon" (Grosjean 1982, p.151) in contexts where the two languages are available but the word in the non-base language fits the speaker's intention more appropriately (De Bot 1992) and thus does not result from "dysfluency" (Green 1986, p.215). Konglish can therefore be seen as code-switching in the Kasper perspective but not necessarily in the latter perspective.

The distinction between borrowing and lexical transfer in Ringbom's work (e.g. Ringbom 1983) seems extremely relevant to Konglish (Note that *Konglish word* and *Konglish* have already been defined). On the basis of this view, the use of "Konglish words" on the single-word level can be considered borrowing and the use of "Konglish" at the phrase or sentence level can be seen as lexical transfer. Borrowing words is based on superficial formal similarity and can thus occur even when the learner has a rather shallow knowledge of the L2 (Ringbom 1983, p.207). Examples of borrowing in the present study are *미팅 meeting*, which has formal similarity with the English word but diverges from it semantically, and *오피스텔 officetel*, where the word *office* is combined with *hotel*, a fusion which simply does not exist in English. In contradistinction to borrowing, lexical transfer in Ringbom's sense does not presuppose formal similarity and requires more complex semantic constructivity on the basis of the L1 (*ibid.*). Examples from the present study are *a half-boiled egg* ("a soft-boiled egg") and *needle's ear* ("the eye of a needle"), and *how do you think of ...?* ("What do you think of...?").

If Konglish words are categorized as false cognates, the formal similarity between Konglish words and English can be expected only at the phonological level. As Grosjean (1997) points out, cognate words employed in many experiments are not consistent, in that words with semantic, morphological and phonological overlap are used in one researcher's study while only semantic and phonological overlap is considered in other cases. Many studies supporting the non-selective access view have used interlingual homographs, an approach which is not possible in the present context, because Konglish words are not interlingual homographs as this term is usually understood. For instance, de Groot *et al.* (2000) employed Dutch-English homographs in translation recognition and lexical decision. Van Heuven *et al.* (1998) found that the size of orthographic neighborhood of L1 (Dutch) and L2 (English) affected lexical decisions. One might expect typologically different languages, such as Korean and English, to be accessed in a language-specific way, and yet it remains to be resolved why Konglish words, without morphological resemblance to English, are sometimes activated in English processing (as observed in Study Two). The finding of cross-language translation priming in Hebrew and English, which have different scripts (Gollan, Forster & Frost 1997), suggests the possibility that even non-target languages with different scripts from the target language can be activated.

Since phonological overlap is the only similarity between Konglish words and English words, a model to explain the activation of Konglish words should presuppose that all lexical items activated can spread activation to the phonological level. The WEAVER++ model (see above, Chapter II) can explain the activation of Konglish words in L2 in that it allows for activation at form level, even in the non-target language, through shared phonological representations. The model suggests that two different languages have both common and language-specific phonological features, and that cognate effects result from the common phonological encoding of the two languages (Roelofs & Verhoef 2006, p.169). In the case of Konglish users, the common phonological representations shared between Konglish words and English would be sufficient according to the model for the non-target Konglish words to be activated. The model itself suggests that the concept activates both L1 and L2 translation-equivalents but that only the target language can be

selected because the system's "condition-action rules" specifies the goal. On this view, in the case of Konglish users, when the "condition-action rules" specify the goal, i.e. which language is the target, the system presumably fails to screen out the activated Konglish words owing to a Konglish-English equivalence hypothesis. Although future research needs to tease out what extent of phonological overlap is required to cause learners to operate with a Konglish-English equivalence hypothesis, it is evident that the phonological resemblance of Konglish words to English words caused the failure of the system in the present study.

To explain the finding that L2 auditory input triggered L1 semantic features ("E"-"2"; "O"-"5"; "GOOD"-"끝/ќjt/" in Study Two), a model needs to allow bi-directional/parallel activation between the semantic and the lexical level, in particular activation from the phonological level in the target language to lexical and semantic representations in the non-target language. Costa *et al.* (2006) give an illuminating explanation in respect of phonological aspects as compared to other parallel activation models. They suggest that the phonological segments of the target word may activate the lexical representations of the non-target language through shared phonological features (*ibid.*, pp.144-147). Providing translations of the L1 meanings of the false friends, "quasi-homophones", as distractor words in the study (*ibid.* p.146), they found that the phonological properties of the target word can receive activation from attempts to access the target word but also from the false friend in the non-target language. Unlike their study, the present study did not employ distractor words and thus a different explanatory approach is needed. The participants were asked to transcribe from dictation the L2 sounds "E" and "O" in Study Two (sound recognition task). These auditory stimuli are not words, and therefore there can be no cross-language lexical link via translation-equivalents, the phonological features being the only available clue. The Korean learners of English were not able to discern the English-specific phonological features not shared with Korean; thus it appears that Korean phonological access, which was obviously relatively more trained, was more readily proceeded with. The Korean phonological representations then apparently activated Korean semantic representations, which in this case were numbers "2" and "5". In short, activation from English phonology to Korean

lexical or lemma representations was found to be possible in the present study. In other words, in the case of homophones, the activation does not necessarily have to start from the concept. This is especially in the case where semantic or contextual cues are limited. The resemblance of the phonological properties provided in the auditory stimulus to L1 phonological properties seems to be enough to trigger the activation and selection of the non-target L1 item.

Konglish use can also be considered in terms of Korean-based communication strategies. Among the L1-based communication strategies, "foreignizing" (Bialystok 1983, p.105) and "transliteration" (*ibid.*, p.106), were frequently observed in the present studies. One of the examples of "foreignizing" observed in the current study is 샵 *sharp* ("pound/hash key") pronounced in the (American) English way (/ʃarp/) rather than in the usual Korean way (/ʃap/); this is a form of phonological adaptation to English. Owing to the lack of morphological resemblance between Korean and English, only phonological adjustment toward English occurred and, interestingly, it was applied even to words that do not exist in the English lexicon (e.g. *officetel*). An example of "transliteration" observed in the present study was *Where is here?* ("Where am I?"). Based on the literal translation of Korean elements, this strategy was observed more frequently at the phrase/sentence level. When faced with a gap in their knowledge of English, learners have two options in attempting to meet their needs: to use English-based compensatory strategies or to use Konglish items. Because English-based compensatory strategies require a certain level of L2 knowledge, the latter strategy was preferred in the case of very poor knowledge of English (as shown in the results of the least proficient Group A in Study Two), rather than more demanding English-based compensatory strategies. The relatively more proficient participants (in Study Two: oral interview) tried to convey the target meaning (e.g. "[plaster-] cast") by listing semantic features in L2 - an example of the "reconceptualization strategy" (Poulisse 1993, p.181). It has long been suggested that L1-based strategies presuppose deficits in L2 knowledge (control) (de Bot 1992; Poulisse 1997a, 1997b; Kasper 1997). This appeared to be confirmed in Study Two. The existence of a Konglish-English equivalence hypothesis also seems to affect the decision to use Konglish words to fill gaps in English lexical knowledge. This is consistent with the view

that it is the speaker's perception of the interlocutor's linguistic profile and of language similarities that underlies L1 transfer (Ringbom 1983, 1985; Færch *et al.* 1984; Poulisse 1993). The notion that the Konglish-English equivalence hypothesis has an important role in Konglish use, is supported by the fact that while borrowings from roman-alphabetic languages other than English were perceived as English and deployed in English-language contexts, Konglish users did not attempt to use borrowings from languages with non-roman writing systems, such as Japanese, in their production of English.

The organization of the lexicon may also be a critical factor in Konglish use. Even if a certain amount of English knowledge forms Korean learners' English lexicon, this information tends to be obtained via and filtered through the Korean system, which also undoubtedly leads to Konglish production. If lexical knowledge in English is so piecemeal that its own network has not yet been constructed, problems arise in dealing with relations between English items, such as collocational links or selectional restrictions. This also emerges from the present study (see above, Chapter 7.4.3; Study Two). The process of the "restructuring" (McLaughlin 1990) from Konglish to English does not seem to be completed in the lexicon of Korean learners of English.

Given that accessibility to L2 is typically less efficient than accessibility to L1, insofar as accessing L2 items requires more time and effort, Konglish use may also be explicable in terms of the functioning of working memory (WM) and in terms of frequency effects. As discussed earlier (see above, Chapter II), since WM is related to long-term memory, the ability to store information in WM for later processing determines the efficiency of L2 comprehension and production. There have been a number of studies investigating the relationship between WM and L2 learning using neuroimaging techniques (e.g. Weber-Fox & Neville 1996; Kim *et al.* 2002; Marian *et al.* 2003). It was noted earlier that in the case of less proficient L2 learners the activation of more areas of brain is exhibited in L2 processing, while neuroimaging shows brain activation patterns in the L2 processing of highly proficient learners to resemble those manifest in L1 processing (e.g. Yetkin *et al.* 1996; Perani *et al.* 1998; Xue *et al.* 2004). The fact that processing the (weaker) L2 imposes additional demands on working memory (*ibid.*) may be attributed to infrequent L2 access. With regard to frequency effects, more frequently encountered words retain

higher activation levels and consequently they are more easily accessed. L2 access, especially at the initial stage, is comparable to accessing L1 words of low frequency, insofar as both have a lower level of activation because of infrequent access. When L2 access in the inexperienced L2 user is delayed owing to infrequency of encounter in respect of the word in question, the L1 competitor with a higher level of activation may reach the activation threshold level first. This in turn may cause the selection of an inappropriate Konglish word. As more proficient L2 learners will tend to access L2 words more frequently, such words' resting activation will tend to remain higher between accessing, which means that they will be less likely to be overtaken by Konglish words on their way to the activation threshold.

In the foregoing, the characteristics of Konglish, as well as the factors affecting the activation of the Konglish words, have been discussed. In what follows some controversial issues relating to the architecture of the Korean L2 learners' mental lexicon will be addressed.

9.2 Shared vs. separate conceptions of the architecture of the bilingual's mental lexicon

As indicated earlier, Kroll & Stewart (1994)'s RHM proposes an asymmetrical relationship between L1 and L2. In this model, the connection of the shared concept to the L1 is stronger than to the L2. On this view, in the L2 beginner's mind, the L2 word is linked to its conceptual representation via its L1 translation, while direct links between L2 items and their conceptual representations are available to proficient bilinguals, thus obviating the need for the L1 mediation. The model suggests that the translation from L2 to L1 is faster than from L1 to L2 because the L2→L1 link is supposed to be principally a lexical connection and the L1→L2 link is supposed to be principally conceptually mediated. On foot of this model, some studies were undertaken which yielded the inconsistent finding that backward translation (L2→L1) may also be principally conceptually mediated and that concept mediation may be involved in both directions (e.g. de Groot & Poot 1997; La Heij *et al.* 1996). It is suggested in the present study that the impact of the learning approach may also constitute part of the explanation for the

asymmetrical relationship between L1 and L2. As noted above, the real goal of learning English in Korea for most students is to obtain a good test score for either college or a career. Tests are mainly focused on reading comprehension as well as to some extent listening comprehension. To prepare for these tests, Korean learners of English strive to develop reception skills in English, and thus new L2 words are learned predominantly in the L2→L1 direction. This is confirmed in Study Three. It is extremely probable that L2 words encoded in this way exhibit a stronger connection in the L2→L1 direction than in the reverse direction. After the most competitive college entrance exam CSAT, more time is allowed for Korean learners of English to get to grips with English production, by, for example, attending English conversation classes at a private language institute. The more they experience language production in this way, the more likely they are to develop L1→L2 connections. Since their L1 has been the mediator throughout their entire schooling (as shown in the results of Studies Two and Three), when they attempt to speak English their L1 is inevitably accessed (as shown in Study Three). For most Korean learners, it is difficult to suppress the highly activated L1. Thus, the development of the link between English and its own conceptual representations is undoubtedly delayed. Suppose there are two extreme L2 learners, one trained predominantly in the L2→L1 direction, and the other in L1→L2 direction. If a study were conducted exclusively at the lexical level, without contextual cues, as in a simple lexical decision or translation task, one could plausibly speculate that the first type of learner would show stronger L2→L1 connections and the other stronger L1→L2 links. This in turn would be interpreted as betokening different models of the mental lexicon. There is little research that specifically investigates the learners' learning methods, which might possibly explain the inconsistent results reported by different researchers.

Another possibility is that Korean learners' English vocabulary learning was limited to certain types of words and that their L2 lexical knowledge unevenly developed. This in turn would yield different results based on the types of words used in the study. It is not the general frequency of use that counts in this matter but rather the frequency of encounters with specific words experienced by each individual learner. In my own classroom observation, I have noticed that a Korean learner of English who knows

relatively difficult words such as *congress* or *psychiatrist* does not necessarily know relatively common words such as *sip* or *flush*. Since their L2 lexical learning is focused on the written test-type, either academic (e.g. CSAT) or business-oriented (e.g. TOEIC), they may not be familiar with words commonly used in the spoken language. If the subjects are tested on words frequently accessed in their learning history, the RT to the words will be shorter than that to the infrequently accessed words. This might also lead to interpretations positing different models. In Study Two, the relatively proficient Group B produced both a considerable amount of Konglish and a great many correct responses, depending on the individual words in question. What is suggested here is that learning history with respect to individual words may lead to different types of L2 access - either via a lexical link to the L1 (Konglish) or via a direct link to target L2 semantic representations.

The separate storage model should not be disregarded in this context. There is the possibility of the co-existence of shared and separate mechanisms in a Korean L2 learner's mind. There have been studies supporting this possibility. For example, the study of Dong, Gui and MacWhinney (2005), testing conceptual relations across translation-equivalents, yielded the result of significant priming effects within and across language conditions. They found that their Chinese-English bilinguals both conflated conceptual differences between translation-equivalents and also maintained the conceptual system separately in each language. As mentioned earlier, the findings from neuroimaging techniques such as PET and fMRI, also suggest this possibility (e.g. Halsband *et al.* 2002; Marian, Spivey & Hirsch 2003).

Many authors favour a shared or separate store view depending on whether there is a cross-language semantic priming effect. If the two contrasting views have to accept a (partial) connection between L1 and L2, as is found in many studies, the issue of shared or separate storage loses much of its significance. If the idea of interactive activation is taken into account, the controversy surrounding the issue is attenuated.

9.3 Further discussion of language-selective versus language-nonselective activation

It has been argued that bilinguals can activate and deactivate their two languages (e.g. Gerard & Scarborough 1989) or bilinguals can control the activation before actual production (Costa, Miozzzo & Caramazza 1999; Costa *et al.* 2000). In Green's Inhibitory Control Model (1986, 1993, 1998), the control device, the "specifier", lowers the activation of the word in the non-target language so that the activation of the word in the target language can be higher. On this view, it is either the speaker's intention in the preverbal message in the semantic system or the external controlling device that lowers the activation of the non-target word and raises the activation of the target language word to be selected. This explains the successful case where the speaker selects the intended word in the target language. However it does not address the problem of the use of Konglish. As has been pointed out (Schreuder & Hermans 1998, p.96), Green's Inhibitory Control Model considers one-to-one mappings between lemmas of different languages but not "one to many, or many to one, or even many too many". In the case of the Konglish word 기브스 *gibŭsŭ* / 깁스 *gipsŭ* ("[plaster-] cast"), deriving from German *Gips*, there is one-to-*none* mapping between the L1 and L2 in the Konglish users' lexicon, where the English word [*plaster-*] *cast* is not yet incorporated. In this instance there would be no competition between the L1 candidate and English candidate. In other words, since the Konglish word would be the only option available for the Konglish user in this case, there would be no competitors to suppress. In this regard, the selection of the Konglish word may be explained in terms of "first reached, first selected" rather than the concept of "suppression" or "inhibition".

In L2 recognition, the Bilingual Interactive Activation Plus (BIA+) model (Dijkstra & Van Heuven 2002) gives a good explanation for the use of Konglish words, in that it takes on board the phonological aspect and also the effect of linguistic and non-linguistic context. This model allows for interactive and bi-directional activation in respect of the connections between orthographic, phonological and semantic representations under the heading of "word identification system". It also explains non-linguistic context effects, such as task demands or the bilinguals' expectancies in the "task/decision system". On the basis of the model, it can be speculated that in listening to L2 sounds, the "word

identification system" in the Konglish user's mind has not been sufficiently trained to differentiate L2-specific phonological representations. It may thus mistakenly identify an English sound-shape (e.g. *good* /gʊd/) as a Korean sound-shape (e.g. 끝 / ǩ ɻ t / ("end"/ "finish") (see Study Two: sound recognition task).

Language selective/non-selective processing may operate variously depending on which language the target is, because lexical access to L1 words and L2 words is different. In relation to L1 use language-selectivity seems to be more obvious, while in relation to L2 among Konglish users non-selectivity seems to be more manifest. In Study One, when the participants were asked to name pictures in English (L2), Konglish words were produced, but English words did not appear when the target word was a Korean (L1) item. This result is consistent with the observation that the bilinguals' two languages are activated only in lexical decisions in their less dominant language (Jared & Kroll 2001, p.3), and that speech errors originating in the L1 appear in L2 speech (e.g. Poulisse 1997a, 1997b; Poulisse & Bongaerts 1994). It is also worth noting that both language-selective and non-selective models partly agree on the parallel activation of the two languages, at least at the initial stage (Grainger & Beauvillain 1987; Hermans *et al.* 1998). The activation of non-target words appears to result from lack of target language knowledge, and therefore the extent of L2 knowledge at the level of individual lexical items may determine language-selective and non-selective lexical access within the learner's mental lexicon.

Many studies have probed these long-lasting controversial issues. As noted earlier, the discussion has related to different experiments and different interpretations based on seemingly similar results. It may not be safe to interpret results from experiments with different subjects and materials and tasks in a homogeneous manner. It also may be hasty to conclude that the bilingual's lexicon in respect of his/her two languages is either completely shared or completely separate, and that language access is either completely selective or completely non-selective in the absence of an in-depth consideration of individual learning history and the extent of the development of the target language at a very fine-grained lexical level.

9.4 The organization of Korean L2 learners' mental lexicon

This discussion of the organization of Korean L2 learners' mental lexicon starts from the tag attached to Konglish words. As found in the present study (the preliminary survey and Study One), Konglish words are stored as Korean items in the mental Korean learners' lexicon. Given that the language tag functions as an important cue in the lexical retrieval process, Korean learners' Konglish-English equivalence hypothesis may create an abnormal label for the Konglish words as "Konglish=English". It seems likely that when a concept spreads activation in the direction of the target language, there may be no information stored for English, only a link to a Konglish item in L1. For instance, when a Konglish user sees a picture of a [*plaster-*] *cast*, her intention to name the item in English spreads the activation from the concept towards English. If it is the case that the lexical entry [*plaster-*] *cast* is absent, the Konglish word *gips*, which is strongly connected to the concept is activated instead. The activated Konglish word *gips*, however, is not always selected, since selection is also affected by the tag. If the tag of the Konglish *gips* identifies a cognate whose semantic and phonological representations are identical to the relevant English word in the screening process, this is selected by Konglish users. If the tag identifies an L1 item, on the other hand, the language cue will not raise the activation level of Konglish *gips* and thus it will not selected in English. The present study yielded results supporting the foregoing account. The Konglish words used in Study Two were featured in an investigation of extent of the awareness of Konglish words in Study Three; the two studies between them showed that a Konglish word such as 탤런트 *talent*, which is widely known to be a Konglish word, was most avoided in the naming task in English. In other words, the word 탤런트 *talent,* which is tagged "Konglish", is avoided by the learners of English in the selection process for English. In this case of a Konglish word being tagged as "Konglish ≠ English", the subjects were found in Study Two (oral interview) to use English-based strategies or simply to give up after a lengthy pause.

Conceptual/semantic features attached to L1 (Korean) are activated during L2 (English) processing in the mental lexicon of the Korean learner of English. L1 activation was shown to be facilitated in the case of [false]-cognates more evidently on the basis of similarity at form level (phonological resemblance). Since L2 cognates are often learned

through L1 representations in the case of late bilinguals, the L1 may still influence the semantic accessing of L2 cognates (Blumenfeld & Marian 2005, p.290). Blumenfeld & Marian (2005) found that the L2 was co-activated only in the case of cognates while L1 was co-activated in the case both of cognates and non-cognates. As confirmed in Study Two, when a direct association between L2 and conceptual representations is established for both cognates and non-cognates, the L1 is less activated but does not totally disappear.

In a similar vein, Costa *et al.* (2000) found that the cognate effect is prevalent in the L2 (non-dominant language) rather than in the L1 (dominant language). This indicates that the activation is spread from the L1, which is strongly connected to conceptual representations, to the L2 via the translation link, and that the phonological similarity of the cognate pairs facilitates the retrieval of the target L2 words. In Study One, the Korean learners of English used both cognates and Konglish words in English naming, regardless of the language origin of the Konglish words (N.B., e.g. the loanword from German), which supports the notion that conceptual representations of cognates are based on L1. This is in line with the distributed conceptual feature model (De Groot 1992 - extended version Kroll & De Groot 1997), where, if the L2 learners learn the cognate words through L1 semantic representations, the lexical-conceptual mappings in L2 are envisaged as similar to those in the L1. On this view, the conditions for activation in L2 are similar to those for L1. Konglish users who learn their L2 through L1 conceptual/semantic representations are in this perspective able to activate L2 words only when the condition for the activation fits the L1, not the L2. For instance, Konglish users were asked to fill in the blank in the following sentences:

> A: What do you think of my new dress?
> B: It's so beautiful. I think you have good ( ) in clothes.
> (Study Two: written test)

Because the conceptual features for the target word *taste* are not properly mapped to English in the Konglish users' mind, the condition for the activation of the target word would not fit in this sentence. The Konglish users therefore tended to retrieve the L1

word 센스 *sense*, since the conceptual/semantic features fulfilled rather the conditions for its activation – according to L1 criteria - in this context.

The structure of Korean learners' mental lexicon is likely to be significantly influenced by their learning experience and target language exposure. If we accept that the strength of the connection between a word node and its language node is formed by "Hebbian learning" (M. Thomas 2002, p.217), it follows that the frequency of accessing a target L2 word determines the quality and the quantity of activation. The more the L2 learner accesses target L2 words through L1 semantic representations, the higher the probability of activation of Konglish words. If the L2 learner successfully maps L2 items directly to relevant conceptual features, the target L2 word will receive more activation than the Konglish word. As the Korean learner receives more and better exposure to the target language, activation may be directed more to the English and accessibility to English may improve. In such a case, even if the target L2 word is absent from the learner's lexicon, other L2 candidates activated in the same semantic network may be able to be employed to meet the learner's linguistic needs via paraphrase or circumlocution, a phenomenon which was observed more in the proficient subjects than in non-proficient subjects.

It may be that L1 access is more semantically motivated while L2 access is particularly phonologically sensitive. The study of Hermans *et al.* (1998) has significance in this regard. They found that both L2 stimuli phonologically related to the target L2 and L1 stimuli semantically related to the target L2 facilitated L2 naming. In the production process, such as picture naming, the meaning/intention initiates activation and spreads it to the available links. Semantic representations can be retrieved through the L2-L1 lexical link, which is developed by the learning experience, whereas phonological encoding, which is less complicated than the higher level of meaning-related procedures, may be readily available through common phonological elements shared among languages. Hermans *et al.*'s (1998) findings can be explained in this way. When the stimulus word phonologically related to L2 target was supplied, the word activated all the lexical items which were both semantically and phonologically related. However, since the semantic network had not yet developed in L2, semantically related L2 words could not be

activated. The word therefore activated *phonologically* related L2 words, one of which was the target L2 word. This consequently facilitated the naming of the target L2 item. When the L1 word semantically related to the L2 item was supplied as a stimulus, it activated all the semantically related words in the well-developed semantic network in L1, one of which was the translation-equivalent of the target L2 word. When the subject was asked to name the picture, the concept of the picture activated the L1 item via the strong link between the concept and the L1, and thus the L1, which had already been activated by the stimulus, received additional activation. The activation was then spread to its L2 translation-equivalent through the lexical link, which in turn facilitated naming the target L2.

Another finding of the above authors was that when an L2 word which was phonologically related to an L1 item was given as the stimulus, it did not affect the picture naming. This can also be explained in terms of the semantic network. The L2 stimulus phonologically related to an L1 item would presumably activate its own L1 translation-equivalent and phonologically related L2 words. If the activated L1 translation-equivalent was not the translation-equivalent of the L2 target, but just a word phonologically related to it, this would means that neither the activated L1 translation-equivalent nor the phonologically related L2 words were in the semantic network of the L2 target. In addition, the activated L2 words would not be phonologically related to the target L2. Consequently, when the subject was asked to name the picture in L2, none of the words activated from the stimulus would facilitate naming the target L2 word.

One may question how the L2 items *E*, *O*, and *good* in the present study could activate the phonologically related L1 items *2*, *5*, and 끝 *kkŭt* ("end") respectively, given that these are not in the same semantic network. In most experiments, including Hermans *et al.* (1998), stimuli have been provided before the actual tasks. This is one of the major differences between most experiments and the present study. Since the stimuli provided to the subjects determines the starting point of the accessing process, the research reported here with such stimuli examined the bilinguals' lexicon in a different way. In the present study (oral interview), what initiated the accessing process was either the

speakers' intention/concept in speaking (production) or the L2 sound provided though auditory input such as listening (reception). The cases of *E*, *O*, and *good* presented in the dictation task (listening and writing) and the oral interview can be explained in terms of the degree of phonological resemblance and the L2 learner's perception. The degree of phonological resemblance may affect the person's recognition of the sound. In Hermans *et al.*'s (1998) study, the sound overlap between the L2 word *bench* and the L1 *berg* would not have been sufficient to have been a perception of pseudo-homophones, whereas in the present study the L2 sounds *E*, *O*, and *good* and L1 sounds *2*, *5*, and 뀻 *kkŭt* overlap to a very considerable extent. The chance therefore of the words being perceived as pseudo-homophones seems higher. Since there is not sufficient semantic information in the case of *E* and *O*, the listener's attention must have been focused more on phonological information. On the assumption that Konglish users are able to recognize only the cross-linguistically shared phonological elements but not the English-specific features, the L2 items would have been identified in L1 terms. In the case of the word *good*, the contextual cue was disregarded by the Konglish user and thus the identification of the word was based only on the phonological input.

The architecture of the Korean L2 learners' lexicon may also be in line with the findings of Duyck (2005). Duyck found that L1 (Dutch) pseudo-homophones (such as *pous*) of the word *paus* ("pope"), which is semantically related to the target L2 word (*church*), facilitated recognition of L2 target. However this facilitation disappeared when the target was an L1 item (*ibid.*, p.1349). He concludes that interlingual homophones always activate their L1 meaning even in the L2 performance (*ibid.*, p.1354). This finding can also be explained as follows. When the L1 pseudo-homophone (*pous*) was presented in the task, it would have activated both its own semantic network and the word *paus* – owing to the phonological resemblance. The activation of the word *paus* ("pope") would have spread the activation to all the words in its semantic network, including the L1 translation-equivalent of the L2 target *church*. When the target word *church* was presented, the activation would have been spread to its L1 translation-equivalent, which is within the network of *paus* ("pope"). Because the network was already activated from the stimulus and had received additional activation from the presentation of the target L2,

the recognition of the target within the network would be easier. As was confirmed in the experiment, this facilitation would not be expected when the target is an L1 item. Firstly, the L1 network is so efficiently developed that the activation of all the words within the network is strong enough for activation from the L2 not to make a noticeable difference in the recognition of an L1 target. Secondly, the L2 is not equipped with a well-developed semantic network and therefore the activation would not be strong enough to facilitate the recognition of the L1 target.

To conclude, access to L1 and L2 may be differently affected by semantic and phonological stimulation in the bilingual lexicon. Because of the frequent activation of the L1, lexical items become more strongly connected in the L1 than in the L2, and thus the L1 is equipped with well-developed semantic networks in contrast to the L2. This may lead to the activation of non-target L1 items in L2 production, a phenomenon which is manifest in the use of Konglish. While, in the present study, the semantic representations of L1 items strongly connected to the relevant concept were frequently activated both in L2 production (speaking) and reception (reading), the L1 phonological information was primarily relied on in L2 reception from auditory input (listening). Because what initiates the activation is critical in any examination of the organization of the lexicon, the characteristics of the tasks (production vs. reception) and the nature of the stimuli or distractors need always to be taken into consideration.

9.5 Some concluding remarks

The present study investigated the organization of the mental lexicon of Korean learners of English via close scrutiny of the Konglish phenomenon. The hypothesis that Konglish words are stored as Korean items and accessed via Korean entries in the production of English was confirmed from the results of Study One. It was found that Konglish words not originating in English, were also employed in English production. This was continually observed in Study Two, where Konglish use was observed at the syntactic, semantic, conceptual and pragmatic levels. It was also examined at the word, sentence, and paragraph (dialogue) levels. On the whole, it was found that learners' level of English proficiency, the age of onset of their English acquisition, the quantity and the quality of

their exposure to English and their learning methods were factors in the extent of the word association and concept mediation in their lexical processing in English. The more proficient bilinguals were found to access English directly, without reference to Korean, and more efficiently than the less proficient learners. However, the activation of Korean conceptual representations and pragmatic knowledge was found to continue to intrude, even in the case of proficient bilinguals. Since the degree of semantic overlap between Konglish and English is limited, the activation of the semantic representations of Konglish words adversely affected the production and the reception of English lexical items. The phonological resemblance between Konglish and English induced the Konglish-English equivalence hypothesis whereby Konglish users perceive Konglish words to be equivalent to English words. The finding from the English sound recognition task suggests that activation from L2 stimuli towards non-target Korean semantic representations can begin from the phonological level. Comparing the findings of Study Two and Study Three, it was found that Konglish awareness seemed to promote Konglish avoidance. In other words, Konglish words tagged as "Konglish=English", were more frequently used in English while Konglish words tagged as "Konglish≠ English" were employed less as English items by the subjects.

Overall, the presence of Konglish in English use is evidence of L1 activation in L2 production and of language non-selective access. In production, it appears that, since L2 knowledge is absent or not yet fully incorporated at the lemma level, and Konglish words tagged as "Konglish=English" receive sufficient activation to reach the threshold first, L1 lemmas were selected in place of L2 lemmas. Although L1 semantic information was retrieved ultimately both in L2 production and reception, the determinant for the initiation of the process was different in L2 production and reception. In L2 production Konglish use was semantically motivated because the concept spread activation to L1 semantic representations, while in the reception, phonological resemblance directly initiated the process because the English input from listening and reading could not spread the activation to English semantic representations. Among the factors to determine the shift from word association to concept mediation, the individual L2 learners' learning history was significant in relation to the nature of the organization of the lexicon. Since Korean

learners of English have been exposed to an abnormal learning environment in Korea, which induces L1 activation, it seems that they have not been able to develop an adequate lexical network in respect of English. This emerged from tasks requiring knowledge of relations between English lexical items. It was also found that their exposure to English was sparse in quantity and of poor quality, thus not providing a very promising basis for the restructuring of their explicit knowledge of English learned through Korean.

The current study has some limitations. Firstly, although the Konglish words in the oral interview were individually examined in Study Two, the learning methods for the individual words in each subject's case could not be examined in detail. It would be highly desirable to consider the relationship between the learning approach of an individual subject in respect of an individual word and the quality of the knowledge of the individual word in the individual's lexicon. Secondly, in order to render possible the recruitment of sufficient numbers of subjects in the present investigation (330 subjects in total), the study was conducted in Korea. Although the language mode in the present experiments was controlled so that no Korean was used during the tests, it should be borne in mind that Korean was the language of participants' everyday lives and thus no doubt retained a high level of activation from daily interactions with Korean monolinguals. Accordingly it may be possible that their language mode may have resulted in more activation of Korean than would have obtained in the case of ESL learners in an English-speaking environment.

9.6 The implications of the present study for English teachers and learners in Korea

The present study views Konglish as a tool to mirror cross-linguistic influence. This does not mean however that L1 should be totally disregarded in class, in that mother-tongue influence may be both positive and negative. What the present study suggests is that when L2 learners perceive the L1 system to be very similar to the L2 system, their attempts to develop short-cut connections between L1 and L2 may lead to negative effects. This may be more problematic for Korean L2 learners who have limited exposure to the target language which in turn makes it difficult for them to reorganize their internal

representations in the restructuring process. What should concern us most is that if restructuring of explicit knowledge that Korean students have learnt in an L1-mediated manner does not occur, it may consequently leave the learners stuck at the L1 mediation stage.

The ultimate goal of teaching for second language learners should be, according to a wide consensus, directed to communicative competence beyond linguistic knowledge, so that the outcome of instruction can be employed in actual language use. However in a test-oriented learning environment where oral communicative competence of Korean L2 learners has long been disregarded, the learners are required to adjust their learning style to the test (e.g. CSAT, TOEIC), relying more on a general problem-solver (PS-systems) rather than a language-specific cognitive system (LS-systems) in order to meet the challenges of a competitive society. Therefore, it is often the case that a teacher teaches a grammar rule and then trains the students to make a sentence based on the rule. We as language teachers should not overlook the key fact that language does not work based on explicit knowledge such as knowledge of math or science. We need to help students encounter the target language forms in the various contexts where the target function is embedded, and then encourage them to notice the regularity of the language form as well as the appropriate context in which students may use the language form.

There are some other points to be made with respect to teaching methods. As the results of the present study show, the paired-associate paradigm, alas, commonly used in class, induces L2 nodes to be connected with L1 translation-equivalents in the lexical network and consequently leads to learners' manipulation of pre-patterned phrases based on their L1. This convinces me of the importance of a lexical approach in teaching. Lexical chunks - from a two-word construction to a whole sentence of prefabricated patterns - learned as a lexical item at the initial stage of learning, can be broken up into separate parts through learners' internal analysis, and the parts may later be used in a flexible and creative way. Our learners may become aware of the grammatical features of linguistic elements from this gradual analysis and possibly improve their fluency by using chunks. As discussed, since every word has its own collocational range, and in lexical processing

semantically related words are retrieved from the target word's network, the introduction of a new word to learners should be effective in the presence of its most common collocations.

The potential of this approach for second/foreign language learning is promising as it also provides a basis for communicative teaching. That is, information such as language functions, communicative intention, and appropriate contextual situations may be incorporated into the lexicon through learning ritualized patterns of lexical items. This approach, including pragmatic aspects in language instruction, further has positive potential for the cultural aspect of language learning in that it may help our learner to bypass communicative failures resulting from inappropriately transferred L1 pragmatic features and to perform sociolinguistically appropriate communication.

To summarize, we as language teachers should keep in mind that L2 production and the translation process are functionally different in the mental lexicon and thus language teaching based on explicit knowledge through L1 mediation inevitably encourages the development of lexical connections (L1-L2) rather than concept mediation. There may be concerns that for English teachers with large classes, to make their classes communicative may be too idealistic. It would however, be realistically possible even for English teachers faced with those challenges in Korea, firstly to help their students to be aware of the possibility that L2 have different semantic boundaries and a different conceptual classification from L1, and secondly to provide new language in various contexts so that the students can develop an L2-specific network rather than L1 mediation, and lastly to promote the awareness of pragmatic features of the target language.

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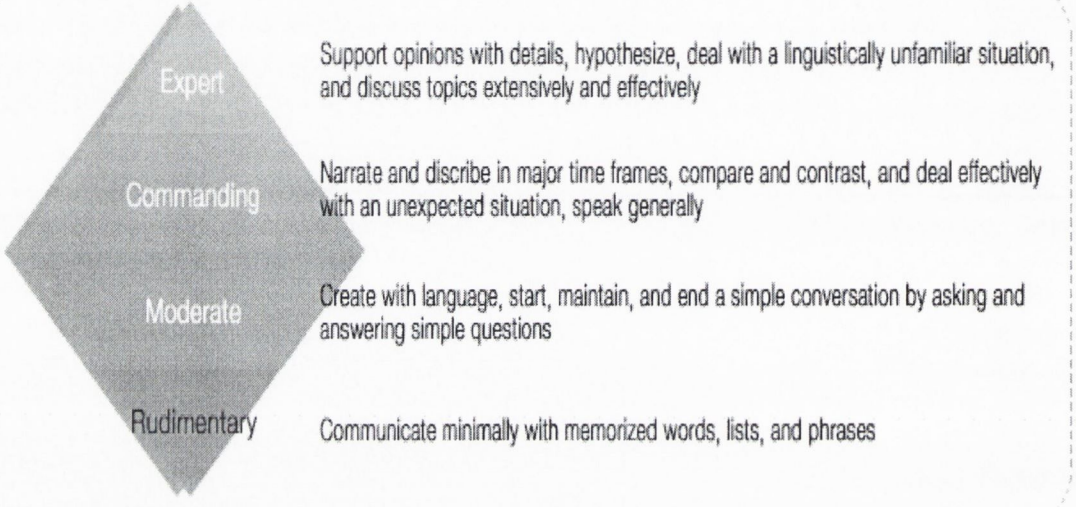
Appendix A: MATE rating scale[28]

The MATE Speaking Test is assessed based on a carefully designed rating scale. Based on their performance on the test, test-takers are placed within one of these levels. There are four major levels, each of which also is composed of from two to four sub-levels.



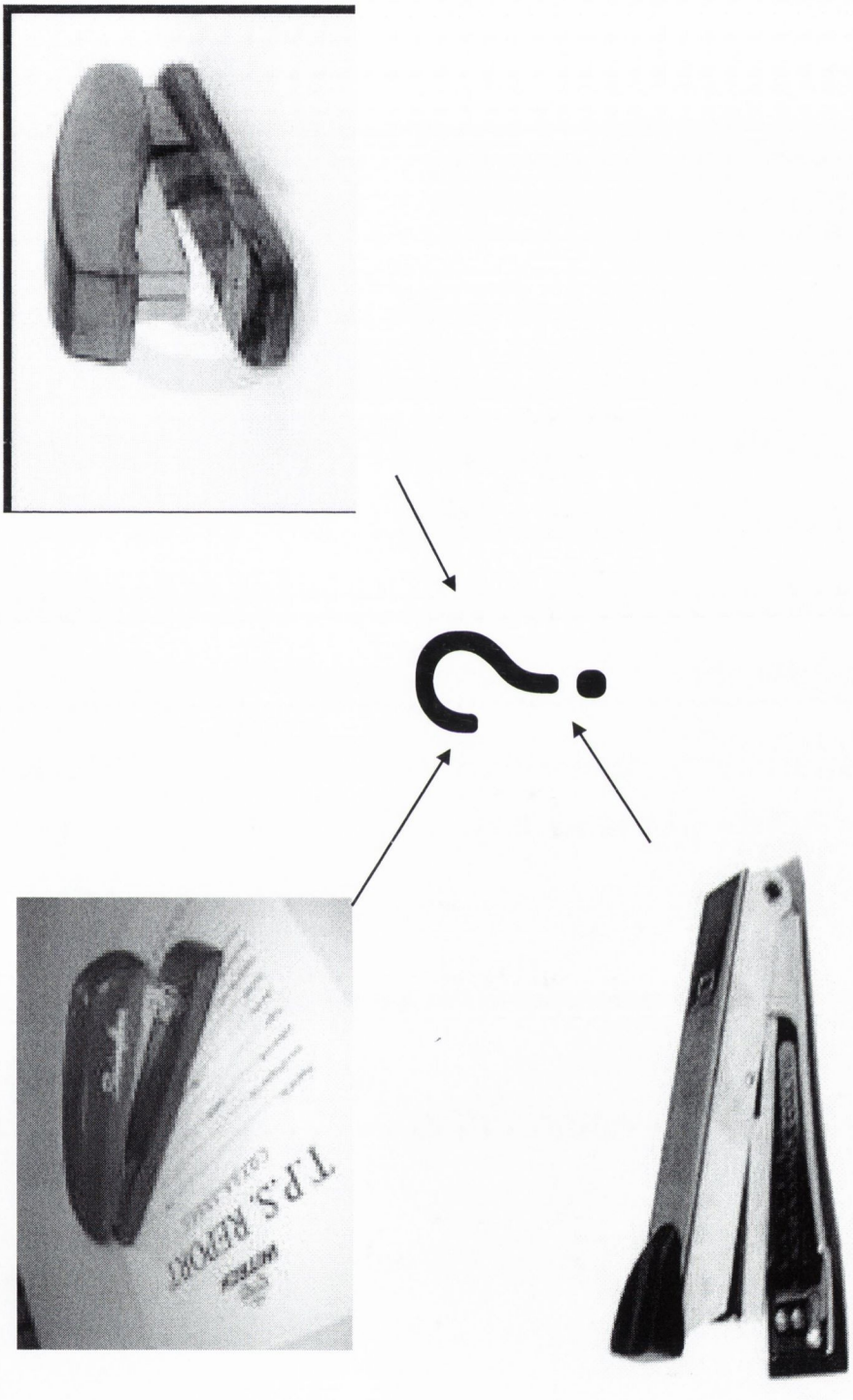
Expert	Expert	Speakers at the Expert level are able to communicate fully and effectively in the language with ease, fluency, and accuracy. They are further able to speak concretely as well as abstractly. They explain complex matters in detail, using extended discourse coherently without unnatural or lengthy hesitation to make their point. They explain their opinions, such as social and political issues, and provide structured argument to support their opinions.
	Emerging	Expert Emerging speakers basically function at the Expert level, but are not able to fully sustain performance in that level. They are able to consistently explain in detail and narrate fully and accurately in all time frames. They can provide structured argument of strings of paragraphs to support their opinions. They may even construct hypotheses. They can discuss some topics abstractly; however, they perform better when discussing topics concretely.
Commanding	High	Speakers at the Commanding High level participate

[28] The acronym MATE stands for Multimedia Assisted Test of English. It is developed by SookMyung Women's University. There are a speaking and a writing test; however, only the speaking test is employed in the present study. The MATE Speaking Test is designed to measure global speaking competence. This rating scale is available from http://www.smumate.co.kr.

		actively in most informal and some, but limited, formal exchanges on a variety of concrete topics. Commanding High speakers are able to fully control their speech while narrating and describing in the past, present, and future tense. While doing so, they provide a complete account. Their paragraphs are quite lengthy and are filled with good links and details. They speak with precision and clarity and, thus, are clearly understood although they might make a few errors.
	Mid	Commanding Mid speakers are able to fully control their speech while narrating and describing in the past, present, and future tense. The paragraphs of Commanding Mid speakers, while sound in structure will not be as tight as those of Commanding High speakers. The links provided to make their utterances cohesive, both linguistic and logical, will tend to be fairly simplistic. They will have more and simpler patterns of errors.
	Low	Speakers at the Commanding Low level participate actively in most informal and a limited number of formal conversations. They demonstrate the ability to narrate and describe in all major time frames in paragraph length discourse, but control may be lacking at times. Their language may be marked by substantial, albeit irregular, flow. It is typically somewhat strained and tentative, with noticeable self-correction and a certain grammatical roughness.
	Emerging	With some consistency, speakers at the Commanding Emerging level narrate and describe in major time frames using connected discourse of paragraph length. However, their performance of these Commanding level tasks will exhibit one or more features of breakdown, such as the failure to maintain the narration or description semantically or syntactically in the appropriate major time frame, the disintegration of connected discourse, the misuse of cohesive devises, a reduction in breadth and appropriateness of vocabulary, or a significant amount of hesitation.
Moderate	High	Moderate High speakers tend to function reactively by responding to direct questions or requests for information. They are capable of asking a variety of different questions to obtain information to satisfy basic needs. They generally make more complex sentences by tacking phrases and other clauses onto the main clause. They also are able to link their sentences and usually do so. Their vocabulary shows some peaks, but usually cannot be described as good or complete.

	Mid	The sentences of Moderate Mid speakers, while not as long or complex as those of Moderate High speakers, tend to be fairly complex and somewhat linked. Their speech might still be filled with hesitancies, false starts, and inaccuracies. In general, they are trying to make more complex and linked sentences, but they are not able to control this well and might be forced to fall back, from time to time, to simple, distinct sentences which are not linked, either linguistically or logically.
	Low	Conversation of the Moderate Low level is restricted to concrete social exchanges. They can only deal with predictable topics necessary for survival in the target language culture. They are primarily reactive and struggle to answer direct questions or requests for information. In addition, they are also able to ask a limited number of appropriate questions. They often sound shaky and unsure of themselves while they are doing so.
	Emerging	Speakers at the Moderate Emerging level are basically able to handle a variety of tasks pertaining to the Moderate level, but are unable to sustain performance at that level. They are able to successfully manage a number of uncomplicated communicative tasks in straightforward social situations. They are able to ask only a very few formulaic questions when asked to do so. The test-taker's native languages may strongly influence their pronunciation, as well as their vocabulary and syntax.
Rudimentary	High	Speakers at the Rudimentary High level are able to communicate minimally and with difficulty by using a number of isolated words and memorized phrases. When responding to direct questions, they may utter only two or three words at a time or an occasional stock answer. They pause frequently as they search for simple vocabulary or attempt to recycle things they have learned. They often show hesitations, lack of vocabulary, inaccuracies, or failure to respond appropriately.
	Mid	Speakers at the Rudimentary Mid level have no real functional ability and, because of their pronunciation, they may be unintelligible. Given adequate time and familiar cues, they may be able to exchange greetings, give their identity, and name a number of familiar objects from their immediate environment. Their vocabulary is severely limited and may be restricted to a few dozen words and phrases.

Appendix **B:** Study One (English session)



These pictures were used in Study One. A total of 120 Korean L2 learners participated in the study, and these were divided into three groups on the basis of age (Group A: 40 Sewon High School students, Group B: 40 college students and Group C: 40 participants over 40 years old). The study was conducted in Ilsan, Seoul, Shi Hung in Korea.

cardigan

?

pants

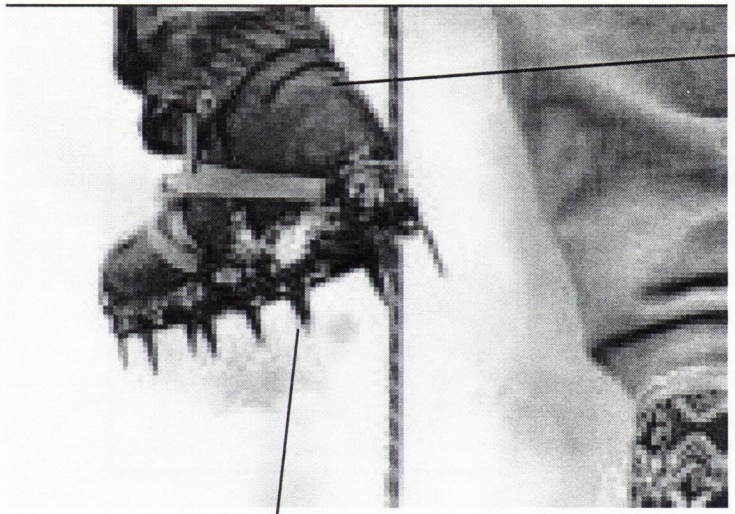
?

Lipstick

?

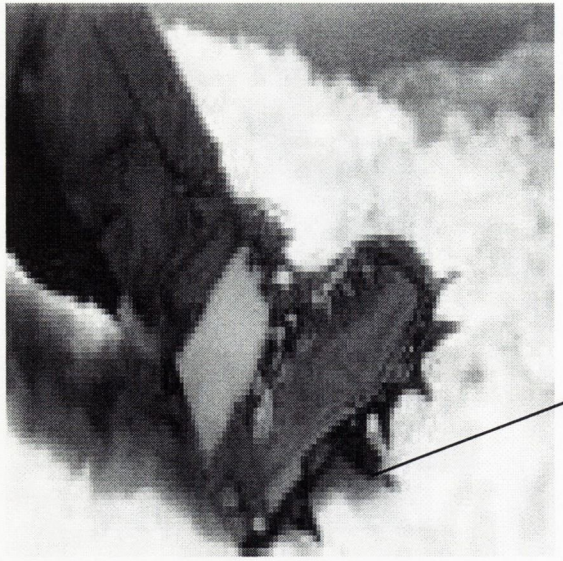
handbag

?



Hiking boots

(Shoes)



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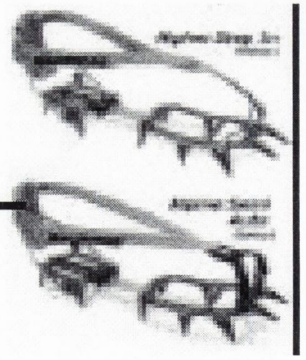


What is her job?

* Age: 35
* single
•No boyfriend

?

→ sports car

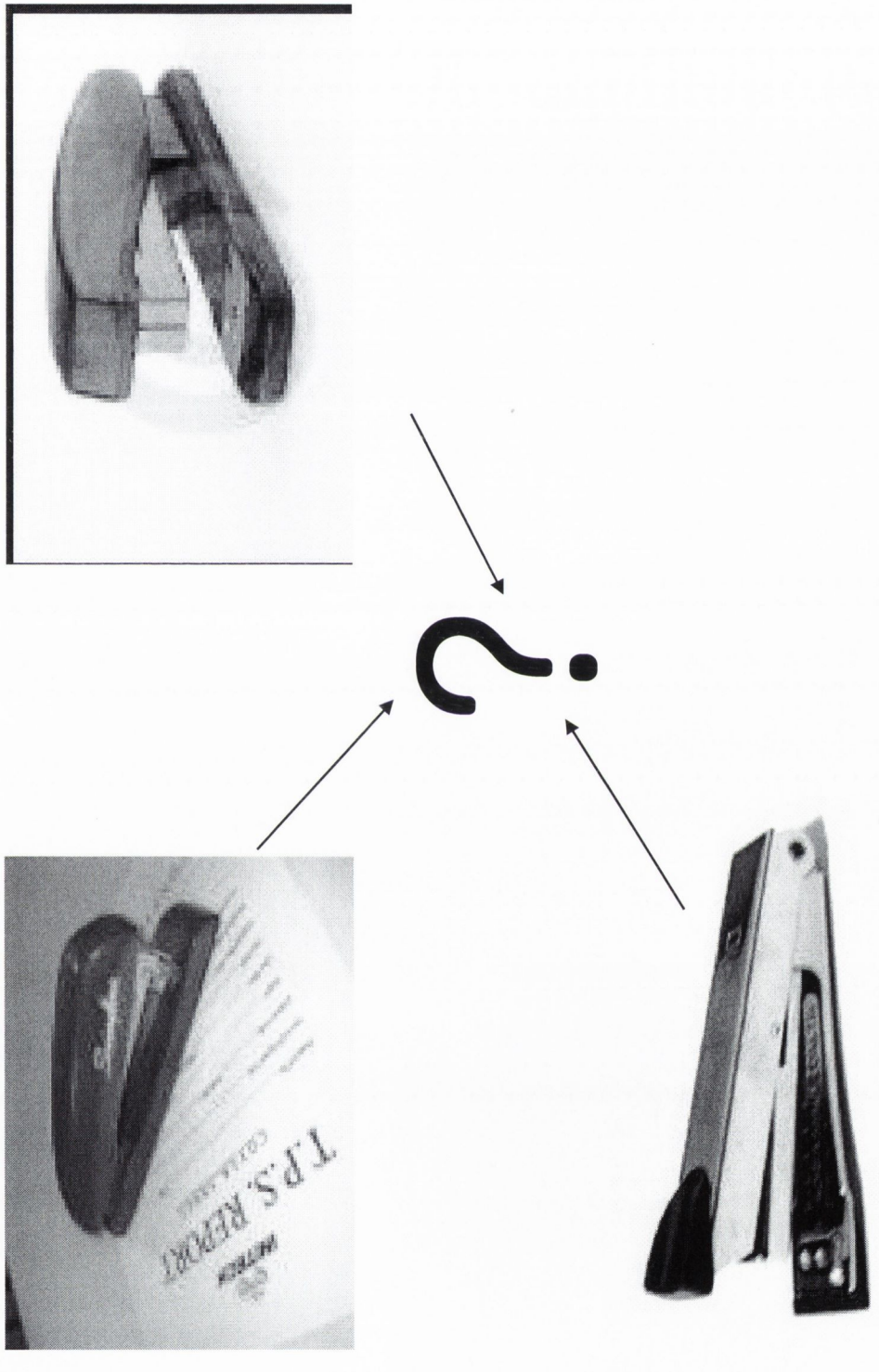
→ ~~Truck~~

?

truck

?

***Appendix* C:** Study One (Korean session)

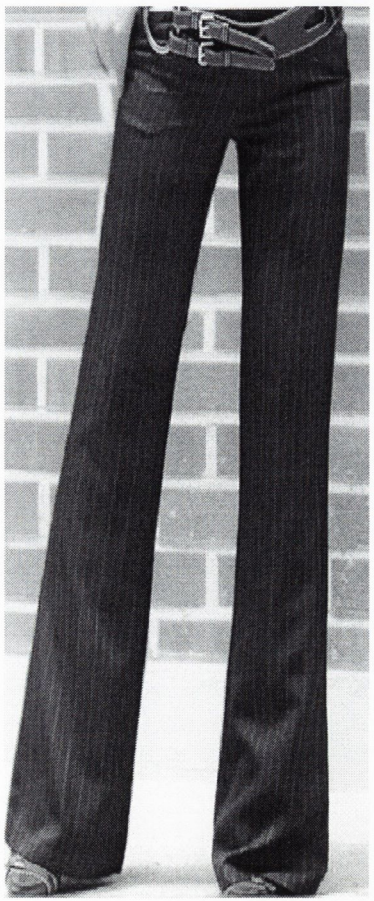


Since Study One is set to investigate whether the words produced by Korean L2 learners for the given pictures in the picture naming task in L1 are the same as in L2, the same pictures were used in L1 and L2 session.

가디건

?

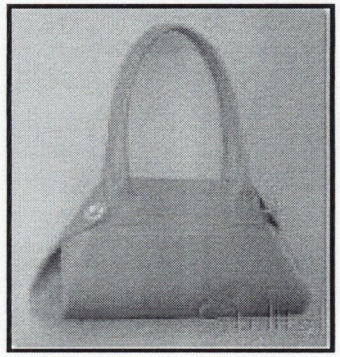
바지



?

립스틱

핸드백



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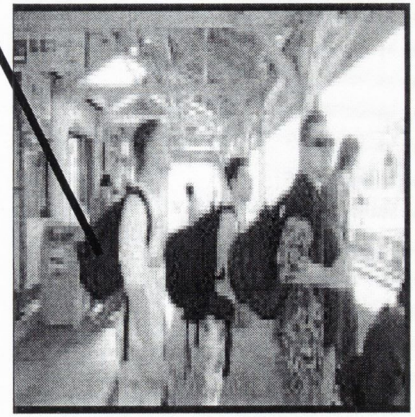
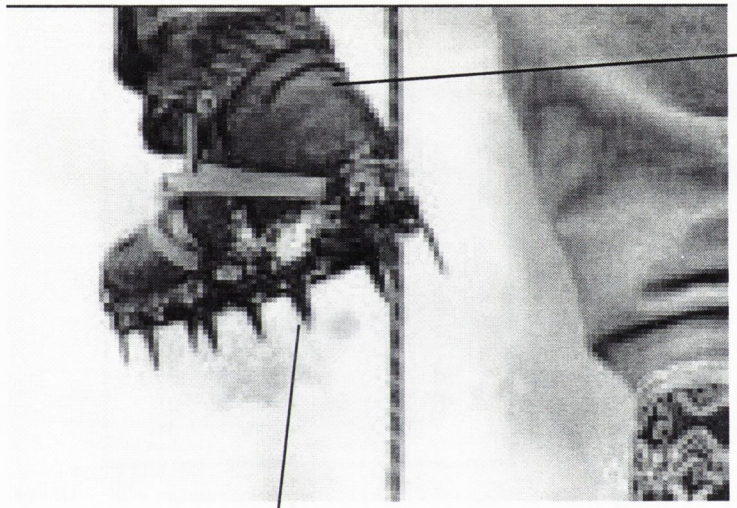
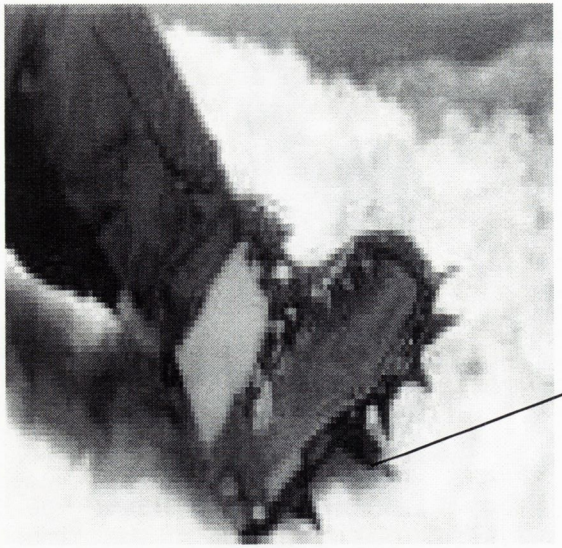




등산화에 끼는것



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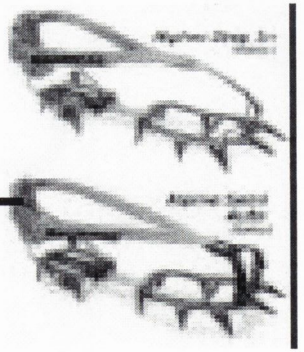
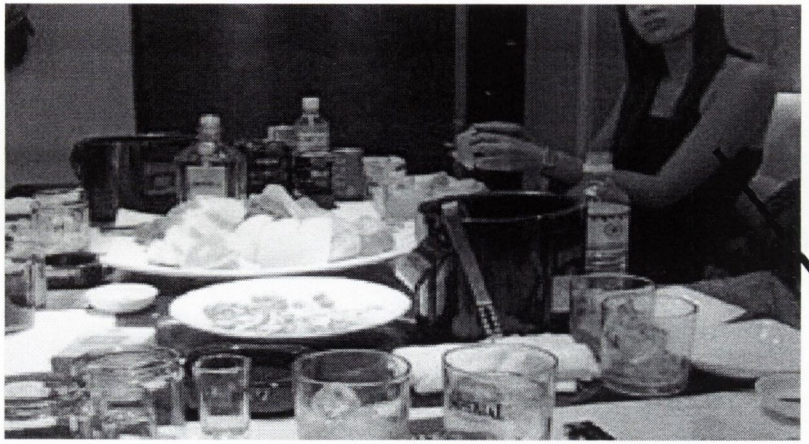
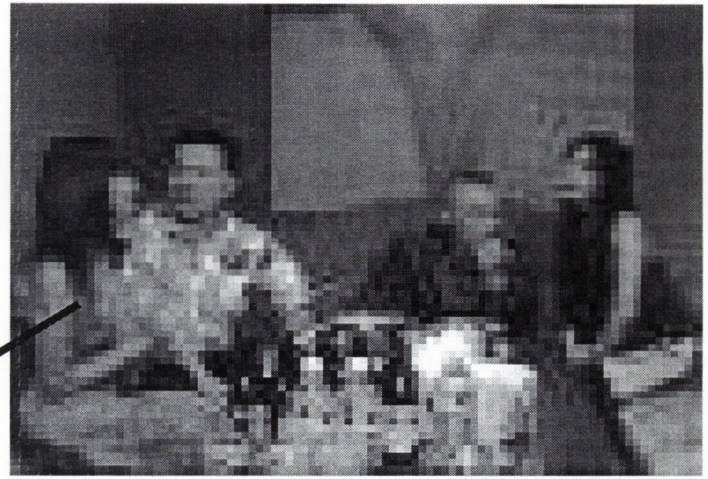






이 여자의 직업은?

결혼 안 한

나이든 여자는?

→ 스포츠카

→ ?

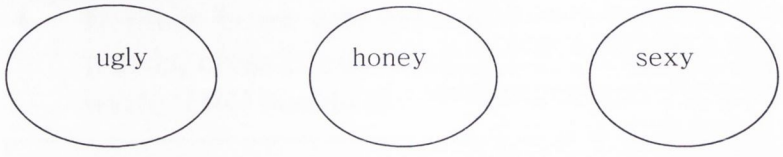
ET
?.

Appendix **D:** Study Two (Written test)[29]

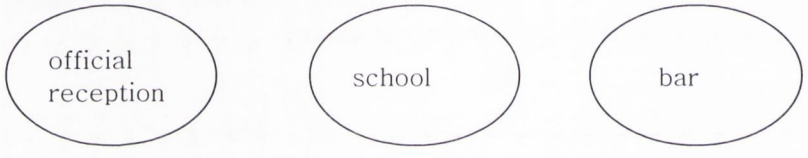
I agree to take part in this research and I agree that the data collected through this project may be used for a study. Signed:_____

1. Which of the following groups do these words belong to?

1-1. pumpkin



1-2. **Where, of the following places, would you be most likely to find a hostess?**



2. Please make a sentence from each of the following collections of words.

A compass points and west east north south

=

supply The law of and demand

=

sister today I and my went school to

=

3-1. If there is anything inappropriate in the any of following short texts, underline the inappropriate elements and state the reason for their inappropriacy. (You may correct the inappropriate elements if you are able to).

---

[29] Study Two explored the Konglish phenomenon with regard to comprehension as well as production of English. 80 Korean-dominant bilinguals, 20 English-dominant bilinguals, and 10 native speakers of English participated in the Study Two. It was conducted at Yonsei and SookMyung University in Korea.

1. In the airplane

PAX: Excuse me. Please give me a cup of coffee.
STW: Would you like cream or sugar, sir?
PAX: just cream.
STW: right away, Sir. (As she walks to the kitchen)

2. A conversation between two men

Man A: Excuse me, do you know where the nearest subway station is?
Man B: Hmm…It's hard to explain. I'll walk you there.
Man A: Thanks.
Man B: No problem. (They're walking together…)
Why did you come to Seoul?
Man A: I'm here on business.
Man B: I see. What's your job?
Man A: I'm a model.
Man B: Wow!. I worked as a model before my military service. But I didn't like it because the pay was bad. How much do you make?
Man A: Umm…it's good pay.
(They're walking…)
Man B: By the way, what's your name?
Man A: I'm Justin.
Man B: I'm Kuchul. How old are you, Justin? I think you're the same age as me.
Man A: I'm 24.
Man B: I'm 24 too. Do you have a girlfriend?
Man A: Yes.
Man B: (smiling) I envy you. You're handsome and have a girlfriend. Frankly speaking, I don't have a girlfriend yet.
(They're walking…)
Do you like Korea?
Man A: Umm, it's nice.
Man B: When are you leaving?
Man A: Umm, I'm not sure yet.
(A traffic light is blinking at a cross walk)
Man B: Oh! Hurry up!
(They're running to cross the road)
I think we're almost there. Do you see the sign over there? That's the subway station.
Man A: Thanks.
Man B: You're welcome. Nice talking to you. Have a nice trip!

3-2.

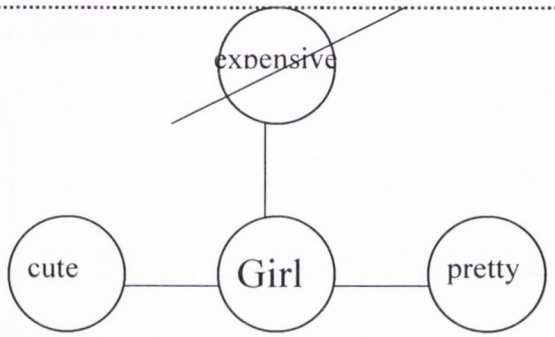
A: Can I borrow your tissue? My nose is runny.
B: Here you are, maybe you have a cold. Why don't you go to the hospital?
A: I can't, because my car is out of order. May I rent your car?
B: Sure. Here's the key.

I think my boyfriend is seeing someone else. We've been a campus couple for 4 years and we have never had a problem. So I never expected him to cheat on me. I saw him kissing a girl last night. What really hurts my mind is that she was such a glamour. Now I figure out why he was acting funny lately.

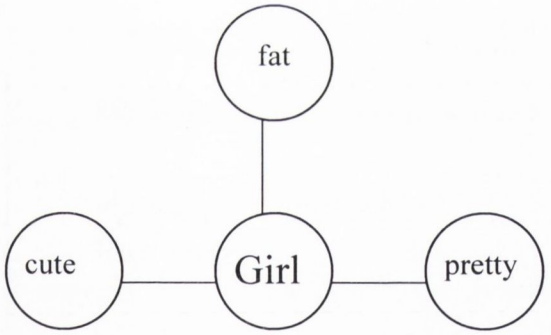
A: How was your weekend?
B: My sister cooked salad for me. After lunch, we went downtown and ran into my old friends. So we all played together and drank beer. We got so drunk.

4. If there is an odd word out in any of the following groups of words, cross it out. If there is no odd word out in a given group, write 'OK' beside it.

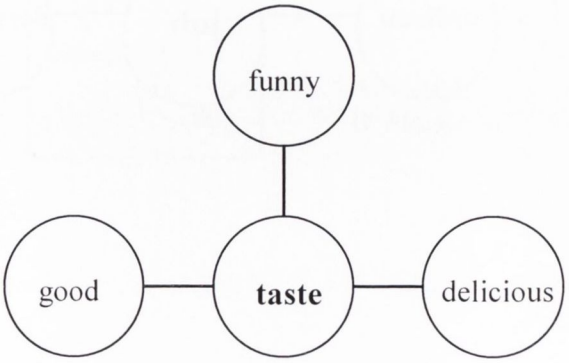
Ex)

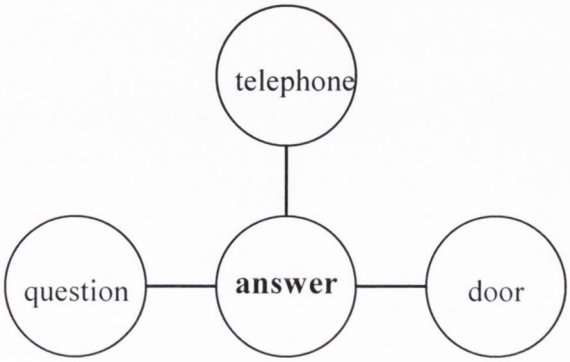


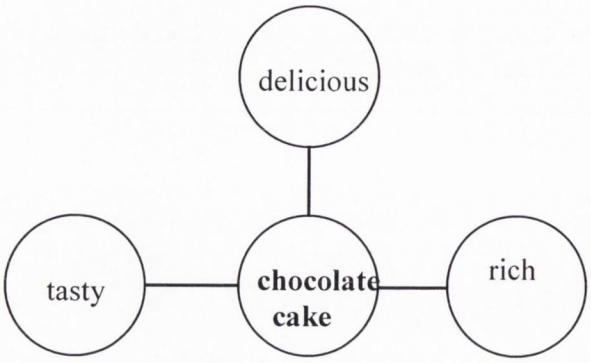
Ex)

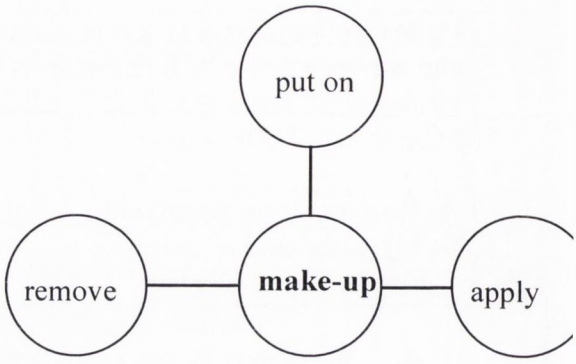


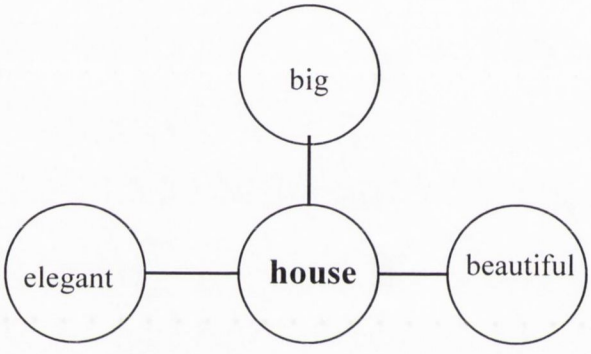
(ok)

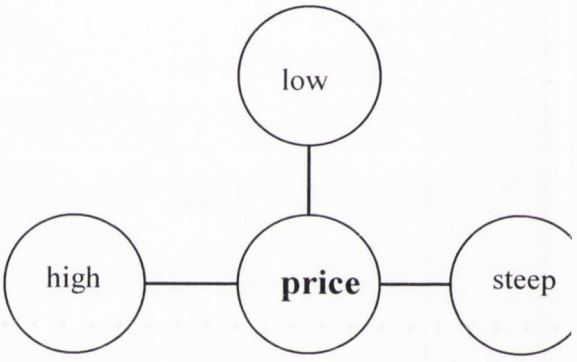


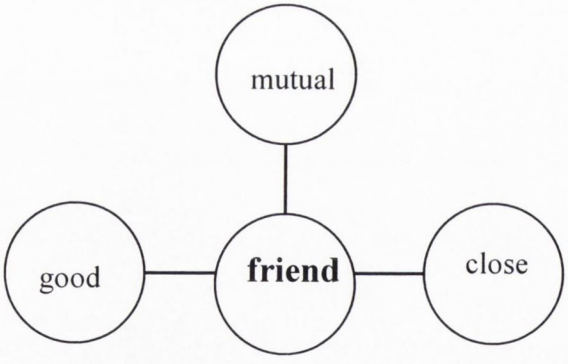


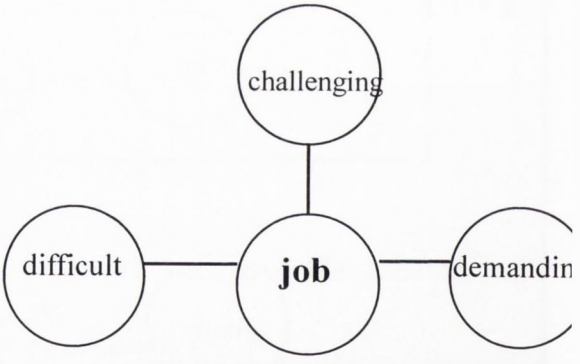

delicious
tasty
chocolate cake
rich


put on
remove
make-up
apply


big
elegant
house
beautiful


low
high
price
steep


mutual
good
friend
close


challenging
difficult
job
demandin

5. If there is an awkward word or phrase in any of the following, underline it. If there is no awkward word or phrase, write 'ok' at the end of the sentence.

- The house caught on fire.
- He is very organized.
- Their legs suddenly felt weak.
- I fell down and my leg was broken.
- Everything worked just fine.
- By 2007 20% of women in the USA will have developed breast cancer.

6. Complete the following sentences/phrases using the words given in the boxes.

skin	air	eye	stone	ear

It's as hard as a camel going through a needle's ( )

flies	drives	contacts	besides	lens	am	is	here	except	I	this

My father ( ) an airplane.

I'm going to the party.
How many people are coming to the party ( ) me?

A: I have bad eyesight and I wear glasses.
But I don't want to look like a nerd.
B: Why don't you wear ( ) instead?

A: I think I'm lost. Where ( ) ( ) ?
B: Henry street, I guess. Actually, this is my first time to LA.

has is customers how what sense guests taste

She ( ) a mania for 'Star craft', a computer game.

A:( ) do you think of my new dress?
B: It's so beautiful. I think you have good ( ) in clothes
A: Thanks. I'll tell you where I bought it. The shop is so popular that it is always crowded with ( ).

empty plans you I an appointment

A: Would you like to come to my party tonight?
B: I'd love to but I can't. I already have ( ). I'm going to see a movie with my girlfriend

7. Complete each of the following sentences in your own words.

<7-1>

Please give your hair a good rinse after shampooing it.
= Please _____

A: I'm boiling some eggs. Would you like some?
B: Yes, thank you. I really like boiled eggs, especially (h_____boiled) eggs.

W___ is the capital of Korea?

<7-2>

- On s___ thought, maybe we can give him a hand

- The wind is b___ing from the east
- After I washed my clothes, I h____ the clothes to dry on the line.
- A: Look at the car in front of us. He is driving so slowly.
  B: Yeah, he's driving at a s___'s pace
- A: I know you're mad at me. I'm terribly sorry. I was wrong. I admit it.
  B: Ok, your apology is a___

8. In your interview, the instructor gave you a secret code. What is your secret code?

Thank you.

For Korean Subjects **********

평생 영어공부한 시간- 정규학교교육(초 ,중, 고, 대)
("English education in school")

영어회화학원-하루에 ( )시간 X 일주일에 ( )일 X ( )주 = TOTAL( )시간
("English education in private language institutes")

영어권국가체류시간 =( ) 년 ( ) 달 ( )시간
("The length of stay in an English speaking country")

한국에서 영어권외국인과 접촉시간 (e.g. 미국친구,교회,영어캠프) =
("Exposure to English-speaking environment in Korea")

중고등학교때 영어단어시험문제의 예문를적어주세요
("English vocabulary tests in school")

(e.g.:)

학교영어선생님은 (한국/미국인)이었고, 수업 때 영어English ( )%, 한국어Korean ( )% 하셨다. ("English class in school: Korean-medium or English-medium?")

나는 (영어단어와 한국어뜻을 외워서/ 예문을 통해서) 단어공부해왔고, 문법은 (문법공식을 외워서/ 예문을 통해서 그 규칙성을 유추함으로써) 공부했다.
("The learners' vocabulary/grammar learning methods")

내가 영어로 말할 때 머릿속에서 ( ) 일어나기 때문에 영어로 말하기가 어렵다. ("The problems the learners experience in English production")

For Korean Americans/ Korean Canadians **********

- How long have you lived in the English speaking country?
  From (when I was years old) ~ to (years old)
- How long have you been in Korea?
- Are you ethnically Korean?
- Are your parents Korean? Do they speak Korean?
- Do you speak Korean with your parents (relatives) at home?
- Did you get your education in the English speaking country?
  ex) kindergarten 1 year +junior high school 9years + college 4 years

- How much have you spoken Korean ( ) % and English ( )%?
- If you have you been in Korean(-speaking) community in the English speaking country, how long have you been exposed to Korean/Korean culture?
- Which language are you more comfortable with?
- Does Korean as a language or concept get involved in your speaking English? (If you feel so, please be specific)

For native speakers of English **********

1. Are you a native speaker of English?

2. How long have you been in Korea?

3. Have you experienced any misunderstanding caused by Konglish (Koreanized English) in the communication with Koreans? If so, please write down the inappropriate words or sentences.

4. Do you think Koreans try to transfer the Korean way of thinking to their English speaking? If so, please specify it.

5. What do you think is the most serious problem Korean learners of English have?

Thank you.

Appendix **E:** Study Two (Oral interview[30])

1. Responding to Compliments
2. Describing Studio-apartment
3. Describing phone-banking procedure
4. Talking about an actor/actress
5. Describing a picture of a girl in [plaster-]cast
6. Game- Items used in the game are band-aid (sticking plaster), a picture of a dress etc.
7. Talking about dating
8. Tasting soda pops
9. Answering negative questions
10. Describing a picture of a fashion model on the runway

[30] The oral interview in Study Two set out to examine the Konglish data of the subjects in relation to their knowledge of English (No.1: pragmatic representations, No.2-7: semantic representations, No.9: conceptual representations,No.10: pronunciation)

Appendix **F:** Study Three (A supplementary survey[31])

나는 질문에 사실만을 답할 것이며, 본 데이터가 연구자료로 쓰여지는데 동의합니다.
학교명school: 전공major: 서명signed :
("I agree to take part in this research and I agree that the data collected through this project may be used for a study")

평생영어공부한 기간 (19_ _ 년부터 2007년까지 총: ___)
("The length of English learning")

1. 일상생활에서 새로 만나게 되는 사람과의 대화에서 주로 하는 질문 (또는 받는질문)은 무엇입니까? (적어도 3가지) ("What are the common questions that are asked in Korea in a first conversation with newly encountered people?")

_____?
_____?
_____?

2. 다음중 콩글리시로 잘 알려진 말에 체크해주세요.
("Please mark the well-known Konglish words")

원룸 one room , 기브스 gibs , # 샾 , 탤런트, 원피스 one piece,
손톱에 칠하는 매니큐어 manicure, 손가락 베었을 때 붙이는 band 밴드,
미팅(소개팅) meeting, 사이다 cider

3. 다음의 예를 읽고, 본인(또는 당시 중/고등학교 학생들)이 했던 문법공부 타입을 자세히 적어주세요 ("How did you study English grammar?")

A 타입: 문법공식을 배운다. 그리고 문제를 많이 풀어본다
Type A: I learned grammar rules and then applied them to grammar tests
B 타입: 문법공식을 배운다. 그리고 speaking할 때나 writing할 때 바로 쓸 수 있도록 예문을 많이 보고, 만들어보면서 연습한다.
Type B: I learned grammar rules and practiced a lot of examples so as to apply them to speaking or writing.
C 타입: 문법공식은 몰랐지만, 영어를 많이 듣고, 많은 지문을 읽으면서, 영어문장들의 패턴을 차차 깨닫게 된다.
Type C: I didn't learn grammar rules explicitly but I came to figure them out myself through sufficient listening and reading.

중학교때 (middle school) –

[31] A supplementary survey in Study Three set out to examine the relationship between Konglish awareness and Konglish avoidance and also to elicit general information about Korean learners' learning strategies and their learning environment. 100 college students (Korea University) participated in the study.

고등학교때 (high school)-
대학교때 (college) -

4. 본인이 받았던 중/고등학교 영어수업이 어땠는지 자세히 설명해주세요
(영어로 말하고, 듣고, 읽고, 쓰는데 도움이 되었는지, 문제점이 있는지)
("What were your English classes in your middle/high school like? Were they helpful for you to listen, speak, read, write in English?")

_____
_____
_____
_____

5. 중/고등학교 때 단어 공부했던 방법을 적어주세요.
("How did you study English vocabulary?

A 타입-영단어의 한국말 뜻과 품사, 발음을 배웠다. 하지만 언제, 어떤 상황에 쓸 수 있는지는 배우지 않아서, 영어로 말하거나 쓸 수 있는 것은 아니다.

Type A: I learned Korean translation equivalent, word class and pronunciation of the new English word but I didn't learn when/how to use the word. I don't know how to use the word in English context.

B 타입- 영어단어의 한국말 뜻뿐만 아니라, 그 단어와 어울려서 함께 쓰는 다른 단어나 표현/구문을 함께 배우고, 그 단어가 주로 쓰이는 적절한 상황을, 충분한 예문을 통해서 배웠기 때문에, 그 영어단어를 말하거나 쓰는데 별 문제가 없다.

Type B: I learned Korean translation equivalent and also learned what other English words can be used with the word through a lot of examples. I learned when/how to use the word so I don't have difficulties using the word in English context.

C 타입- 영어단어를 listening, reading 문장을 통해서 접하고 알게 되었다. 단어의 한국말뜻은 정확히 모르는 경우가 있더라도, 그 단어를 쓸 수 있는 상황과 예문들은 잘 알고 있기 때문에 영어로 직접 사용하는데 문제가 없다

Type C: I learned the word through English context (listening/reading), not by Korean translation equivalent. I don't have a problem using the word in English context even if I don't know the Korean translation equivalent.

중학교때 (middle school) -
고등학교때 (high school)-
대학교때 (college) -

_____

6. 보통 해석을 할 때 영어-한국어 방향으로 (예: blame- 탓하다) 공부를 많이 하게 되지만, 영어회화나 작문을 할 때는 그렇지 않은 경우도 있을 겁니다. 본인은 영어단어를 외울 때 e.g. blame→탓하다 라고 (영어→한국어 방향으로) 외웠나요? 아니면 탓하다→blame (한국어→영어 방향으로) 이라고 외웠나요?
("Do you learn a new English word in the direction of Korean→English or English→Korean?")

7. 당신은 영어로 말할 때/ 영작할 때, 머릿속에서 한국어가 먼저 생각나고, 그 다음 영어로 바꿔서 말하게 되나요? 아니면 생각자체가 바로 영어로 나오게 되나요? ("When you speak/ write in English, do Korean words/ expressions pop up first in your mind and then you translate the Korean into English or do the English words/ expressions just come to you?")

8. 학교 영어수업에 한국어/영어 비율은?
("Proportion of Korean/English used in English class")

중학교 (middle school) - 한국어 Korean (%) 영어 **English** (%)
고등학교 (high school)- 한국어 Korean (%) 영어 **English** (%)
대학교 (college)- 한국어 Korean (%) 영어 **English** (%)

선생님의 영어회화수준은? ("English proficiency of your English teachers")
중학교때 (middle school) -
고등학교때 (high school)-
대학교때 (college) -

9. 학교영어시간에 영어권국가들의 문화에 대해 자세히 설명 들었나요? 예를 들어, 우리나라 문화에서는 괜찮지만 영어권사람들에게는 무례하게 비춰질 질문이나 오해를 불러 일으킬만한 행동들에 대해 설명해주셨습니까?
Have you informed of the differences between Korean and English-speaking cultures (e.g. Your English reflected by Korean culture may cause possible misunderstanding)

10. 나는 영어권나라에서 거주한적 있다 /없다- ( )년 year ( )달 month
("The length of stay in an English-speaking county")

나는 한국에서 원어민과 영어회화를 할 기회가 있다/없다 (자세히)
("Exposure to English-speaking environments in Korea")