

Second Language Acquisition of Korean Case by Learners with
Different First Languages

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Abstract

Second Language Acquisition of Korean Case by Learners with Different First Languages

by

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This dissertation examines the role of L2 learners' first language (L1) in acquiring a target morpho-syntactic feature (case) and learner perceptions of the L2 grammar, specifically, Korean case and case particles. In addition to investigating what and how much is transferred from the L1, the study also looks to see if learners' perceptions match their actual production.

In order to answer these research questions, two quantitative and one qualitative study were used. The initial quantitative study was conducted using an expanded grammaticality judgment task completed by 25 English L1 learners of Korean, with 15 Korean L1 controls. The key findings from that study suggest that English L1 learners of Korean acquired nominative case earlier than the accusative case, patterning with Korean L1 acquisition. Also, learners accurately identified the incorrect usage of nominative particles 60% of the time, but only 51% for accusative particles.

Building on the findings of that study, speaking and written production tasks were completed by 70 L2 Korean learners, who were divided into nearly equally-sized groups for three different L1s (22 Chinese, 27 English and 21 Japanese). An assumption of the degree of L1

transfer to L2 Korean was made specifically for case, which was that Chinese transferred less than English and English less than Japanese. It was hypothesized that *deep transfer*—that being the transfer of syntax from the L1—and *surface transfer*, which is a transfer of morphology, could be investigated (Sabourin et al 2006). The results highlight that learners, regardless of their L1, used more correct case particles in writing than in speaking. The Japanese L1 group had the highest proficiency for case particles, with Chinese being the least proficient. The data confirmed that morphology was transferred ‘over syntax’ from the L1 and the surface transfer of morphology seems to play an important role (Montrul 1997, 1999, 2000; Sabourin et al 2006).

Finally, to support and clarify the two quantitative studies a series, of qualitative interviews were conducted with 57 participants, and 9 key informants participated in multiple interviews. L2 learners were aware that their linguistic backgrounds affect feature transferability and the learnability of the target language. Already knowing perceived similar language was seen as beneficial. Kellerman’s Psychotypology (1983) was used to highlight learners’ perceptual language distance between their L1 and L2. In this study, Chinese learners still considered Korean relatively close to their L1, largely due to cultural associations and vocabulary, and that Korean was not difficult to acquire. Learner’s perceptions of ease were not supported by the actual production data. Different motivations also did not seem to be a main factor of the acquisition of case. Therefore, with the findings, it is argued that the role of L1 in terms of the same morphosyntactic features in both L1 and L2 is tremendous, and that psychotypology and motivation seem to be overridden by the features.

University of Washington

Second Language Acquisition of Korean Case by Learners with Different First Languages

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Linguistics

For my mother

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accusative case particles: <i>ul/lul</i>
COM	comitative particles: <i>wa/kwa, hako</i>
DAT	dative case particles : <i>ey, eykey</i>
DECL	declarative sentence type
DIR	directional particle: <i>(u)lo</i>
GEN	genitive particle : <i>uy</i>
INS	instrumental particle : <i>(u)lo</i>
LOC	locative particles (static) : <i>ey</i>
LOD	locative particle (dynamic) : <i>eyes</i>
NOM	nominative case particles : <i>i/ka</i>
PAST	past tense suffix
PRES	present tense suffix

Chapter 1. Introduction

It seems natural for second language (L2) learners' first languages (L1) to play a significant role in L2 acquisition, especially in the case of adult learners. Because of this, L2 acquisition researchers have investigated the role of the L1 for the past 60 years (Bley-Vroman 1990; Corder 1967; Epstein et al. 1996; Gass and Selinker 1983; Grüter et al 2008; Lado 1957, 1983; Montrul 1999, 2000; Schachter 1974; Schwartz 1996; Schwartz & Sprouse 1994; Valdman 1966).

L2 acquisition of case has been discussed in many studies (Brown and Iwasaki 2013; Hwang 2002; Lardiere 2008; Peirce 2013; Rubenstein 1993; Tanner 2008). Studies on case acquisition, in particular, have been conducted in the context of different realizations of case in learners' L1s and L2s. While all languages can express grammatical notions of subject and object DPs, they differ in their morphological realization of case¹. Therefore, an L2 which has a distinctive case realization from that found in the learner's L1 can be a good tool to understanding both the learnability of case and the role of the learner's L1 in L2 acquisition. For this reason, in this dissertation I investigate the effect of the L1 in the acquisition of case in a L2 with either a different or similar morphological case system to that found in the learners' L1s. I chose learners with three different L1s—English, Chinese and Japanese—each of which has a varying degree of similarity to case in Korean. By studying these three languages, I hoped to gain a clear understanding of the degree to which L1 transfer occurs.

¹ This dissertation mostly focuses on languages with Nominative/Accusative alignment. However, there are also other languages with Ergative/Absolute case or split ergative structures. For these languages, please see Aldridge (2004, 2008, 2012); Deal (2013); Legate (2012, 2014).

Korean, as an agglutinative language, has morphological case particles² on DPs³. As (1) indicates, the subject has the nominative case particle, *-i* or *-ka* while the object is realized with the accusative case particle *-ul/lul*⁴.

- (1) Na-**ka** sakwa-**lul** mek-ess-ta.
I-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-DECL
'I ate an apple.'

English does not have an overt morphology for subject and object DPs but it still has inflectional morphemes in pronouns. In (2), *I* and *he* are nominative case and *him* and *me* are accusative.

- (2) a. **I** love **him**.
b. **He** loves **me**.

Chinese, on the other hand, does not have grammatical markers for case. (3) shows how the pronouns *wo* 'I/me' and *ta* 'he/him' do not exhibit any morphological differences based on case.

- (3) **Wǒ** xǐhuān **tā**.
I like he
'I like him.'
b. **Tā** xǐhuān **wǒ**
He like I
'He likes me.'

As an agglutinative language, the case system of Japanese is similar to that of Korean.

Case in an DP is marked with a case particle as in (4).

² The terminology of 'particles' is also interchangeable with 'markers'. In this dissertation, both terms are used.

³ Sohn (1999) categorizes grammatical case as nominative *i/ka*, accusative *ul/lul*, dative *eykey*, static locative *ey*, dynamic locative *-eyse*, source *ekeyse*, goal *(u)lo*, instrument *(u)lo* and directional *-(u)lo*. In addition, there are also particles indicating topic *un/nun* and focus

⁴ When a preceding DP ends with a vowel, *-ka* is used instead of *-i* and *-lul* instead of *-ul*. When nominative *-i* and accusative *-ul* are used, they follow a consonant final morpheme.

- (4) a. Watashi-**ga** gohan-**o** tabema-sita.
I-NOM rice-ACC eat-PAST
'I ate rice.'

Following the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2005), I assume that structural case is valued by functional heads, *v* or *T*, while inherent case is assigned by lexical items, such as verbs⁵.

Structural case is a product of the Match and Agree system between the probe and the goal (Chomsky 2001). Functional heads *v* and *T* have uninterpretable ϕ features. An argument, let us call it *XP*, on the other hand, has ϕ features and uninterpretable case features. Satisfying uninterpretable ϕ and EPP features on *T*, the *XP* can also be valued [NOM] from *T*. [ACC] case on the object is valued in the same system with *v*. In Korean, the valued case on the *XP* has to be overt at PF and must use a case particle while English does not have a PF realization except in instances with pronouns. Details on this will be discussed further in Chapter 2. This kind of cross-linguistic difference in case realization is believed to cause difficulty in learning a second language, especially one with a different morphological realization than that present in the learner's L1 (Lado 1957; Lardiere 2008).

In Korean, case particles can also be omitted, as in (5), if the sentence contains a basic word order with SOV.

- (5) Na- \emptyset pap- \emptyset mek-e-ta.
I rice eat-PAST-DECL
'I ate rice.'

⁵ In his earlier works, Chomsky (1981, 1986) distinguishes structural case from non-structural case. Woolford (2006) argues that non-structural case subdivides into inherent and lexical case. In this dissertation, I will not consider the subdivision of inherent and lexical case because neither of the case is assigned by functional heads.

Due to the overt realization and possible omission of case particles, it has been argued case and case particles in Korean are difficult to acquire (Brown and Iwasaki 2013; Hwang 2002; Ko et al 2004, Lee 2003, Park 2009, and Jeon 2011). For English learners of Korean, especially, Korean case particles can be difficult to understand as the morphological realization of case particles is different in English and the possibility of dropping particles is somewhat foreign (Lado 1957; Montrul 1997, 2000, 2001; Odlin 1989; Ringbom 2007). Learners often face confusion over this because the necessity of using case particles in certain instances is not usually taught in class (Park 2009, Kim 2006, Kim & Lee 2004).

This difficulty in acquiring case particles was also observed in the Korean class I taught at the University of Washington. I taught Korean to English speakers while studying linguistics as a graduate student and noticed many of my learners struggled with case particles, either having difficulty understanding them or making frequent errors. I noted learners seemed to have difficulty perceiving the contexts for obligatory case. As a result, this dissertation helps us understand learners' comprehension and production, especially in regards to their acquisition and use of case particles.

In order to investigate this subject further, I used both quantitative and qualitative experiments. For the quantitative portion of this study, I conducted a grammaticality judgment task and production tasks. Firstly, the grammaticality judgment task was used to study how much and how correctly learners understood Korean case particles. The judgment task was performed by English learners of Korean and compared to Korean native speakers as a control group. The task was planned and executed in order to compare L2 learners of Korean with Korean native speakers as well as with Korean children, who learn Korean as their L1 (Kim 1997). The research questions underlying this portion of the study are listed below:

- 1) Will adult English speakers judge the grammaticality of L2 Korean sentences with nominative and accusative correctly because they already have case features in their L1?
- 2) If L2 learners make mistakes in the grammaticality judgment task despite having the same syntactic features in their L1, how do the different morphological approaches account for this problem?
- 3) Are L2 case acquisition patterns similar to those of L1 acquisition? In other words, would the L2 learners make more mistakes using accusative particles just as the Korean children?

The quantitative results seemed to highlight the role of the learners' L1s, especially during the initial stage of L2 acquisition, indicating the learners' L1s play a critical role in the L2 acquisition of case (Montrul 1997, 2000, 2001)—an observation discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

In order to clearly see how the L1 affected acquisition, I conducted a second experiment with L2 learners from varied L1 backgrounds, namely English, Chinese and Japanese. This experiment consisted of production tasks, including written and spoken, and sought to better illustrate the degree of L1 transfer to the L2 (Sabourin et al 2006). The research questions I invested in this portion of the study include:

- 1) How do L2 learners of Korean produce case particles in written and spoken settings?
- 2) Will L1 play a role in the acquisition of Korean case particles?
- 3) What is transferred from an L1 to an L2? And how much?

More details can be found in Chapter 4.

With the data, I sought to compare learners' perceptions to their actual use of case particles. I wanted to see if Kellermans (1983)'s 'Psychotypology' could be applied to my participants. Psychotypology refers to L2 learners' conceptualized linguistic distances between L1s and L2s (Kellerman 1983, 1995). The sample interview questions included:

- What is your motivation for learning Korean?
- What is difficult to learn in Korean?
- What is relatively easy to learn in Korean?
- How do you, as the learner, consider case particles?
- What makes case particles difficult?
- What are your strategies for learning and using the language?

In order to answer the questions, I used two methods to gain data: a language questionnaire and the interview, the latter of which, in particular, allowed me to delve into the learners' perceptions and the linguistic stories they presented on Korean case particles as well as on Korean language and culture as a whole. I used a semi-structural interview format (Alsaawi 2014; Bryman 2008) and content analysis (Charmaz 2008; Fairclough 2003; Frey, L., Botan, C., & Kreps, G 1999) in order to ensure the learners' answers led me to the core concepts inherent within the findings (Charmaz 2008; Frey, L., Botan, C., & Kreps, G 1999; Smith 2013).

Even though each L1 group showed varying opinions on difficulty and ease of acquisition, it was interesting to find many participants shared opinions regardless of their L1s. The concept of the learners' perception that "difficulty is due to difference" and "ease is because of similarity," which confirms the claims of Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (Lado 1957) in terms of L1 effect, appeared over and over again. Likewise, the notion of language transfer being

understood not only in the context of a typological language family but also in the learners' subject perception appeared multiple times (Andersen 1983; Kellerman 1983, 1995) as learners conceptualize the learnability of certain features in their target L2 based on their perception of the distance between their L1 and L2. I was able to find the L1 has a great effect on learners' actual acquisition and on the learners' perceptions and motivations.

In order to see learners' linguistic knowledge of Korean case and their own perceptions of case particles, I used both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Both methodologies help me better understand the big picture of L2 acquisition of Korean case particles. Having three different L1 groups also allowed me to investigate the transfer effect more deeply. As discussed above, I used an applied linguistic tool—the interview—to listen to learners' voices and understand learners' individual differences as well as their perceptions. This method enabled me to understand the learners from an angle I otherwise would not have been able to, namely from their perspectives and not from the researcher's or teacher's perspective. Therefore, all of the devices that this dissertation used- syntactic analysis of case, quantitative method of L2 experiment as well as the qualitative interview, I believe, were necessary tools to investigate Korean case and case acquisition.

This dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter 2 discusses the syntax of Korean case, the omission of case particles and the restriction of omission while Chapter 3 introduces my first quantitative experiment (i.e., the grammaticality judgment task) and Chapter 4 expands upon the learners' L1s (i.e., English, Chinese and Japanese). The second quantitative experiment, namely the production task, and its results are also presented. Chapter 5 discusses the rationale of the qualitative study, the related literature review and the procedure of the study itself while Chapter 6 goes on to delineate the results gleaned from the learners' perceptions as described in the

language questionnaire and the interviews, and the final chapter, Chapter 7, summarizes the findings in the other chapters and concludes the dissertation.

Chapter 2. Korean case particles

This chapter will discuss the syntactic structure of Korean case. The Korean language has S-O-V word-order and the subject is realized with the nominative case marker *-i* or *-ka* while the object is realized with the accusative case marker *-ul/lul*⁶.

- (6) Nay-ka sakwa-**lul** mek-ess-ta.
I-NOM apple--ACC eat-PAST-DECL
'I ate an apple.'

These case particles can drop in certain situations (Lee 2007; Lee and Ramsey 2000; Sohn 1995; Schütze 2001).

- (7) ? Na- \emptyset sakwa- \emptyset mek-ess-ta.
I apple eat-PAST-DECL
'I ate an apple.'

In my earlier work, I argued that this is deletion at PF (Ahn 2011). When there is scrambling or a focus meaning, though, the dropping of case particles may be limited (Lee 2007; Schütze 2001). Lee (2007) also indicates that due to the overt case markers, “the linear ordering of the subject and the direct object can change” (p. 44). In other words, overt case marking is the necessary condition for scrambling; without case markers, the sentence has to reside in the basic word-order. Most of the time, the subject is realized with a topic marker, as in (8a), while the nominative particle gives a focus interpretation to the subject, as in (9a).

⁶ When a preceding DP ends with a vowel, *-ka* is used instead of *-i* and *-lul* instead of *-ul*. When nominative *-i* and accusative *-ul* are used, they follow a consonant final morpheme.

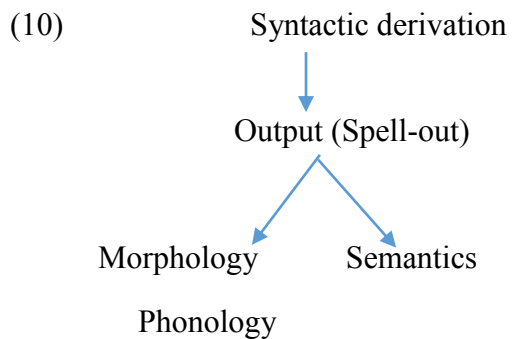
- (8) a. Na-**nun** sakwa-ul mek-ess-ta.
 I-TOP apple-ACC eat-PAST-DECL
 b. Nay-ka mek-ess-ta.
 I-NOM eat-PAST-DECL
 ‘I ate an apple.’
- (9) Q: Nuka sawka-lul mek-ess-e?
 Who apple-ACC eat-PAST-Q
 ‘Who ate an apple?’
 A: Nay-ka mek-ess-ta.
 I-NOM eat-PAST-DECL
 B: *Na-**nun** mek-ess-ta.
 I-TOP eat-PAST-DECL

In (9), a DP with a nominative case particle can be the answer for the wh-question in answer A while a DP with a topic marker cannot in answer B. This shows how nominative case is compatible with a focus interpretation while a topic marker is not.

When the sentence does have a focus meaning, the case particle cannot be dropped. In other words, although case particles are one of the most prominent syntactic morphemes in Korean, they can drop in certain situations, which is troublesome for second language learners as these exceptions are not overtly taught in the Korean as Second language (KSL) class (Park 2009, Kim 2006, Kim & Lee 2004). Case particles are one of the most challenging aspects of KSL, and learners subsequently make errors on case particles more frequently than on other morphemes, such as markers and verbal particles (Ko et al 2004, Lee 2003, Park 2009, and Jeon 2011).

In section 2.1, case valuation and realization of case particles are discussed under the minimalist approach. I show that Korean nominative and accusative cases are valued by functional heads T and v, following minimalist accounts of the structural case valuing system (Chomsky 2005: 413). In this scenario, v, which can value accusative case, is a phase head along

with C (Chomsky 2005). However, when *v* is not a phase head, accusative case cannot be valued. Case particles are morphological products, which are spelled-out at PF after syntax. This model is consistent with Distributed Morphology (DM), which is a theoretical framework showing the relationship between syntax and morphology, developed by Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994). According to DM, morphology is the mapping of a syntax which is directed into the phonology as an output as shown in (10).



Likewise, I argue that case marking is a phonological by-product from the syntactic derivation of case-valuation.

In sections 2.2 and 2.3, the optionality of Korean case particles is discussed. I show how case particles cannot drop in certain situations, namely when there is scrambling present (Lee 2007; Sohn 1995). In 2.2, I discuss how case particles must be overtly spelled-out when there is scrambling in a sentence.

2.1 Case valuation

In the early minimalist approach (Chomsky 1993, 1995) for languages with a structural case system such as nominative/accusative, Chomsky argues that structural case is assigned through feature checking in a Spec-head configuration⁷.

According to the early minimalist approach (Chomsky 1993), the subject and object DPs move to the specifiers of agreement projections in order to check case and agreement features. Chomsky (1995) argues that AGR is an abstract functional head, which has a collection of phi-features such as gender, number or person. He introduces two types of features—interpretable features, which have semantic content, and uninterpretable features, which are devoid of semantic content. Interpretable features are present in lexical properties such as [+/- past] and [+/- masculine] while uninterpretable features are grammatical and functional properties that require interpretable features to check for grammaticality by the operation Agree. When T assigns the case and the DP is in the spec of AgrS, the DP will be assigned [NOM]. When a DP needs [ACC] case, it moves to the spec of AgrO, the DP will be assigned [ACC].

In the more recent minimalist approach (Chomsky 2000, 2001), case-checking occurs through Agree without movement, and AGR has been eliminated from the syntactic derivation. In his 2000 work, Chomsky introduces a probe and a goal. He states that a probe, which has uninterpretable feature(s), needs to be valued by a goal with interpretable counterparts (2001:6).

⁷ Since this dissertation only deals with structural case, inherent case such as [DAT] or [LOC], which are not assigned by functional heads (Chomsky 2001), will not be discussed. In his 2001 article, though, Chomsky notes that languages differ in that a v head may or may not license inherent Case. Also there is research arguing that inherent case is also assigned by v (Massam 2002, Legate 2003). Especially, Woolford (2006) argues that lexical cases are assigned by lexical heads and inherent cases in the specifier of certain functional heads.

- (11) “For the Case/agreement systems, the uninterpretable features are ϕ -features of the probe and structural Case of the goal N. [...] Structural Case is not a feature of the probes (T, v), but it is assigned a value under agreement [...] The value assigned depends on the probe: nominative for T, accusative for v.” (Chomsky 2001:6)8.

In a derivation, T has two kinds of uninterpretable features: ϕ -set and EPP feature, which must be checked. Then, ϕ -features and EPP seek an argument, namely the XP with interpretable ϕ features. The uninterpretable ϕ -set and EPP are called a probe, which needs a goal or interpretable features on XP. This system of valuation is completed through two steps: Match and Agree. Structural case is a product of the Match and Agree system between the probe and the goal. Since the argument XP with ϕ features has uninterpretable case features, the relationship between the XP and T can be explained as a mutual assistance. Satisfying uninterpretable ϕ and EPP features on T, the XP can also be valued [NOM] from T. In other words, arguments with uninterpretable features must be valued by interpretable counterparts.

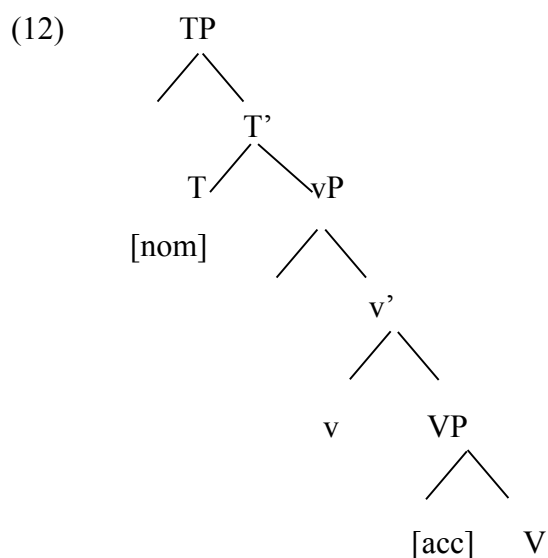
[ACC] case on the object occurs in the same system with v. The light verb ‘v’, which is also called little v can still be transferred (Chomsky 2000). It forms a strong or a weak phase; transitive vPs are strong (Chomsky 2000). As T has phi-features and EPP, v can also have these features. The object shift phenomenon, which occurs in languages such as Icelandic, occurs when phi-features and EPP features on v are valued by the object. In addition, v also has an accusative case feature. The features will be carried on to the subject DP [NOM] and the object

⁸ Uninterpretable/unvalued features and interpretable/valued features are sometimes interchangeable. In his work in (2001), Chomsky states:

(I) A feature F is uninterpretable if F is unvalued. (p.5)

It has been argued that the functional head v or T but e feature interpretability should be separated from feature values (Pesetsky and Torrego, Kuno 2011, Bošković 2011). This dissertation will not take a strict position on this and will not distinguish interpretable from valued features.

DP [ACC], respectively. The unvalued phi-features on T and v are valued by DPs and T and v value [NOM] and [ACC] as a result of agreement.



Chomsky (2001) defines CP and vP as phases. Phases are “the unit of cyclic transfer, [which] optimizes the efficiency of the mapping between syntax and the external systems” (Richards 2001:1). Chomsky (2001:12) distinguishes strong phases from weak phases. C and transitive v are strong phase heads whereas intransitive/passive/unaccusative v is a weak phase head. According to Chomsky, the weak v does not carry [ACC]. Therefore there is no accusative case valuing in intransitive/passive/unaccusative sentences.

Following Legate (2008), I assume that case can be valued in syntax and spelled out phonologically in the Morphological Component. In other words, after valued, case features can still be transferred to PF, where they are spelled out in the morphological component. Korean is one example of a language in which this happens. In Korean, for all DPs—both lexical and pronominal—the subject is realized with the overt nominative case marker *-i* or *-ka* while the

object is realized with the accusative case marker *-ul/lul*. The case particles *-i* and *-ka* are realized following a word-final consonant and a vowel, respectively. Like nominative case, accusative *-ul* is used when it follows a word-final consonant and *-lul* when it follows a vowel, as in (13). Sometimes the subject DP can be realized with a topic marker, as in (14), below⁹.

(13) Nay-ka sakwa-**lul** mek-ess-ta.
I-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-DECL
'I ate an apple.'

(14) Na-**nun** sakwa-ul mek-ess-ta.
I-TOP apple-ACC eat-PAST-DECL

It is possible that when the subject has a nominative marker instead of a topic marker, as in (15a), the subject DP is focused.

(15) a. Nay-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-ta.
I-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-DECL
'I ate an apple.'

(16) Q: Nu-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-e?
who-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-Q
'Who ate an apple?'
A1: Nay-ka mek-ess-ta.
I-NOM eat-PAST-DECL
A2: *Na-**nun** mek-ess-ta.
I-TOP eat-PAST-DECL

⁹ The subject DPs in Korean and Japanese have a topic marker. A topicalized DP indicates discourse continuant as opposed to new subject-focus. It has been argued that languages such as Korean, Chinese or Japanese are topic-prominent languages (Li and Thompson 1976, Tan 2007).

In (16), a DP with a nominative case particle can be the answer for the wh-question in answer A1 while a DP with a topic marker is not a possible answer for A2. This suggests that a nominative case can appear on a focused constituent.

Intransitive sentences, on the other hand, do not have a strong v and cannot assign accusative case, which results in no accusative case particle. Korean intransitive sentences can have intransitive verbs or adjectives as predicates, as in (15a-b), as opposed to the transitive verb in (17c).

- (17) a. Cangmi-ka **alumtap-ta** (adjective)
rose-NOM beautiful-DECL
'The rose is beautiful.'
- b. Cangmi-ka **ttele-cess-ta** (intransitive verb-unaccusative)
rose-NOM dropped-DECL
'The rose dropped.'
- c. Sooni-nun cangmi-lul **ttele-ttelyess-ta** (transitive verb)
Sooni-TOP rose-ACC dropped-DECL
'Sooni dropped rose.'

When the predicate is an adjective or an unaccusative verb, the argument is realized with a nominative case marker instead of an accusative case marker because there is no strong vP to assign accusative case and no object DP. Example (18) shows that intransitive sentences cannot have accusative case particles.

- (18) a. *Cangmi-**lul** alumtap-ta.
rose-ACC beautiful-DECL
- b. *Cangmi-**lul** ttele-cess-ta.
rose-ACC dropped-DECL

In (18), neither sentence has a transitive verb, so the accusative case particles cannot be used. In other words, the theme of unaccusatives in Korean is nominative, as in (13a, b), just as it is in English.

On the other hand, some predicates are intransitive verbs or adjectives for which the English counterparts are transitive verbs. Examples are shown below in (19). The experiencer must be marked as a topic and the theme must have nominative case.

- (19) a. I need a friend.
 b. (Na-nun) chingu-**ka** philyo-ha-ta.
 I-TOP friend-**NOM** need
 ‘I need a friend.’
 c. *(Na-nun) chingu-**lul** philyo-ha-ta.
 I-TOP friend-**ACC** need

In (19), *philyohata* ‘to need’ is an adjective in Korean, so it cannot take an object. Similarly, the verb *cota* ‘to like’ in (20c) cannot take an accusative object because it is a syntactically adjective in Korean.

- (20) a. I like winter.
 b. (Na-nun) kyeul-**i** co-ta
 I-TOP winter-**NOM** to like-DECL
 ‘I like winter.’
 c. *(Na-nun) kyeul-**ul** co-ta
 I-TOP winter-**ACC** to like-DECL

Instead of an accusative particle, a nominative particle must be used with the predicate¹⁰.

As discussed above, case checking is a cross-linguistic phenomenon. In English and Korean, nominative case is valued by T and accusative case is valued by v. However, case in English and Korean is realized in substantially different ways in that English does not have equivalent case particles added to DPs. Also, some predicates are inconsistent in subject case. In

¹⁰ This is a psych verb, which usually takes a case marking pattern in experiencer constructions and is found in languages such as in Japanese, Icelandic, Russian, etc., becoming one of the difficulties Anglophone learners face.

English, DPs are not realized with any morphology since English does not have overt morphemes for case¹¹.

In Korean, however, when there is an agent in the sentence, the theme DP should have an accusative case marker, as in (21b) and as in *cangmi-lul* in (21a), but when the theme DP is a subject, nominative case must be used.

- (21) a. Cangmi-**ka** ttel-eje-ss-ta.
rose-NOM drop-PAST-DECL
'The rose dropped.'
b. Na-nun cangmi-**lul** ttel-ettulye-ss-ta.
I-TOP rose-ACC drop-PAST-DECL
'I dropped a rose.'

In addition, although the valued case is spelled-out at PF with case particles, these case particles in Korean can drop in certain situations, as shown below in (22).

- (22) Na- \emptyset sakwa- \emptyset mek-ess-ta.
I apple eat-PAST-DECL
'I ate an apple.'

In (22), the nominative *-ka* and the accusative *-lul* drop but the sentence is still grammatically correct. This is because the DP has been valued with its case already. In other words, under certain conditions, the case particles are optionally spelled-out at PF. There are restrictions on this optionality as it depends on the types of case particles being used. Sohn (1999) categorizes the grammatical cases as nominative *-i/ka*, accusative *-ul/lul*, dative *eykey*, static locative *-ey*, dynamic locative *-eyse*, source *-ekeyse*, goal *-(u)lo*, instrument *-(u)lo* and directional *-(u)lo*. In addition, there are also particles indicating topic *un/nun*, and focus. Among these particles, dative *-eykey*, static locative *-ey*, dynamic locative *-eyse*, source *-ekeyse*, goal -

¹¹ Except for nominative and accusative pronouns (e.g., *he* vs. *him*).

(*u*)*lo*, instrument *-(u)lo* and directional *-(u)lo* cannot be omitted. In other words, out of these particles, only particles for the subject and object DPs can be omitted. (23)-(25) show some examples.

- (23) a. Cinku-nun hakkyo-ey iss-ta.
friend-TOP school-LOC (stative) exist-DECL
'My friend is at school.'
b. * Cinku-nun hakkyo- ø iss-ta.
- (24) a. Cip-eyse sakwa-lul mek-ess-ta.
House-LOC (dynamic) apple-ACC eat-PAST-DECL
'I ate an apple at home.'
b. * Cip-ø sakwa-lul mek-ess-ta.
- (25) a. Sakwa-lul hakkyo-*lo* ponay-ss-ta.
Apple-ACC school-to (goal) send-PAST-DECL
'I sent apples to the school.'
b. * Sakwa-ø hakkyo-*lo* ponay-ss-ta.

(23b-25b) are ungrammatical examples without the case particles. Therefore, other particles cannot be dropped.

Following the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2005), I argue that in Korean structural case is valued by functional heads, *v* or *T*, while inherent case is assigned by lexical items¹². Nominative and accusative case are then categorized as structural case, and, as such, seemed like a good focus for this dissertation since as their behavior is syntactically consistent (Chomsky 1986; 2000, 2001; Legate 2008; Mahajan 1990; Woolford 2006). As such, this dissertation deals with only structural case particles for indicating the subject and object. The next subsection will discuss the restrictions on the omission of nominative and accusative case particles.

¹² Inherent case can be assigned by functional heads (Dative, for example, by an Applicative head).

2.2 Restrictions on dropping Case Particles

Although Korean case particles usually drop freely, there are some restrictions, which are shown below in (26). Whenever a new DP is introduced into a sentence for the first time and gets a focus interpretation, the DPs should have case markers.

- (26) a. Yetnale, thokki-ka sal-ass-sup-nita.
Long time ago, rabbit-NOM live-PAST-DECL
Thokki-nun kebuki-lul saranghay-ss-sup-nita
rabbit-TOP turtle-ACC love-PAST-DECL
‘Long time ago, there was a rabbit. And the rabbit loved a turtle.’
b. #Yetnale, thokki-ø sal-ass-sup-nita.
Long time ago, rabbit live-PAST-DECL
Thokki-ø kebuki-ø saranghay-ss-sup-nita
rabbit turtle love-PAST-DECL

(26b) is grammatical but is extremely unnatural because there are no case particles on the subject DP ‘rabbit’ and the object DP ‘turtle’. (19a), on the other hand, is grammatical when the DPs have case particles as it is assumed the newly introduced DPs get focus meanings, and focus is shown with case particles in Korean. (J.-Y. Yoon 1989, Suh 1992, Hong 1991: 147, D.-W. Yang 1999, Schütze 2001).

(27), below, uses the spoken data of L2 learners, suggesting that L2 learners of Korean unnaturally drop nominative or topic particles for the subject DP even when they introduce the new DPs.

- (27) a. # Uli enni-Ø yoli-Ø coha (participant Dora)
 Our(my) older sister cooking like
 ‘My sister likes cooking.’
 b. #Celsu-Ø cihacel-Ø sile (participant J)
 Chulsu subway hate
 ‘Chulsu hates subways.’
 c. #Drew-Ø uncen-Ø hayyo (Participant Rod)
 Drew driving-do
 ‘Drew is driving.’

This pattern of unnatural omission of case markers has also been found in other Korean L2 studies (Ko et al 2004, Lee 2003, Park 2009, and Jeon 2011) and will be discussed in more detail in later sections.

Whenever a sentence fails to follow a canonical order, case markers become mandatory.

(28) shows a canonical order, but because Korean allows scrambling (Kim 1990; Lee 2007; Nam 2001; Martin 1992), different word orders are possible, as in (29).

- (28) Nay-ka sakwa-**lul** mek-ess-ta.
 I-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-DECL
 ‘I ate apples.’
 (29) a. Na-Ø sakwa-Ø mek-ess-ta.
 I apple eat-PAST-DECL
 ‘I ate apples.’

Instances of scrambling still make case markers mandatory, though, as shown in (30b).

- (30) a. Sakwa-lul nay-ka mek-ess-ta.
 Apple-ACC I-NOM eat-PAST-DECL
 b. *Sakwa-Ø na-Ø mek-ess-ta.

This is especially evident in (31a), an example which shows how scrambling without nominative markers results in an ungrammatical sentence even when an accusative marker is present. Interestingly, the accusative marker does not play a critical role in determining the

grammaticality of the sentence. Instead, (31b) is grammatical even without the accusative marker when the nominative particle is used.

- (31) a. *Sakwa-lul na-ø mek-ess-ta.
 apple-ACC I eat-PAST-DECL
 b. Sakwa-ø nay-ka mek-ess-ta.
 apple-ACC I-NOM eat-PAST-DECL

There is, thus, a peculiarity of nominative case markers, and this asymmetry between nominative and accusative case particles is also found in conjunction with numeral quantifiers (NQs), as in (32), below.

- (32) a. John-i **maykcwu-lul sey-pyeng** masy-ess-ta.
 John-NOM beer-ACC 3CL-bottle drink-PAST-DEC
 ‘John drank three bottles of beer.’
 b. **Maykcwu-lul** John-i **sey-pyeng** masy-ess-ta.
 Beer-ACC John-NOM 3CL-bottle drink-PAST-DEC
 (33) a. **Haksayng-tul-i sey-myeng** maykcwu-lul masy-ess-ta.
 Student-PL-NOM 3CL-person beer-ACC drink-PAST-DEC
 ‘Three students drank beer.’
 b. ***Haksayng-tul-i** maykcwu-lul **sey-myeng** masy-ess-ta.
 Student-PL-NOM beer-ACC 3CL-person drink-PAST-DEC

A key distinction here is that while the object and its NQ can be separated, as in (32b), the subject and its NQ cannot be, as in (33b). In (32b), the subject DP appears between the object and its NQ but does not influence the grammaticality of the sentence. (33b) is still ungrammatical, though, since the object is between the subject and the NQsubj. This asymmetry has been investigated in previous studies, including Saito (1985) and Ko (2007). Saito (1985:211-212) maintains that the subject in Japanese cannot scramble while the object can. Ko (2007) argues that the subject DP in Korean and its NQ cannot be separated, especially by VP internal elements, which include PPs (locative DP), indirect objects, object DPs and their NQs, and low adverbs, because the subject and its NQ form a constituent. This allows Ko to account

for (33b) as an ordering contradiction in Fox and Pesetsky's (2004) Cyclic Linearization.

However, when one does not treat NQs as separate from other DPs, this contradiction can still be explained by Case-spell out Rule as discussed in 2.2.2.

In the next sub-section, I develop an analysis of case particles in Korean that accounts for their obligatoriness in the following two environments: 1) when case particles are used as an indicator of focus interpretations, and 2) when scrambling has taken place.

2.2.1 Case Spell-Out Rule

Although Korean is a head final language with S-O-V word order, it allows scrambling as long as the predicate is at the end of the sentence. In other words, Korean allows both the S-O-V order and the O-S-V order. When scrambling occurs, the object moves in front of the subject and case particles cannot be dropped. In Ahn (2010), I propose Case Spell-out Rule, which will be discussed later.

Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001) maintains that syntactic trees do not contain information about linear order. Instead, linear order is determined at the spell-out point, which can occur several times in the course of a syntactic derivation. Richards (2007) builds upon this idea, stating that there are two different spell-out operations spell-out at LF and spell-out at PF. Spell-out at LF is a process in which all of the uninterpretable features are checked and valued in each phase of the derivation while the morpho-phonetic components of the derivation are spelled-out at PF, post-syntax. Richards (2006) also introduces the notion of distinctness, which is defined below:

(34) DISTINCTNESS

If a linearization statement $\langle \alpha, \alpha \rangle$ is generated, the derivation crashes. (Richards 2006:9)

Richards asserts that if there are two consecutive words of the same type those words must be made distinct through operations such as insertion, deletion, etc. Below, in (35), are some examples from English.

- (35) a. “It’s cold,” said John.
 b. “It’s cold,” said John to Mary.
 c. *“It’s cold,” told John Mary.

Unlike (35a-b), (35c) is ungrammatical because the pair $\langle \text{DP}, \text{DP} \rangle$ (John, Mary) does not have two distinct DPs. According to him, the pair is unsuccessful because it “penalizes linearly adjacent words of the same kind” (DPs) (p.14). Richards (2006) calls this insertion strategy, a strategy in which a word with a different category is inserted between the two ordered words to distinguish between the two. Richards argues that (35b) is grammatical since ‘to’ is inserted between ‘John’ and ‘Mary’. Of his proposed methods for correcting the $\langle \alpha, \alpha \rangle$ conditions, I borrow insertion strategy, arguing that insertion is the process of how a case marker is added to a Korean NQ. Strictly speaking, a case feature is spelled-out at PF with an overt case particle after the case is valued. Even though a case marked DP is still a DP, the existence of overt case markers can save the ungrammatical sentence; it can distinguish caseless DP from case-marked DP. With the reasons, I argue that case marker plays a crucial role to make the DPs different. Therefore, to be distinct, a case marked entity has to be spelled-out with a case particle at PF in the derivation.

Chomsky (2005) proposes that phases (CP and vP) are the maximal categories where spell-out may apply. In the remainder of the chapter, I will refer to these phases as the nominative spell-out domain (CP) and accusative spell-out domain (vP). The spell-out domains parallel Chomsky's phases in that each case is valued by a phase head and spelled-out at LF. Each of these domains will be spelled out at separate points in the derivation: VP as the domain of accusative case while the edge of vP and the TP layer comprise the domain for nominative case.

Case Spell-out Rule based on this notion of distinctiveness, is defined in (36).

(36) Case Spell-out Rule (Ahn 2010):

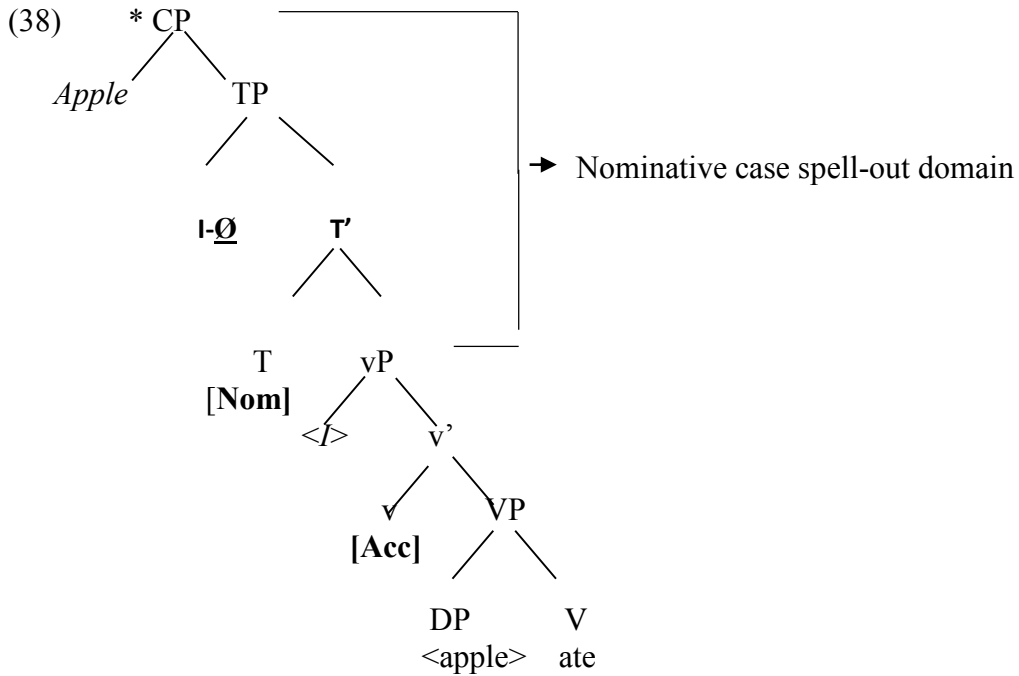
If any 'non-nominative' case element c-commands nominative elements in the nominative spell-out domain (below TP above v), the c-commanded nominative element must be spelled-out at PF with an overt case marker.

When scrambling occurs and a non-nominative element comes into the nominative spell-out domain and c-commands nominative DPs, the nominative DPs must have a case marker. Therefore, (37a) is grammatical even with scrambling since the subject DP and the object DP have case particles while (37b) is ungrammatical without case particles¹³.

- (37) a. Sakwa-**lul** nay-ka mek-ess-ta.
 Apple-ACC I-NOM eat-PAST-DECL
 'I ate apples.'
 b. *Sakwa- \emptyset na- \emptyset mek-ess-ta.
 Apple I eat-PAST-DECL
 c. Sakwa- \emptyset nay-ka mek-ess-ta.
 d. *Sakwa-**lul** na- \emptyset mek-ess-ta.

¹³ A different approach to this phenomenon can be found in Ahn and Cho (2006a, 2006b, 2007) and Lee and Kim (2012).

The derivation of (37b,d) is shown in (38).

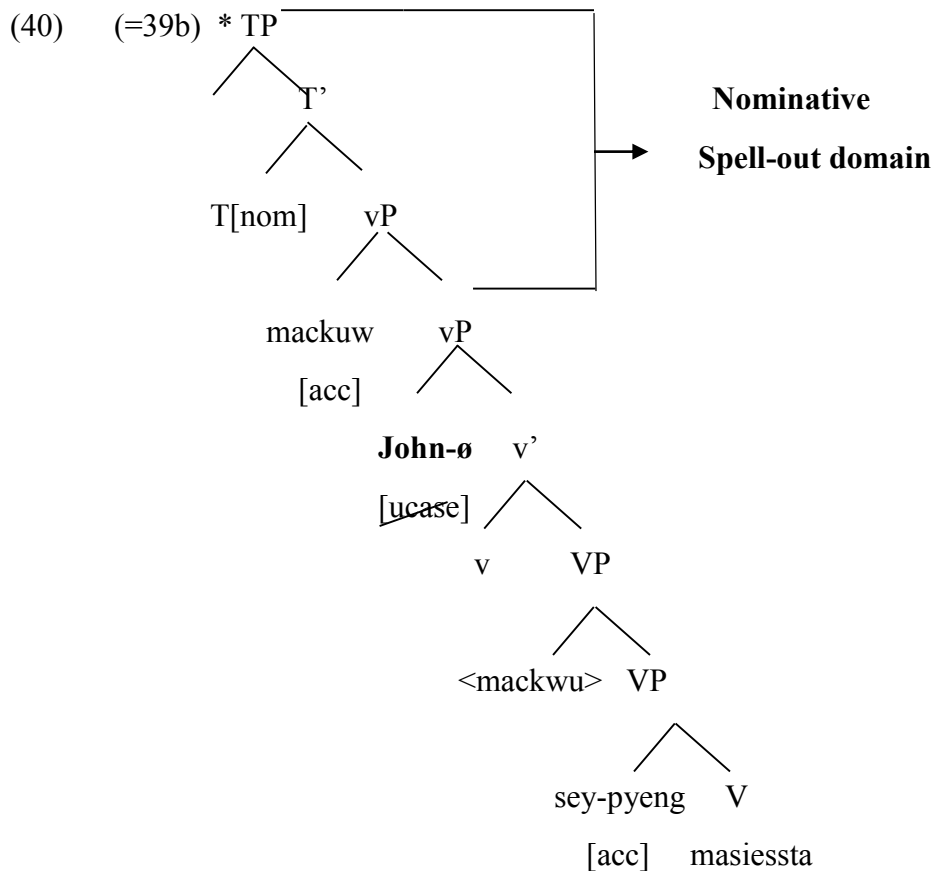


In (38), when the object ‘apple’ moves into the nominative case spell-out domain and is located in the position that directly c-commands the subject DP ‘I’, a problem occurs. When the object is not a nominative element and is in a position that allows it to c-command the nominative subject DP, this subject without a case marker cannot be overtly distinct. To be distinct, the subject needs to be spelled-out at PF with an overt case marker. Therefore, the c-commanded nominative subject must have an overt case marker to be distinct and to successfully spell-out following the Case Spell-out Rule.

This rule can be also applied to sentences with NQs, meaning when the object scrambles and there is no case marker on the subject or on both the subject and object, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (39b-c).

- (39) a. John **maykcwu sey-pyeng** masy-ess-ta.
 John beer 3CL-bottle drink-PAST-DEC.
 ‘John drank three bottles of beer.’
- b. ***Maykcwu** John **sey-pyeng** masy-ess-ta.
 Beer John 3CL-bottle drink-PAST-DEC
- c. ***Maykcwu-lul** John **sey-pyeng** masy-ess-ta.
 Beer-ACC John 3CL-bottle drink-PAST-DEC
- d. **Maykcwu** John-i **sey-pyeng** masy-ess-ta.
 Beer John-NOM 3CL-bottle drink-PAST-DEC

(39a) is grammatical since no scrambling takes place while (39b) is ungrammatical without a case particle. Here is a derivation of (39b) in (40).



The tree in (40) shows that when the object, which has an accusative case, scrambles over the NQsubj, it c-commands the subject and the two DPs cannot be distinct since the c-commanded subject DP fails to be spelled-out at PF with the nominative case. The subject DP has a nominative case from T, but the case is not spelled-out overtly at PF, so the sentence is ungrammatical.

Therefore, (39d) is grammatical when the object scrambles over the subject DP if the case feature of the c-commanded subject is overtly spelled-out. This obeys the Case Spell-out Rule with an overt case marker on the c-commanded subject DP.

An example of this is shown in (41). In (41), the object DP scrambles over the NQ_{subj}.

- (41) ***Haksayng-tul-i** maykcwu-lul **sey-myeng** masy-ess-ta.
Student-PL-NOM beer-ACC 3CL-person drink-PAST-DEC

It is important to remember, though, that while case markers can often drop, they cannot be dropped when they act as indicators of focus or when there is scrambling present. In either of these instances, the case is then valued through the general case-valuing system, and the overt spell-out at PF as a case particle becomes optional in most situations, excluding instances of focus interpretation and scrambling.

The next chapter will focus on the first language (L1) of English native speakers learning Korean as a second language (L2) and will include an experiment. I will discuss how there is an overt case morpheme in Korean and not in English even though both have the same syntactic derivation of nominative and accusative case assignment, and I will show how the overt case particles in Korean can optionally drop. As always, there are certain restrictions to when these case particles can be dropped, so it can be assumed the learning and production of proper Korean case particles will be more complex than that of English and that the proper use of case particles by L2 learners of Korean may require a complex syntactic process and morpho-phonological efforts as well. The real use of deletion and the limitation of deletion are not generally taught in classes. Rather, L2 Korean learners are expected to understand the phenomenon of structural case on their own, leading me to conclude that learners have either impaired usage of the morphological particles or omit them unnecessarily due to the lack of overt morphological particles in English. My study will investigate the role of L1 in terms of syntactic features and morphological features.

In the next chapter, the discrepancy between syntax and the morphological realization L2 learners face will be discussed. A quantitative study with L2 learners of Korean will be analyzed in Chapter 3 as well.

Chapter 3. Research on Korean case acquisition

This chapter focuses on the literature of language transfer and acquisition of Korean. In subsection 3.1, theories on language transfer, also known as cross-linguistic influence, will be discussed. In 3.2, the acquisition of Korean case particles by L1 Korean children and L2 learners of Korean will be introduced. Especially for the L2 acquisition, L2 Korean acquisition by native speakers of English will be discussed with an experiment under a generative approach¹⁴. L2 acquisition literature on Korean case particles and morpheme order studies will also be discussed, with a special emphasis on English morpheme order studies conducted first argued in the seventies and on a study of Korean children's acquisition hierarchy of case particles highlighted in Chapter 3.2. Chapter 3.3 will show different acquisitions of Korean case particles as an L2 while Chapter 3.4 will investigate L2 acquisition theories with a quantitative experiment on the acquisition and production of Korean case particles by English native speakers.

This chapter also compares Korean and English, showing there is a primary difference between the two when it comes to case realization. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there is an overt case morpheme in Korean and not in English, though both have the same syntactic derivation of nominative and accusative case assignment. The overt case particles in Korean can optionally drop, excluding instances of scrambling or when DPs get focus meaning. Therefore, it can be assumed that the learning and production of proper Korean case particles will be more complex than that of English and that the proper use of case particles by L2 learners of Korean may require a complex syntactic process and morpho-phonological efforts as well. The use of

¹⁴ Chapter 4 and 6 of this dissertation will also include Korean L2 learners with other L1 languages as well as L1 English.

deletion and the limitation of deletion are not generally taught in L2 Korean classes (Park 2009, Kim 2006, Kim & Lee 2004). Rather, L2 Korean learners seem to be expected to understand the phenomenon of structural case on their own. The quantitative experiment I introduce later in this chapter shows to what extent L2 Korean learners have acquired and understood Korean structural case, illustrating that although learners have knowledge of structural case and case particles, usage errors and unnatural omission are still often found¹⁵.

3.1 Language transfer

The role of the L1 in second language acquisition is important because L2 learners already know their L1 thoroughly, so the L1 could, therefore, either assist or interfere with the acquisition of the second language. Contrastive analysis (Lado 1957), which leads into Error Analysis (Corder 1974) and Interlanguage analysis (Selinker 1973), argues just this, so in this subsection, I will discuss Contrastive analysis (Lado 1957), other theories developed from it, different types of transfer and linguistic transfer.

3.1.1 The role of L1

It seems impossible to understand Second Language Acquisition without considering the role of the L1. In contrast to L1 acquisition, L2 acquisition is much more “cognitively challenging, labor-intensive and time-consuming” (Herschensohn 2007:1). Children seem to acquire their first language “unconsciously and systematically” (Herschensohn 2007: 227) due to the language acquisition device (LAD Chomsky 1965), which is the innate ability of humans to learn a first language. On the other hand, adult L2 acquisition obviously takes more labor and effort. One of the main reasons for this challenge is the initial state of the acquisition, which is

¹⁵ Chapter 4 will show the production errors and usages of case particles by L2 learners of Korean.

known as post-L1 status (Bley-Vroman 1990; Epstein et al. 1996; Grüter et al 2008; Schwartz 1996; Schwartz & Sprouse 1994). L2 learners already have fully-fledged and completely acquired L1s, whereas children do not yet have any other languages, so the role of the L1 in L2 acquisition is an important factor and either assists or hinders acquisition.

The role of the L1, or more specifically the differences and similarities present between the L1 and L2, has been a topic of hundreds of empirical studies since the 1940s and 1950s. Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH, Lado 1957) argues the importance of the L1 in second language learning, stating the places where the L1 and L2 differ cause trouble for language learners. Lado argues that greater differences between the L1 and L2 lead to more errors. In his book (1957), Lado states:

Individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture — both productively and when attempting to speak the language and to act in the culture and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language and culture as practiced by natives. (1957, in Gass and Selinker 1983: 1)

Language learners constantly use their L1s in acquisition of their L2s, and “the grammatical structure of the native language tends to be transferred to the foreign language” (Lado in Gass and Selinker 1983: 25). This transfer occurs either overtly or subtly. Supporters of CAH claim “a native-target language comparison” (Gass and Selinker 1983: 4) is important “as a preliminary step to understand the range of transfer from one linguistic structure to another” (DiPietro 1964: 224). Teacher training based on CAH helps language instructors become more aware of learners’ varying L1s.

We assume that the student who comes in contact with a foreign language will find some features of it quite easy and others extremely difficult. Those elements that are similar to his native language will be simple for him. The teacher who has made a comparison of the foreign language with the native language of the students will know better what the real learning problems are and can better provide for teaching them. (Lado 1957:2).

Valdman (1966) also states:

...the change that has to take place in the language behavior of a foreign language student can be equated with the differences between the structure of the student's native language and culture and that of the target language and culture. The task of the linguist, the cultural anthropologist, and the sociologist is to identify these differences. (p.37)

The research on CAH has diverged into two different directions: a strong version (a priori) and a weak version (a posteriori) (Schachter 1974). Strong CAH argues we can inspect linguistic behavior and development by investigating differences present in the structure of the learners' native language and that of the target language (Banathy, Trager, Waddle, 1966). Weak CAH, on the other hand, supports the idea that linguistic difficulties are explained a posteriori instead of being predicted and, as such, errors made by learners can be explained due to transfer difficulties. This weak version eventually transformed into Error Analysis (Corder 1967), which focuses on learners' errors, believed to be caused from differences in their L1s and L2s.

While CAH has influenced research on the role of the L1, the predictions made by contrastive analysis have still been challenged by scholars. The main criticism of CAH is the correlation between the differences and difficulties (Odlin 1989). Opponents of CAH argue some differences in L1s and L2s do not always cause significant difficulties in language learning. Similarly, some errors seem to be caused by factors outside the influence of L1 and L2 differences. For example, Spanish speakers omit the verb *be* in English even though Spanish has

similar copular structures (Peck 1978; Shumann 1978; Shapira 1978). As such, it is difficult to distinguish between errors caused by L1 influence and other errors (Odlin 1989; Richards 1971). Some of the errors present might be due to classroom teaching (Felix 1981; Selinker 1972) or other factors such as overgeneralizations (Schumann 1978), and there are other issues of lack of error by avoidance of difficult structures as well (Schachter 1974), so it is little wonder CAH has been challenged by studies questioning its validity.

Nevertheless, more study in recent decades has found CAH has contributed to the field of SLA and to the knowledge of the role of the L1. Although it is not clear if some of the difficulties learners face are from the differences present in their L1s and L2s or if they are derived from something else, some of the error patterns show the direct influence of the learners' L1s. In this dissertation, especially in the next chapters, I will present evidence on what kind of errors L2 learners produced especially due to their L1s. In addition, opponents of CAH have argued that L2 learners do not show many errors or exhibit a mixture of correct and incorrect production in L2 grammar that differs from their L1's. However, some of these errors are not clear-cut because of the complex process of learning (e.g., Feature Reassembly Hypothesis, which will be discussed in chapter 4), and the acquisition of target features in syntax is not necessarily scheduled (Herschensohn 2000). When learners go through more complex and difficult procedures of learning, their error rates or patterns can vary. Therefore, discrepancies may not be due to any invalidity of CAH.

It is believed that "the influence of the L1 is also affected by other factors" (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008: 22) such as frequency, classroom instruction, the recentness of use or the learners' aptitudes (Cenoz 2001; Dewaele 1998; Ringbom 2001; Williams & Hammarberg 1998). Interlanguage transfer argues for the post-L1 influence on L2 acquisition (Gass and

Selinker 2001). However, just as frequency effect or classroom input are also important and necessary, so is L1 influence. Interlanguage transfer cannot be formed without the structures of the L1 because interlanguage transfer is generated with influence by the L1 and L2¹⁶. Richard-Amato (2003, p. 37) states “this process reflects the systematic development of the syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of the second language and is very similar to the process followed by first language learners”. While L2 grammar rules change and develop for L2 learners, they are still applied over time (Pienemann, 1984, 1998; Williams and Evans, 1998; Spada and Lightbown, 1999). “Its effectiveness may be mediated by L1 transfer or other L1-based factors” (Mourssi 2013:398). There is also evidence interlingual errors are closely related to L1s and L2s (Richards 1974, p. 173) and seem to be generated between the L1 and/or in the L2 as well, (Mourssi, 2012a, and 2012b). Therefore, interlanguage transfer should be considered along with the learners’ L1s.

Finally, in the early days of CAH, opponents of CAH mostly focused on syntactic structures present in the L1 and L2. However, it has been found phonological and morphological features can also be transferred (Ahn & Herschensohn 2013; Goad and White 2004; Montrul 1997, 2000). In this dissertation, I will present evidence concerning morphological, phonological and cultural transfer as well as syntactic transfer. In other words, although learners may not show difficulties with new grammatical structures in their L2s, they may still struggle with unfamiliar features other than syntax. A negative transfer can still occur even when grammar seems to be acquired successfully.

¹⁶ There are also some studies arguing that interlanguage is far from both L1 and L2 (Gass and Selinker 2001; Selinker 1969; Lakshmanan & Selinker 2001).

All of these reasons suggest that there is much evidence that “language transfer is indeed a real and central phenomenon that must be considered in any full account of the SLA process” (Gass and Selinker 1983: 7). Likewise, I support CAH with my data from learners with different L1s, including English, Chinese and Japanese. In sum, it is possible to conclude that English learners, in particular, either have impaired usage of the morphological particles or omit them unnecessarily due to the lack of overt morphological particles in English. My study, which is discussed later in this chapter, investigates the role of the L1 in terms of the acquisition of syntactic and morphological features.

3.1.2 Different types of transfer

3.1.2.1 Surface and Deep transfer

Sabourin et al (2006) introduces surface and deep transfer. Surface transfer is transfer of the features residing in both the L1 and L2 and is possible when both the morphological and grammatical systems of the L1 are the same as those of the L2. Deep transfer, on the other hand, refers to the transfer of abstract grammatical features (such as grammatical gender) from the L1 to the L2

An example of this is the study conducted by Sabourin et al. (2006), which investigates the acquisition of grammatical gender of Dutch L2 by learners of L1 English, German and Romance languages. German and Dutch have morphologically similar structures in terms of gender, namely three genetic distinctions of gender: masculine, feminine and neuter; Modern Dutch has collapsed masculine and feminine into common gender so has two genders. Romance languages, on the other hand, have only syntactic similarity of gender features. French, for

example, has a two-way gender distinction; masculine versus feminine. (42) below shows definite articles in German, Dutch and French.

(42)

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Dutch	De	De	Hat
German	Der	Die	Das
French	Le	La	ø

In the study by Sabourin et al, transfer from L1 German to L2 Dutch appeared as surface transfer while transfer from L1 French to L2 Dutch was clearly deep transfer.

Sabourin et al. found German speakers outperformed speakers of English and Romance languages, and in addition, German speakers showed the highest proficiency, though the Romance languages group was still better than the English speakers. With these results, the authors mention “surface and deep transfer can give an advantage to the learner” (p.12), even though surface transfer has a more positive effect. With these findings, Sabourin et al. claim “L2 acquisition of grammatical gender is affected more by the morphological similarity of gender marking in the L1 and L2 than by the presence of abstract syntactic gender features in the L1” (p.1). They ascribe the German learners’ successful acquisition of Dutch gender to morphological similarity.

Similarly, Sabourin and Haverkort (2003) found that even if grammatical features are similar across the L1 and the L2, the way of realizing the features or the different constructions of the grammars may cause difficulty to learners.

As such, the concepts of surface and deep transfer are utilized in this dissertation. L2 Korean case and the English, Chinese and Japanese speakers will be discussed in Chapters 4-6.

These three languages all have different degrees of transfer in regards to Korean case. The transfer from Japanese to Korean is an example of surface transfer because Japanese has a similar morphological realization of case particles. English, on the other hand, has structural case but not with morphological particles. Transfer from English to Korean can, therefore, be seen as deep transfer, though English does still have minimal morphological distinctions for case in terms of pronouns (e.g., *he* VS *him*) while Chinese has structural case but is completely morphologically impoverished. As such, surface and deep transfer will tell us how the transfer occurs with varying L1s in terms of Korean case and will be discussed more in detail in the next chapters.

3.1.2.2 Positive and Negative Transfer

The idea of positive and negative transfer has been used throughout the history of language transfer, but there have been several criticisms against using such terms (Faerch & Kasper 1987; Sajavaara & Lehtonen 1989) because positive and negative effects are only betrayed in production. As early CAH studies show, learners' errors or correct use of their L2s are believed to be evidence of negative and positive transfer in so much as errors are products of negative transfer whereas correct use is the positive counterpart.

Even so, it is believed transfer must occur during the process of acquiring the L2 and not present itself in production (Ahn & Herschensohn 2013; Cook 1992; Cook 1992; Koda 2005, 2007; Lardiere 2008; Montrul 1997, 2000, 2001). Cook (1992) defines transfer as “a source of both code-breaking and decoding” (p. 581). He also adds that code-breaking is the “creation of knowledge in the mind” (p. 581) while decoding is the “use of existing knowledge for a purpose” (p. 581). As such, transfer of any kind is a complicated process, so it is possible that positive and

negative transfer should be defined in a different way. Ringbom (2007) categorizes positive and negative transfer in a new way, stating “what has been called interference or negative L1 transfer in L2 production could be better described as absence of relevant concrete transfer” (p.30-31). This absence of target features in the learners’ L1s can be referred to as negative transfer. Ringbom continues “positive transfer could be described as the application of at least partially correct perceptions or assumptions of cross-linguistic similarity” (p.31).

The notion of positive and negative transfer can and must, therefore, be considered in more detail. I argue that not only the absence of relevant features in the learners’ L1s but also mismatches of target features in the L1s and L2 can be negative transfer (Sabourin, Stowe and De Haan 2006) as there is the necessity “to broaden our approach to transfer” (Ringbom 2007:31). Ignorance has been a term strictly restricted to language production and is believed to exist in a situation where learners try to produce content in an L2 that shares zero similarity to their L1s (Singleton & Little 1991). This concept of ignorance, however, is not borne out with different evidence of transfer, especially with psycho-typology, which will be discussed in the next subsection.

3.1.2.3 Psychotypology

Psychotypology is another important concept used in this dissertation. CAH has opened the door of research on the role of learners’ L1s, but most of the research has been performed with hard data, such as experiments and observation of learners’ proficiency.

In regards to the role of the L1, Kellerman suggests an important factor, namely “psychotypology,” which is the L2 learners’ perceptions of the L1’s transfer to the L2 and the perceived distance between the L1 and L2 (Kellerman 1979, 1983) or the learners’ “perceived

distance and the structural organization of the learners' L1" (Gass and Selinker 1983: 9). Kellerman states the "general typological closeness of L1 to L2 would be capitalized on by learners as the result of a relatively immediate opportunity to identify cognate forms and structures across the two languages" (Kellerman in Gass and Selinker 1983: 114). In other words, regardless of the actual typological language distance, learners feel more distant or more close to their target L2s when they perceive a similarity between their L1 and L2, even if such a similarity is "not necessarily the same as objective similarity" (Ringbom 2007: 7). This idea has led to the development of the concept of transferability: "the probability with which a structure will be transferred relative to other structures in the L1" (Kellerman 1983: 117). Because of learners' perceptions, a particular L1 feature cannot be easily transferable if the learner considers it to be irregular, infrequent or opaque.

In addition, the objective distance between two languages is not easy to determine. Gibson & Hufeisen (2003)'s study shows how learners who know German can more easily acquire Swedish even though Swedish is not a typologically similar language to German. Certain grammatical features and vocabulary, though, which both languages have in common, lead learners to perceive a more narrow distance between the two languages as per psychotypology.

With respect to learners' perceptions of the distance between two languages, there are two notions of similarity: perceived similarity and assumed similarity. In the L2 development process, learners consciously or unconsciously try to detect similarities between their two languages "by perceiving cross-linguistic similarity" (Ringbom 2007: 25). However, if they fail to find a perceived similarity, they tend to make assumptions that the new and unfamiliar languages work in ways similar to the language they already know. This refers to assumed similarity (Jarvis 1997; Ringbom 2007), and it is assumed similarity that will eventually lead to

the conclusion that although learners are learning an L2 very different from their L1, they can still use the same learning mechanisms (Andersen 1983). As such, the learners' perceived similarity and assumed similarity, though alike in some ways, still have differences in that transfer occurs but is based on the learners' mere assumption—a state called 'transfer to somewhere' (Andersen 1983).

Kellerman (1995) builds on this by establishing the Transfer to Nowhere Principle as a complement to Anderson's (1983) Transfer to Somewhere. He focuses on learners' conceptual organization and perception rather than the actual syntactic features in the L1, a form of thinking similar to psychotypology in that how learners perceive the new target language, as well as culture, can determine transfer. Though L2 learners consciously or metalinguistically detect the similar and different features in their L1s and L2s, during the learning process, they may be less likely to pay attention to the similarities. "There can be transfer which is not licensed by similarity to the L2, and where the way L2 works may very largely go unheeded" (Kellerman 1995: 137)." Therefore, when L2 learners face new features in their L2s, they unconsciously and constantly look for L2 structures that will make them use something from their L1s—an action which can lead to "grammatically acceptable but nontarget-like" (Murphy 2003:3) sentences. Learners' perceptions and the concept of psychotypology will be discussed along with my data in the next chapters.

Subsections 3.2 and 3.3, along with previous studies of Korean case particles in the context of L1 acquisition and L2 acquisition, will be introduced as well.

3.2 L1 acquisition of Korean case particles

Case particles are morphemes and therefore the acquisition of case particles is investigated through the study of morpheme acquisition. Morpheme order studies were originally conducted in the 1970s. Brown's (1973) five year longitudinal study collected production data from three English-speaking children when they were just beginning to produce multi-word utterances. In the study, he found a hierarchy chronological order of acquisition of 14 English morphemes. Interestingly, the children Brown studied showed the same order of morpheme acquisition.

Table 1, below, lists the 14 morphemes in order of acquisition (Brown 1973: 274).

	Morphemes	Average age rank
1.	Present progressive	2.33
2-3.	<i>in, on</i>	2.50
4.	Plural	3.00
5.	Past irregular	6.00
6.	Possessive	6.33
7.	Uncontractible copula	6.50
8.	Articles (<i>a, the</i>)	7.00
9.	Past regular	9.00
10.	Third person regular	9.66
11.	Third person irregular	10.83
12.	Uncontractible auxiliary	11.66
13.	Contractible copula	12.66
14.	Contractible auxiliary	14.00

Table 1: Mean order of acquisition of 14 morphemes across three children (Brown 1973: 274)

Brown's study proved highly influential and inspired follow-up studies on morpheme order in L1 and L2 acquisition fields¹⁷. For example, more recently, Long, Inagaki, and Ortega (1998) looked into Japanese and Spanish learners of English. Schuwerk (2004) studied English morpheme acquisition by Korean learners.

In terms of Korean, Cho (1982) conducted a longitudinal study of five Korean-speaking children to investigate the Korean morpheme acquisition of 11 functional words. Among the 11

¹⁷ For children's L2 acquisition of English morphemes, see Dulay and Burt 1974. For children and adults' L2 acquisition of morphemes, see Krashen 1988).

functional morphemes, six were particles¹⁸: comitative *-rang, -hako, -to, -gati*; place *-ey, -ro, -hanthey*; nominative *-i/-ka*, topic *-nun*¹⁹; accusative (object) *-ul, lul*; and instrumental *-lo*. Cho found the particles first appeared in language usage when the children were between 1.8 and 3.0 years of age. His study showed *-to* and *-ey* were acquired first while nominative particles *-i/ka* followed closely with accusative particles being acquired later, often between the age of 1.11 years to 2.7 years.

Lee et al (1972) conducted a cross-sectional study with 555 Korean-speaking children all aged three to five years old. They found nominative marker *-ka* was the only particle all of the children used more than once, though the phonological variation of *-i* differed. Three-year-old children used *-ka* 0.85 times while four-year-old children used the particle 0.61 times per person. The usage of the accusative particles *-ul/lul*, on the other hand, did not show statistically significant usage differences; three and four-year-old children used *-ul/lul* 0.26 and 0.36 times, respectively, while five-year-old speakers used the particle 1.81 times. Their study, therefore, showed that children acquire nominative particles earlier and use them more frequently than accusative particles.

Kim (1997) reports similar findings. Her research, which used oral production data, showed Korean children acquiring the accusative marker later than the nominative marker. Her study investigated production by three-year-old Korean children. The results indicate that the three-year-olds wrongly used nominative particles in a context requiring accusative particles. In other words, the children made more errors on accusative particles because they unknowingly replaced them with nominative particles. Kim argued that this was due to the fact that the

¹⁸ Or particles are also called 'postpositions' when they are not structural case particles.

¹⁹ Cho considers *-un/nun* as a subject marker since they are attached mostly with the subject DP. However, they are different from nominative particles.

children had not yet acquired accusative particles and proposed this kind of error persists to some degree even after they have fully acquired accusative particles. (43 & 44) are examples of these errors.

- (43) aka-*ka(=lul) ep-ullay.
baby-*NOM(=ACC) carry on the back
'(I) would like to carry the baby on my back.' (Kim 1997: 361)
- (44) Kepuksen-*i-ka (=ul) Yangpay-hyeng-i mantul-ess-e, kepuksen-*i (=ul)
Turtleship-*NOM(=ACC) Yangpay-brother-NOM make-PAST-DECL turtleship-*NOM
'Brother Yangpay made the turtleship, the turtleship.' (Kim 1997: 361)

In (43), the nominative particle *-ka* is wrongly used in place of the accusative particle for the object 'the baby'. Likewise, 'turtleship' in (44) not only has an incorrect nominative case particle but also contains a repetition of two nominative case particles. Kim's study showed that children drop many more accusative than nominative particles.

Interestingly, the mothers also omitted accusative particles more frequently, leading Kim to claim the mothers' omissions likely influenced the children's acquisition of case particles, teaching them nominative particles earlier than accusative and causing them to make more usage errors. The input frequency effect, therefore, seemed to play a role in determining the children's order of acquisition between nominative and accusative particles.

Lee and Pae (1989) conducted a similar experiment on the acquisition of five different case particles by Korean children. 60 children aged two to seven years participated in the study, listening to a sentence and then pointing to the corresponding picture. Lee and Pae found that by three years of age, children had learned the nominative particle *-ka* and that by four years old had acquired the accusative particle *-lul*. As such, it would be useful to see if Korean L2A is similar to L1A in terms of the order of acquisition of case particles.

There are, in addition to these, other studies that confirm Korean children acquiring subject markers earlier than object markers. Here, all studies found the topic markers *-un/nun* used to indicate the subject DP, which was acquired at a similar stage as the acquisition of nominative particles *-i/ka* (Cho 1988, Lee. C 2001, Lee 2004, Kim 1990, Bae 1997). The studies came to the same conclusion, namely that the subject particles, including topic particles and nominative particles, are developed between 1.8 years and 2 years of age while the accusative particles are acquired between 2 years and 3 years.

In sum, it can be concluded L1 acquisition studies indicate that Korean children acquire nominative case particles before accusative particles, especially in the case of nominative particle *-ka*, which Lee et al's 1972 study shows as being acquired earlier than *-i*. Children show errors of over usage, substituting nominative particles for accusative particles, a fact that can be explained by their increased familiarity with nominative particles, which were learned earlier and heard more frequently from their care-givers (Kim 1997).

3.3 L2 acquisition of Korean case

Given the data of the L1 Korean children, this present research project attempts to add another area of investigation, namely a test to investigate whether L2 learners of Korean acquire nominative and accusative case differently than L1 learners of Korean. As mentioned in the previous chapter, case particles are difficult to acquire. Hwang (2002) states that "mastery of the particle, for a learner of Korean as a Foreign Language, is very challenging but crucial to ultimate success" (p. 67).

Hwang (2002) compared the Korean morpheme acquisition hierarchy between English L1 speakers and Japanese L1 speakers learning Korean, using 19 morphemes in his study and

including case particles as well as verbal morphemes. He studied 111 participants, finding the overall morpheme acquisition order was consistent regardless of their L1. Case particles, including Nominative, Accusative and Topic particles, were acquired early in stage 1 by L1 speakers. Hwang also gave a good picture of the acquisition hierarchy of the 19 Korean morphemes, which included both nominal case particles and verbal particles. He did not, however, give a linguistic background of the different syntactic features of Japanese and English, so while his dissertation has big picture value, it lacks a deep understanding of the acquisition of individual particles. In this dissertation, I plan to balance this shortcoming by investigating the acquisition of case particles used in the subject and object DPs, including nominative, accusative and topic markers. As discussed above, topic particles are included because they behave similarly to the nominative particles in the subject DPs.

In order to investigate the influence of L1 on L2 acquisition of Korean case particles, Brown and Iwasaki (2013) performed a longitudinal study using quantitative and qualitative methods. L1 Japanese speakers and L1 English speakers learning Korean as an L2 were selected to participate in the study. Brown and Iwasaki especially sought to investigate the proficiency of Korean case particles by L2 learners, seeking to discover: 1) if the learner's L1, which had the same syntactic features as that of the L2, facilitated or impeded the acquisition of the L2; and 2) if the learners' perceptions of their performance and errors were accurate.

In terms of case, Japanese also has the same pattern of case particles as Korean. The particles also can drop in the basic word order or the DP is not-focused. In other words, Japanese learners will have less difficulty in learning Korean in terms of case particles. In order to investigate these two aspects of proficiency, Brown and Iwasaki collected data over a nine month period, a span of time equivalent to three academic terms. Participants included four Japanese L1

speakers and four English L1 speakers. Brown and Iwasaki asked the eight learners to complete written and spoken data. The written data were collected from the learners' class work and included particle-focused activities (such as fill-in-the blank questions), structure-focused activities and free-writing activities for fluency. The spoken data were collected at the end of the second and third terms by asking participants to take part in three short role-playing dialogues, which were recorded, and to record their verbal answers to questions such as "What did you do last weekend?"

The qualitative data included retrospective interviews of the participants' written data and oral transcripts. An interviewer quizzed the participants on repeated error patterns and asked questions about their difficulties and errors. The interview process was then similarly recorded and transcribed. Diaries were kept by the learners' instructor, and at the end of each session, incidents in terms of particle usage were recorded.

Brown and Iwasaki's general findings confirmed that Japanese speakers omit more particles than English speakers but have a tendency to use particles more correctly when they do not omit them. In contrast to Lee et al (1972)'s study, all the participants overused accusative particles, which were introduced during their second term of study, often wrongly using accusative particles in the place of nominative particles, a tendency I found in my own experiment. This error was seen both in the English speakers' and Japanese speakers' data. Brown and Iwasaki stated "If L1-L2 similarity is seen as facilitative, we would not predict errors" by Japanese speakers (p.188). However, Japanese speakers, overall, had a better performance, and by the third term of data collection, both Japanese and English speakers were no longer showing the same mistakes.

In the diary, one of the Japanese participants, Mieko, asked which accusative form was correct, a question all the more pertinent considering Japanese accusative case particles only have one form. In the retrospective interview, the same participant, Mieko, made a similar error on the nominative case due to this same lack of dual form in Japanese. In Japanese, the nominative case particle has only one form, *-ga*, while Korean has two. In both instances, Mieko used the wrong form because the same sino nouns are inherent in both Japanese and Korean.

Another participant, Fujiko, reported in terms of frequent omission, “If I have time, I would use the right one, but using nothing is quicker.” (p.190). This response corresponds almost exactly to what Mieko said regarding her own errors: “I don’t have time to think about it.” (p.190). English speakers, on the other hand, did not omit as many particles as Japanese speakers. Linda, an English speaker, reported, “I really want to get it right whether it is *-ka* [nominative] or *-lul* [accusative].” (p.190)

It can thus be concluded Brown and Iwaski’s claim that L1-L2 similarity is not a predictor of proficiency is, in fact, true. Japanese learners omit more case particles than English learners in their study especially in speaking. This may be because of the slight difference or mismatch of case particles in Japanese and Korean, causing all learners, regardless of their L1, to develop similar patterns of errors.

Brown and Iwaski’s experiment did have some shortcomings, though. They did not have many subjects, which could have been a hindrance, though they did provide important findings through various research methods, showing a deeper understanding of learners’ perception through their retrospective interviews and through the instructor’s diary, which highlighted learners’ perspectives as well as cross-linguistic influence. Brown and Iwaski’s quantitative findings were supported by learners’ perceptions and by the instructor’s comments.

The following chapter will also investigate the differences and similarities of L2 and L1 learners of Korean through a quantitative method. As mentioned earlier, my study seeks to investigate whether similar uninterpretable case features are transferred in L2 acquisition and if the morphological realization differences between the L1 and L2 are, in fact, an impediment to the acquisition of Korean by English L1 learners.

3.4 The study

3.4.1 Transferring uninterpretable features in L1

As mentioned in the previous chapter, uninterpretable features have to be checked by interpretable counterparts. For example, French adjectives have uninterpretable gender features, meaning an adjective has to agree with the gender of a noun. If L2 learners' L1 does not have the same uninterpretable features as their L2, it is challenging to acquire the uninterpretable features present within the L2. There are two different approaches to the acquisition of an L2's uninterpretable features, namely the deficit approach and the full access approach, which present opposite stances. In the former, the Representational Deficit Hypothesis (RDH, Hawkins 1998, 2000), which evolved from the Failed Functional Features Hypothesis (FFFH, Hawkins & Chan 1997), Hawkins argues that adult L2 learners are incapable of acquiring the uninterpretable features of an L2 if their L1 does not have the same features. Hawkins claims cross-linguistic variation in uninterpretable features of functional categories may constitute systematic parametric differences between the two languages and that the different parametric settings of these uninterpretable features will cause problems for language acquisition. (Hawkins & Liszka 2003: 25). In other words, learners can only access uninterpretable features in their native language and will struggle to transfer this knowledge to the acquisition of their L2.

Hawkins & Liszka (2003) analyzes Chinese speakers' low performance on English past tense marking, attributing it to their inability to learn and represent the uninterpretable feature [+past]. They argue that this may be due to the fact that Chinese does not overtly inflect verbs with tense marking. Therefore, learners may omit tense morphology when it is required in the sentence or wrongly substitute another form for the right one. Franceschina (2001) also argues that English L1 speakers learning Spanish are unable to acquire gender agreement due to the lack of uninterpretable gender features in English. Hence, learners fail to perform gender agreement within the DP when it is required. This point of view ascribes failure of the morpho-syntactic performance to the inaccessibility of uninterpretable features in the L2 and to different parametric settings in the L1 and L2. The success of L2 acquisition, therefore, is only guaranteed when the L1 and L2 have the same language parameter with the same uninterpretable features.

RDH would, as such, presuppose that English L1 learners of Korean already have abstract syntactic features in their L1 and can, therefore, succeed in acquiring Korean case particles. However, the question of how these case particles are acquired in the first place cannot be accounted for by syntactic transfer alone, considering the Korean spelled-out realized case particle is a morphological element that is not available in English.

In contrast, the Full Transfer Full Access approach offers a more realistic view of L2 acquisition, maintaining that L2 learners can, at times, acquire new L2 features and gain native-like grammatical representation (e.g., Schwartz and Sprouse 1996, 1997, 2000), becoming able to learn new uninterpretable features in their L2 with little difficulty. However, their mapping from the abstract representation to the surface realization may be flawed due to limited processing capacity or other performance factors (Haznedar & Schwartz 1997)

These two vastly different approaches focus on uninterpretable syntactic features

regardless of impossible transfers or full transfers. However, we should not only consider the syntactic features but also the morphological features. Recall that structural case is a product of the Match and Agree system between the probe and the goal. In the next section of this dissertation, different hypotheses on the acquisition of morphemes will be discussed.

3.4.2 Beyond uninterpretable features

It is necessary to look at morphological transfer in order to understand the acquisition process of Korean case by native English speakers. The study of morphological transfer has been discussed in Montrul (1997, 1999, 2000; Morphological Transfer Hypothesis, MTH), and according to Montrul, a morphological discrepancy between the L1 and L2 impairs the acquisition of features in the L2. Montrul argues that L2 learners have, therefore, an innate default template and that L1 syntactic transfer does not occur in the initial state of L2 acquisition.

In her 2000 study, Montrul tested the L2 acquisition of the causative/inchoative alternation of Spanish, English, and Turkish speakers. In her study, she investigated the role of the L1 and how it affected the initial stage of L2 acquisition. The alternation tested in her study referred to verbs, which can appear in both transitive form (45a) and intransitive form (the inchoative (45b)).

- (45) a. The man broke the window.
b. The window broke. (Montrul 2000:234)

English, Spanish and Turkish all have the same syntactic pattern of transitive/intransitive form, though their morphological realization does differ. Spanish includes a change in argument structure, so the inchoative form must have an additional clitic *se*, as shown in (46b).

- (46) a. María rompió los vasos. (Causative, transitive)
 “Maria broke the glasses.”
 b. Los vasos *se* rompieron. (Inchoative)
 “The glasses broke.”

Similarly, the intransitive form in Turkish also needs the morpheme *-il* as in (47)

- (47) a. Hırsız pencere-yi kır-dı.
 thief window-ACC break-PAST
 “The thief broke the window.”
 b. Pencere kır-*il*-dı. window break-PASS-PAST
 “The window broke.”
 c. *Pencere kır-dı.
 window break-PAST
 “The window broke.”

Therefore, Montrul, tested these languages with the same syntactic property but with different morphological realizations to see whether learners’ L1s constrain the acquisition of the lexicon in interlanguage grammars. The participants in her study included Turkish-speaking and Spanish-speaking English learners; Spanish-speaking and English-speaking Turkish learners; and Turkish-speaking and English-speaking Spanish learners.

Montrul’s overall results showed that compared to native speakers “L2 learners were less accurate at rejecting transitivity errors” (p.239). In the results also, beginning learners failing to reject ungrammatical sentences even though their L1 also contained the same rules of ungrammaticality, leading her to propose that in the initial state of L2 acquisition, features are not transferred from the L1 in terms of syntax. Learners overgeneralize ungrammaticality in their L2s when they fail to reject sentences of which analogues would be ungrammatical in their L1 (Whong-Barr 2005). According to Montrul, morphology, as well as syntactic constraints, plays an important role in this phenomenon. She proposes that morphological transfer is modular and transfers in early L2 acquisition and, as such, an absence or difference of the morphological

features can block proficiency. In her 1997 and 2001 work, Montrul also claimed that L1 morphological transfer to an L2 occurs when this morphological marking is infelicitous in the L2. The morphological discrepancy in the L1 and L2, therefore, can result in the failed acquisition of or the poor use of morphological elements in the L2. The role of morphology will be investigated in my study as well at a later place in this dissertation.

There is, however, another approach to L2 acquisition of morphosyntactic features that bears mentioning as well. The Feature (Re)assembly Hypothesis (FRH) proposed by Lardiere (2008) argues that checking and realizing features requires a complex procedure involving not only uninterpretable features but also interpretable features as well. Lardiere stresses the importance of interpretability of features in the LF component (Chomsky 2001) and shows that the Representational Deficit Approach, which deals with a binary choice of parametric (re)setting of uninterpretable features, cannot account for the procedure of realization of both uninterpretable and interpretable features in the L2.

Lardiere claims that morphological competence by L2 learners must include not only basic grammatical knowledge of “which forms go with which features” (Lardiere 2008: 4) but also the knowledge of “what the conditioning factors or phonological, morphosyntactic, semantic or discourse-linked factors are” (Lardiere 2008:5) in the L2’s acquisition. She shows that the formal feature [+past] in English encodes a unitary interpretable feature and an uninterpretable feature, as in (48), below.

- (48) a. The cow *jumped* over the moon.
b. If I only *had* a brain...
c. So we *asked* some guy to come over and help us. So he *opens* the car and everyone *gets* out... (narrative data reported in Schiffrin 1981).
(Lardiere 2008: 6)

The same formal feature [+past] can also encode perfective aspect, as in (48a), realize mood in conditionals (48b), and show historical present in (48c). Lardiere discusses how the uninterpretable feature ‘past’ is ‘assembled’ and how its expression in one language can differ from its expression in other languages. L2 English learners seem to go beyond just simple parametric selection of a feature [+past]. Therefore, parametric setting in the representational deficit approach would not be enough to account for L2 acquisition.

In FRH, learners utilize relevant features and the function of the features to acquire necessary language elements in their L2. Lardiere’s study of Patty, whose L1 was Chinese and L2 was English, showed that L2 acquisition required a complicated process of targeting and reassembling features. Patty’s native language, Chinese, did not have definite and indefinite articles, but Patty still acquired definiteness in English as illustrated by the high rate of her article usage. Patty showed better proficiency in definite articles than in indefinite articles, though, and Lardiere argued that Patty might have had less difficulty with definite articles since definite articles in English take fewer complex features and do not have features of number and count/mass distinction. Lardiere similarly argued that the deficit approach could not account for the acquisition of Patty’s articles in English.

Patty’s production data, as well as her grammaticality judgment task on relative clauses, which Lardiere used to investigate features of wh-movement in English, also showed that Patty acquired features of relative clauses in English. Although Patty did not have case-marking features in her L1, Chinese, she showed perfect performance in the use of nominative case-marking in English. Lardiere argued that the data she collected went against the deficit approach, stating that “the learning problem confronting Patty did not require the simple resetting of a parameter from a minus value in the L1 to a plus value in the L2” (p.130).

In other words, the mismatch of uninterpretable features in the L1 and L2 alone could not account for the success or failure of Patty's L2 acquisition. Lardiere did, however, acknowledge the possibility that L1s and L2s with similar features might cause learners to show both success and failure in the process of acquisition of their L2 since the features in the L1 were reassembled in the L2 learning process. The FRH approach, then, focuses not only on uninterpretable features but also on interpretable features, citing different processes of feature assembly in each language.

3.4.3 Experiment

This section reports my current study of Korean case acquisition by L2 learners in the hopes of showing the relationship between syntax and morphology. The subjects are all American college students in the United States who studied Korean for more than two years. A grammaticality judgment task was used for assessing L2 comprehension of the case particles.

3.4.4 Hypothesis

The study started with the following research questions regarding the compared sequence of acquisition between the L1 and L2 and the relationship between features in the learners' L1 and L2.

- 1) Will adult English speakers judge the grammaticality of L2 Korean sentences with nominative and accusative correctly because they already have case features in their L1?
- 2) If L2 learners make mistakes in the grammaticality judgment task despite having the same syntactic features in their L1, how do the different morphological approaches account for this problem?
- 3) Are L2 case acquisition patterns similar to those of L1 acquisition? In other words, would the L2 learners make more mistakes using accusative particles just as the Korean children

did in Kim (1997)'s study?

Question 1 asks whether the uninterpretable features in the L1 would only influence the acquisition of abstract case features directly transferred from an L1, or whether both the morphology and the process of feature checking would play dual roles. If L2 learners are proficient in their L2, despite morphological mismatch, they can be argued to have acquired case properly. In contrast, if L2 learners are not successful, it can be assumed having the same syntactic feature in their L1 and L2 did not help them with acquisition (Montrul 2000). It is important to note the Representational Deficit Hypothesis and the Feature Reassembly Hypothesis would predict different results for question one.

Following the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001), I assume that Korean structural case is assigned by the functional heads T and v. Under this model, Korean case particles are realized after uninterpretable case features on a DP are valued by interpretable case features from v or T. The case particle is a byproduct of checked uninterpretable features on a DP at PF. The Representational Deficit Hypothesis, which is only concerned with the uninterpretable features in the L1 and L2, would predict that English learners would successfully acquire case in Korean as an L2 since both languages share the same case features.

Question 2 asks how the different morphological approaches would explain learners' mistakes in their L2's grammatically judgment task when their L1 and L2 have the same syntactic features. The RDH, which only deals with syntactic features, cannot account for low accuracy, which may instead be accounted for by the morphological differences in the L1 and L2. The morphological approaches, on the other hand, including MTH and FRH, may be able to

account for learners' lower competence in case particle usage. Question 2 will, therefore, give us an opportunity to look at L2 learners' acquisition of morphological features in greater depth.

The Morphological Transfer Hypothesis, which focuses on the distinct morphological features in the L1 and L2, would predict possible difficulty in the acquisition of Korean case particles by English speakers due to the absence of morphological marking in their L1. Thus, according to MTH, syntactic transfer is not the issue at hand. Instead, MTH argues that case assignment within the narrow syntax of English and Korean does not play a singular role in acquisition. Rather, narrow syntax and morphological asymmetry in case realization play a dual role. L1 English does not have overt case-realization and, as such, will have a blocking effect on the acquisition of Korean case particles.

The Feature Re-assembly Hypothesis, meanwhile, predicts L1 English learners of Korean would show difficulty in learning Korean despite the similarity of the case features due to the reassembly of uninterpretable and interpretable features needed to learn Korean as an L2. Both English and Korean have some uninterpretable features but English has limited morphological realization so acquiring Korean as an L2 is not only a matter of acquiring uninterpretable features²⁰.

Korean learners whose L1 is English have to go through the process of reassembly in order to fluently assign DPs with the correct case particles. In order to do this, the proper case feature has to be accessed and the case feature must be realized in the DP with overt morphology. As such, L2 Korean learners could easily understand nominative and accusative

²⁰ Pronouns in English are the only DPs that show morphological case such as *I/me*, *he/him*, *they/them* or *we/us*. However, they are still different from Korean counterparts since Korean is an agglutinative language so it attaches case particles onto the DP, even pronouns.

case on a DP but would have more difficulty reassembling the morphological and phonological features of case in Korean production²¹. The feature reassembly process seems to predict that L2 learners might have difficulty recognizing the accurate Korean case particles in GJs.

Question 3 asks if L2 learners make more mistakes using accusative particles than nominative, just as the Korean children in Kim's study did. There have been several studies on the L2 morpheme sequence (Pienemann 2005, Mansouri 2007, Kessler 2008) that focused primarily on English morphemes. Since Kim (1997) looked at errors in case particle usage by Korean children and discussed the sequence of learning these particles, it would be interesting to compare the errors and learning sequence of L2 learners with that of the Korean children²² in her study. If L2 learners of Korean performed similarly to the Korean children, they would make similar errors and use more nominative particles in contexts that require accusative markers while making more errors, in total, when using accusative particles. It is, however, still possible that L2 acquisition would differ from L1 acquisition in that L2 learners would not have same amount and type of input as the L1 Korean children²³. A similarity between the two instances would also assume L2 learners have mature nominative/accusative case in L1 English. Therefore, if the nominative particle *-ka* is not acquired and internalized completely before the accusative particle is learned, it can be predicted that L2 learners would make errors similar to that of the Korean children, incorrectly using accusative particles in a context requiring nominative particles (Schwartz and Sprouse 2000, White 1989, 1990).

²¹ The phonological difficulty can be one of the factors as well. Phonological difficulty has been discussed in Goad *et al.* (2003), Goad and White (2004). They argue that L2 learners would have difficulty in producing morphology accurately when learners' L1 does not have a prosodic representation which is required in L2.

²² Although Kim's study was longitudinal but this study is not, we can still take a look at the comparison of the results of difficulty of acquisition of two case particles.

²³ There is also the issue of maturation—L1A might be dependent on cognitive development, whereas adult L2ers are already mature.

I hypothesize that the L2 learners in my study will manifest a similar pattern to the Korean children in that they will have a more difficult time acquiring and using accusative particles than nominative particles in accordance with the study of Cho (1982), Kim (1997), and Lee and Pae (1989).

3.4.5 Participants

The participants for this study included 26 university students who had studied Korean for more than two years. 16 of these learners were in the beginning class and 10 were in an intermediate class (third and fourth year), as placed by a pretest²⁴. The participants have completed 1 year of learning Korean and passed the pretest. The learners' L1 was English and none of them had been exposed to Korean before studying it in college. The average age of the Korean learners was 22. In addition to the experimental group, 15 Korean native speakers participated as a control group. These native Korean speakers were ESL students at a university in the U.S. and had not been in the U.S. for more than a year. The average age of the Korean native speakers was 24.

3.4.6 Procedure

The participants took a grammaticality judgment task in a quiet room. Before the test, the questionnaire was filled out by the participants and instructions for the tasks were explained. The participants had to judge the grammaticality of sentences and correct the ungrammatical parts. The purpose of the task was to look at the participants' understanding of the sentences and case particles. The participants were asked to identify the incorrect usage of case particles and change the ungrammatical part into the grammatical alternative²⁵. By identifying or misidentifying the

²⁴ The pretest was performed with a short interview.

²⁵ To avoid the situation that the participants always judge sentences ungrammatical when they were not sure, they were instructed to correct the ungrammatical parts.

incorrect use of case particles, the participants showed their knowledge, or lack thereof, of correct particles. There were 19 sentences on the test, including five grammatical sentences and 14 ungrammatical sentences. Out of the 14 ungrammatical sentences, five had a nominative case marker on the nominal instead of an accusative case particle while the other five had an accusative case particle instead of its nominative counterpart. The remaining four sentences were distractors containing errors related to other grammatical characteristics, such as word order. Participants were asked to judge the grammaticality of each sentence by choosing ‘Y’ ‘N’ or ‘I don’t know’²⁶. If the participant knew that a sentence was ungrammatical but did not know where the wrong part was or how to correct the error, s/he was instructed to select ‘I don’t know’ before attempting to identify error present. (49a-b) shows examples of the sample questions²⁷.

(49) a. 나는 더운 여름이 좋아해요 (Y, N, I don’t know) (I like hot summer.)
I-Top hot summer-NOM like

b. 점심을 나 먹고 왔어. (Y, N, I don’t know) (I ate lunch and came.)
Lunch-ACC I eat come

3.4.7 Results

The results showed Korean L2 learners exhibited a lower percentage of accuracy in finding ungrammatical sentences than Korean natives, who checked grammatical sentences as grammatical and recognized the ungrammatical sentences and corrected the wrong particles

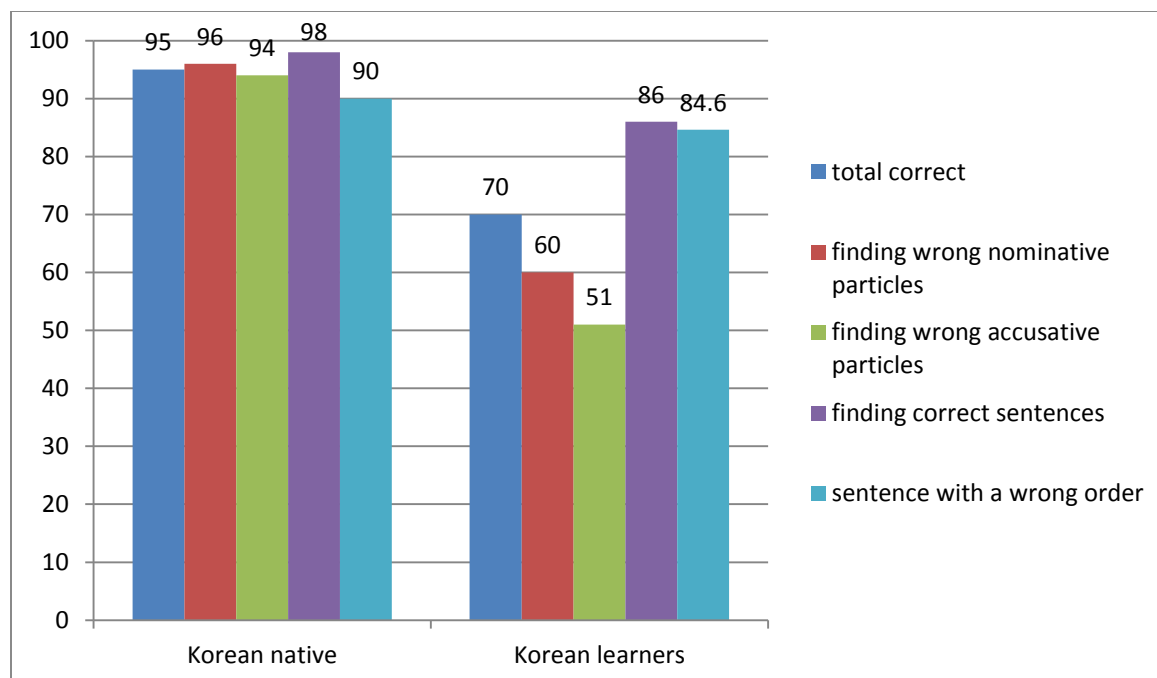
²⁶ Although many studies use a 1-5 scale for judging grammaticality judgments to get at more subtle effects, I chose three-way distinction because the error of using case particles is relatively clear compared to other errors. Also I asked the participants to correct the ungrammatical part, which implies that the error should be clear.

²⁷ To see the entire test questions, please go to the appendix at the end of the dissertation.

accordingly²⁸. While Korean natives had a mean score of 95% accuracy, the mean score for the L2 learners was 70%. If they checked ‘Y’ or ‘I don’t know’ for ungrammatical sentences, it was counted as wrong. If they checked ‘N’ for ungrammatical sentences but could not correct the ungrammatical particles, it was also considered incorrect. They got * as *, but didn’t follow directions. You might give the percentage with that as well (maybe a footnote). As figure 1 shows, Korean learners were accurate 60% of the time when finding incorrect usage of nominative particles and 51% of the time for incorrect accusative particles²⁹. They performed much better in finding correct sentences (86%) or in correcting errors on the word-order of sentences (84.6%). This result is consistent with the Korean L1 acquisition of children in Kim (1997)’s study, who consistently made more mistakes on accusative particles than on nominative.

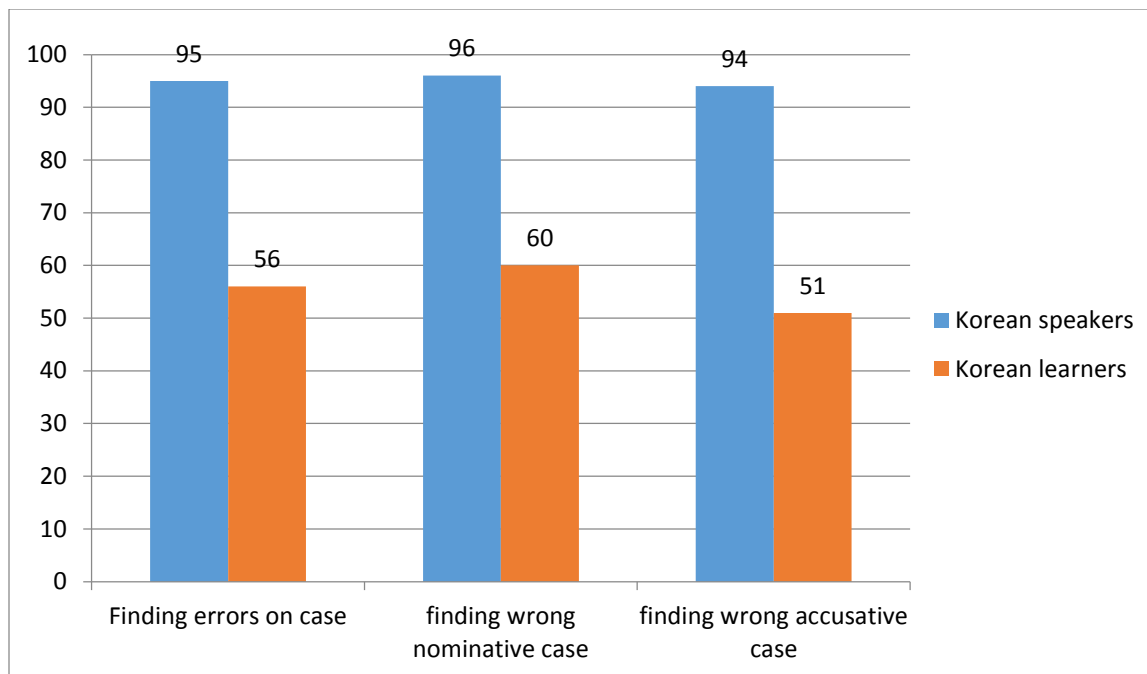
²⁸ However, sometimes they did not notice some wrong nominative or accusative case particles; 4% of the time they could not identify the wrong nominative particle, which should have been accusative. 6% of the time they could not identify the wrong accusative case particle. Also, they did not mark grammatical sentences as grammatical (90%). These not perfect results can be due to the fact that they hurried in order to finish it and leave early.

²⁹ Errors on nominative particles meant that accusative particles are wrongly used instead of nominative case particles. Likewise, the percentage of the error on accusative particles shows that nominative particles were wrongly used instead of accusative particles.



<Figure 1. Grammaticality judgment task>

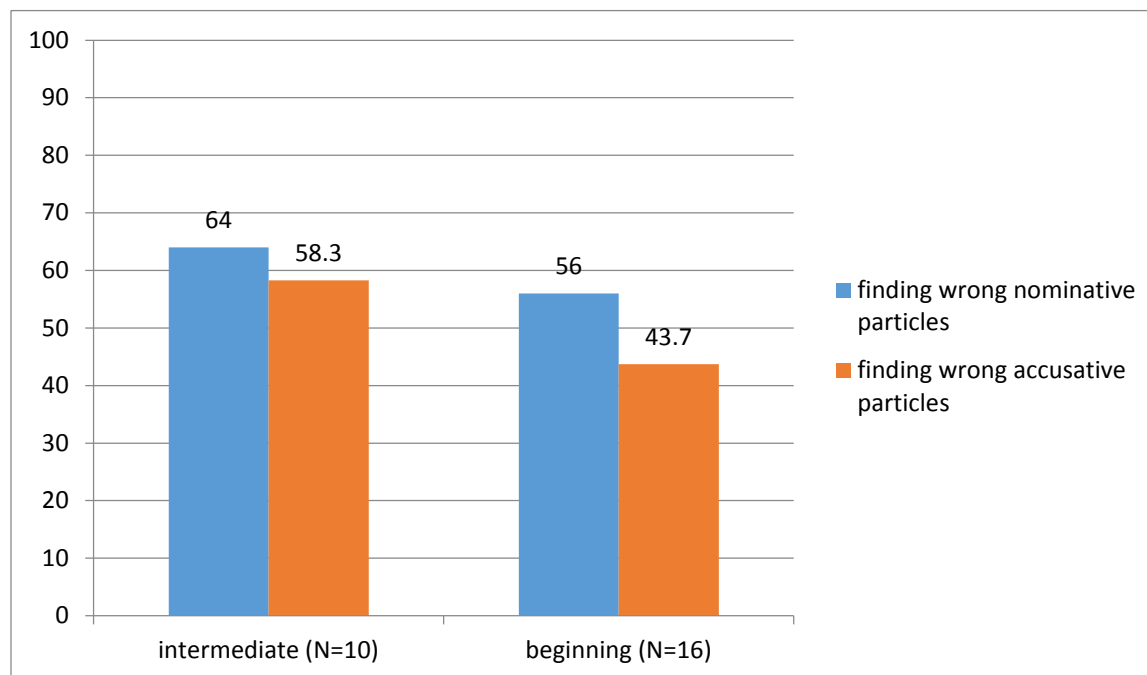
Although the overall result for L2 learners was 70% accuracy, Korean learners were less successful in finding errors in case particle usage (56%) compared to finding mistakes in word order (86%) or identifying grammatical sentences (84.6%). This shows that learners have a hard time finding case-related errors. Figure 2 describes the details.



<Figure 2. Finding errors on case particles>

L2 learners were less successful finding errors in nominative case usage (60%) when compared to the native speakers (96%). Their success rate with accusative case particles was 54% compared to 94% for native speakers.

There was also a difference between intermediate L2 learners and beginning L2 learners. Figure 3 indicates the difference between these two groups.



<Figure 3. Grammaticality judgment task- intermediate and beginning learners>

Both the beginning learners and the intermediate learners had difficulty identifying incorrectly used accusative particles. In other words, they either did not mark nominative particles as ungrammatical when used instead of accusative markers or they were unable to replace the incorrectly used nominative particles with accusative particles. This result mirrors that of the L1 learners and gives support to my hypothesis, which assumed the L2 result would be similar to the L1 result of the Korean children in Kim (1997)'s study.

Figure 3 indicates intermediate and beginning learners' results, respectively. As expected, intermediate students showed less capacity for the task. Their overall task score on case particles was lower, though both groups had more difficulty with accusative particles than nominative. These results will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

3.4.8 Discussion

In this section, I examine the results of the experiment to determine whether Korean learners have acquired Korean case and used the case particles correctly in the test. The following research questions will be discussed in more detail:

- 1) Will adult English speakers judge the grammaticality of L2 sentences correctly because they already have case features in their L1?

L2 learners showed a 56% accuracy rate in finding errors in case particle usage. This indicates that case particles are challenging to the learners, and since these learners had studied Korean for more than two years, this score is not satisfactory compared to their levels³⁰. Also, since English has uninterpretable nominative and accusative case features, the learners likely had already acquired these case features in their L1 in advance of Korean learning. However, the RDH, which would predict direct transfer of the uninterpretable features when the learners' L1 has the same features, cannot provide an explanation for the results indicating GJ mistakes on case particles at 56%, meaning, English speakers may have uninterpretable features in their L1 but still, at times, fail to judge the grammaticality of Korean sentences accurately.

³⁰Note that the learners have studied Korean for at least 2 full years at the college. Most of the advanced learners were in the third or fourth year class.

	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9	A10	total
Nominative Errors (5)	4	5	2	2	1	3	5	5	3	2	64%
Accusative Errors (6)	6	4	4	2	3	0	5	4	3	4	58.3%

<Table 2. Individual accurate results of the intermediate group>

	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9	B10	B11	B12	B13	B14	B15	B16	total
Nom Errors (5)	2	2	1	3	5	3	2	3	5	4	1	3	4	0	3	4	56.2%
Acc Errors (6)	4	2	3	0	4	2	4	2	4	4	2	3	2	1	4	2	44%

<Table 3. Individual accurate results of the beginning group>

Both groups had better results with nominative particles, as did the Korean children in Kim's study. Moreover, in the intermediate group, participants A2, A7 and A8 performed perfectly with nominative errors but failed to find several accusative particle errors. Of the intermediate participants, only A1 found all of the accusative particles errors. In the beginning group, no one found all of the accusative particle mistakes, though B5 and B9 found all of the nominative particle errors. In both the intermediate and beginning groups, there were two learners who could not find any errors in accusative particle usage (A6, B4) and only one learner who could not find nominative errors (B14).

Therefore, it is obvious that the RDH cannot explain this lack of proficiency in terms of syntax, and that syntactic features alone cannot account for the acquisition of case. Lardiere also argues that syntactic parametric setting cannot account for the failure or success of acquisition

since L2 acquisition requires more complex processes than the simple parameter setting of ungrammatical features. We should, therefore, find another way of accounting for these results.

The second research question will be discussed as follows.

- 2) If L2 learners make mistakes in the grammaticality judgment task despite having the same syntactic features in their own L1, how do the different morphological approaches account for the problem?

It is clear that syntactic features alone are not sufficient to account for the learners' acquisition of their L2 and the competence of their target forms, namely case particles. Regarding nominative case marking by the Chinese speaker, Patty, Lardiere (2008) stated "the acquisition of nominative case marking does not involve anything like the resetting of a parameter in terms of syntactic features selection" (p133), which refers to uninterpretable features. Lardiere argued that learners' inconsistent usage of case forms was "part of morphological competence" (p133). Likewise, the next candidate to account for Korean case acquisition by English speakers could be morphological competence. As shown above, even though English and Korean share the same abstract case features, the morphological realization of case is different.

Though the results do not show a big difference, the L2 learners' proficiency in accusative particle usage is lower than that of nominative particles. As seen in L1 acquisition of Korean, accusative case may be more challenging than nominative particles. This can be because of the different usage of nominative particles in Korean. Korean subject DPs can have either a topic marker or a nominative marker, and the nominative marker is also used to mark objects in certain contexts (e.g., quirky subject constructions) unlike in English.

It is likely that new morphological features will be reassembled in L2 learners' cognitive process as argued in the Feature Reassembly Hypothesis (FRH). FRH proposes that the L2 acquisition process occurs by reconfiguring the sets of lexical (interpretable) features and uninterpretable features in the native language (L1) into features appropriate to the L2 (Lardiere 2005, 2008, 2009). Despite the presence of the L1, the case features in the learners' inter-language grammar must go through this complex process. This can lead to impairment in the acquisition, as argued by the FRH.

As such, a learner's incompetent results may be related to a morphological issue. Learners have to consider both syntactic features and the overt morphological realization of the case, so an absence of the same morphological features in the L1 and L2 would be challenging, a fact which makes the absence of case morphemes in L1 English likely to interfere with the acquisition of the Korean case. If this is, in fact, true, the Morphological Transfer Hypothesis (MTH) would be supported and L2 learners would not be able to perform like Korean native speakers because of the difference in morphological spell-out. It could then be assumed that uninterpretable features alone would not matter; instead, the set of features, including morphological realization and the process of uninterpretable and interpretable feature checking in the specific language would limit the acquisition of Korean case particles even though the basic uninterpretable features were accessible from the L1.

3) Are L2 case acquisition patterns similar to those of L1 acquisition?

In Kim (1997)'s research, Korean children misused nominative particles in contexts that required accusative particles. This was argued to be caused by the late acquisition of accusative case particles as well as by the more limited frequency of such usage. According to Kim, the

earlier acquisition of nominative case was in part due to the mothers' frequent omission of accusative case particles.

In my study, the learners made more mistakes using accusative particles than nominative particles. In the grammaticality judgment task, the learners could only figure out the wrong accusative particles 51% of the time, while they found errors on nominative particles at a rate of 60%. Why do these %s vary from before? The intermediate group showed better proficiency, attaining 64% accuracy levels on finding misused nominative case and 58% accuracy for accusative case, while the beginning group showed 56% accuracy for nominative case and 44% for accusative case particles. In other words, all groups showed better accuracy levels on nominative case, but the proficiency of the intermediate group was higher than that of the beginning group. 7 out of 10 (70%) students in the intermediate group were third and fourth year students, while 13 out of 16 (81%) students in the beginning group were in the second year class. This means that students who'd had longer exposure to the target language showed better accuracy in terms of case and case particles.

This can imply that at a specific point in time, the L2 learners might have shown similar patterns of acquisition to Korean L1 learners. Kim (1997) argued this pattern was due to the frequency effect as illustrated by the Korean children's mothers' higher use of nominative particles since every sentence has a subject DP but not necessarily an object DP unless the sentence has a transitive verb³¹. Therefore, just as in the case of the Korean children, the L2 learners in my study presented better results in their use of nominative case particles. Kim proposed children learn the nominative particle earlier than the accusative case, and the Korean

³¹Even for the direct object, the accusative particles are dropped more often than the nominative particles. The oral interview task which is not included in this paper show that the native speakers drop more accusative particles (19%) than the nominative particles (8%).

learners in my study also appeared to have learned the nominative particles earlier than the accusative particles³². My hypothesis, therefore, which predicted L2 learners in my study would present a similar pattern to L1 learners, is supported. Even so, since Kim's study is longitudinal and my study is cross-sectional, it is not straightforward to generalize the similarity of the results of the two tests. What is sure is that the limited data and results seemed to imply that L2 learners showed the same trajectory as Korean children because the higher level students who had studied Korean longer showed better results on case.

The data, therefore, shows that L2 learners of Korean show similar acquisition patterns to Korean children, though it is impossible to fully conclude that they acquired nominative case particles earlier than accusative particles. Even so, Hwang (2002)'s dissertation discusses the earlier acquisition of nominative particles for L2 learners of Korean, agreeing with the results of my current study in so much as L2 learners seem to have a more advanced knowledge of nominative particles than of accusative. This may, in part, be because the student participants of my study learned Korean at the University of Washington where the Korean textbook introduces nominative particles before accusative particles. Other textbooks also introduce nominative particles before accusative particles, so this procedure is fairly standard. In his dissertation, Hwang investigated the five most-used textbooks published in Korea and in the U.S. and found that the nominative particles were introduced earlier than the accusative markers in every case. Given the fact that the students were already well beyond the first year when both nominative and accusative had been presented, the textbook ordering should have little relevance. My study did, however, show that though L2 learners acquire case particles, their ability to use that

³² The institute where these participants learned Korean, teaches nominative particles in the second week in the first quarter of the first year and accusative particles in the fifth week in the first quarter.

knowledge is not yet proficient at the intermediate level. Further study requires more production data, which will be shown in chapter 4.

The next chapter will more deeply investigate the production data of L2 learners of Korean with diverse L1s, including English, Chinese, and Japanese. In Chapter 6, learners' perceptions on the Korean case particles as well as their strategies to understand and use them will be discussed. In addition, a comparison of usage of case particles in written and spoken data will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4. Learners from different L1s

This chapter will introduce the study of Korean L2 learners of different L1 backgrounds including English, Chinese and Japanese. Although there has been extensive study of the role of L1s in language acquisition (Lado 1957, Schachter 1974, Gass and Selinker 1983, Hawkins 1986, Hawkins and Chan 1997, Hawkins and Liszka 2003, Hawkins and Franceschina 2004), little work has been done to understand how L2 learners perceive L2 acquisition difficulties in relation to their L1. Cross-linguistic influence has been mainly studied with English or European languages so it is necessary to investigate L1 transfer with languages outside of Europe because they have been less focused on (Odlin 1989; Brown and Iwasaki 2013). Therefore, I compiled quantitative and qualitative data on Korean case particles as used by L1 English, Chinese and Japanese learners of L2 Korean. This chapter will show the results of the quantitative production data while chapter 5 and 6 will discuss the L2 learners' perceptions of Korean language learning and case particles.

4.1 Transfer degree

Chinese does not have a case-marking system and English has no case-marking on nouns. However, English has a nominative and accusative pronominal form as in *he* or *him* while Chinese has no overt case morphology.

- (50) a. Wǒ xǐhuān tā.
I like he
'I like him.'
b. Tā xǐhuān wǒ
He like I
'He likes me.'

The object ‘Tā’ in (50a) and the subject ‘Tā’ in (50b) are not different.

If learners depend on their L1 for understanding of the features in their L2, Chinese learners of Korean will most likely have difficulty in learning and using Korean case particles as they do not have case morphology in their L1.

Japanese is the language most grammatically close to Korean. As an agglutinative language, the case system of Japanese is also similar to that of Korean in that case is marked with a case particle as in (51).

- (51) a. *Watashi-ga gohan-o tabema-sita.*
 I-NOM rice-ACC eat-PAST
 ‘I ate rice.’
 b. *Gohan-ga kokoni arimasu.*
 Rice-NOM here exist
 ‘Here is rice.’

Although the Japanese and Korean particle systems are mostly equivalent, they do vary in some ways—Table 4 shows the different case particles in Korean and Japanese.

	Korean	Japanese
Topic	<i>un/nun</i>	<i>wa</i>
Nominative	<i>i/ka</i>	<i>ga</i>
Accusative	<i>ul/lul</i>	<i>o</i>

<Table 4. Case particles in Korean and Japanese>

As Table 4 shows, Korean particles have two allomorphs the selection of which depends upon the phonological structure of the preceding noun. The two options include topic particle *un/nun*, nominative *i/ka* and accusative *ul/lul*. In contrast, Japanese particles are single-allomorphs. Therefore, Korean case particles have more morphemes than Japanese, and the more complex phonemes present in Korean case particles can be another challenging factor to

Japanese speakers as Japanese does not have final consonants. Previous studies show the different causes of difficulties for Japanese learners of Korean, focusing on Japanese learners' production of the incorrect allomorph of two different particles (Brown and Iwasaki 2013; Jeon 1994; Kim, J.-E., 2004; Wu 2003). One of these allomorphs is that of the Korean nominative particle *-ka*, which is phonologically similar to the Japanese nominative particle *-ga* and which may, as such, cause confusion for Japanese learners of Korean (Brown and Iwasaki 2013).

Previous studies have also discussed the effect of language distance in SLA. When languages are grammatically similar, learners are more likely to use grammatical knowledge from their L1 as well as other previously acquired languages in order to learn their L2 (Brown and Iwasaki 2013; DeAngelis 2005; Kelelman 1997; Ringbom 2007; Rothman & Cabrelli Amaro 2010; Selinker & Lakshmanan 1992; Sjolholm 1976). And studies have shown that the L1 itself plays a significant role in L2 learning (White, 1985; Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1996; Hawkins and Chan, 1997).

Sabourin et al (2006) discuss two types of language transfer, namely surface transfer and deep transfer. Surface transfer includes the transfer of surface features such as morphological features from the L1 to the L2. Because Japanese has a case system and morphological realization similar to that present in Korean, L1 Japanese learners could be predicted to successfully acquire L2 Korean case due to surface transfer. Deep transfer, on the other hand, refers to the transfer of more abstract features. Sabourin et al argue this may include the transfer of syntactic features that exist in the L1 and L2 but do not share similar morphological patterns.

In L2 Korean, especially in terms of case particles, English, Chinese and Japanese have different degrees of transfer. All three languages are nominative/accusative case languages, but Japanese has similar morphological realization to Korean. English has less similarity in language

patterns as morphemes are only realized in pronoun DPs, and even in the case of pronoun DPs the morphemes realized are not bound morphemes. Chinese is even more morphologically impoverished in terms of morphological case. Hence a transfer from Japanese to Korean can be considered a surface transfer while a transfer from English or Chinese to Korean would be considered a deep transfer. Chinese, then, among the three, has the least properties of transfer due to its lack of morphology, which is likely to make learning Korean more difficult for Chinese L1 learners.

4.2 The study

This study investigates the role of the L1 in the acquisition of Korean case particles by learners with English L1, Chinese L1 and Japanese L1. The study uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to understand learners' actual use of case particles as well as their perceptions of case particles. This chapter focuses on the quantitative part while the qualitative study will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.2.1 Research questions

The research questions used in this study are listed below:

- 1) How do L2 learners of Korean produce case particles in written and spoken settings?

The first research question examined the learners' proficiency with respect to online and offline tasks. Recently, there has been research investigating L2 processing through a variety of time-sensitive tasks (Clahsen et al 2010, Grüter et al 2011, Sagarra & Herschensohn 2011), and results show learners exhibiting poor proficiency in online production when compared to tasks that do not require time-sensitivity. Some researchers have argued L2 learners' poor performance in

certain grammatical domains result from the absence of equivalent features in their L1 or in incomplete grammar systems (Hawkins and Chan 1997; Franceschina 2001; Hawkins and Franceschina 2004; Hawkins and Lizska 2003; Johnson, Shenkman, Newport & Medin, 1996; Tsimpli and Dimitrakopoulou 2007; Tsimpli and Mastropavlou 2008). In other words, learners' production is highly influenced by their difficulty in learning the grammatical features present in their L2, though some researchers claim adult L2 learners' difficulties with morphosyntax may not reflect acquisition of features at all. Instead, their production quality may be hindered by the task of "processing" itself rather than being indicative of grammatical deficits (e.g., Lardiere 2008; Prévost & White, 2000). Hence, the result of the spoken and written task, which required both online and offline processing, were intended to show learners' performance in a time-sensitive setting.

2) Will L1 play a role in the acquisition of Korean case particles?

This study also explores the differences present in situations where learners' L1s are linguistically similar to Korean, as in Japanese, which has similar morpho-syntactic components, as well as situations where L1s are linguistically distant to Korean, such as Chinese and English. In addition, the study asks if there are any learning benefits to being an L1 Japanese speaker and to what extent L1 features are facilitative and at what level.

Although Chinese does not share overt morphological features with Korean and is not typologically proximate to Korean, Chinese and Korean share a lot of similarities in terms of vocabulary and cultural expressions. As Odlin (1989) claims, language distance or the degree of similarity between two languages does not always follow the typological relations of the languages. Chinese and Korean are in different language families, namely the Sino-Tibetan and

Altaic language families, respectively, and differ in terms of simple grammar and word-order (SVO vs. SOV). However, the distance between Chinese and Korean is closer than that of English and Korean due to *Psychotypology*, a concept discussed by Kellerman (1986), in which learners' perceive Chinese and Korean to be closer than English and Korean because Chinese and Korean are both Asian languages. A detailed discussion of this will be introduced in the next chapter while this chapter will seek to discover if Japanese learners supply particles more successfully than English and Chinese learners.

3) What is transferred from an L1 to an L2?

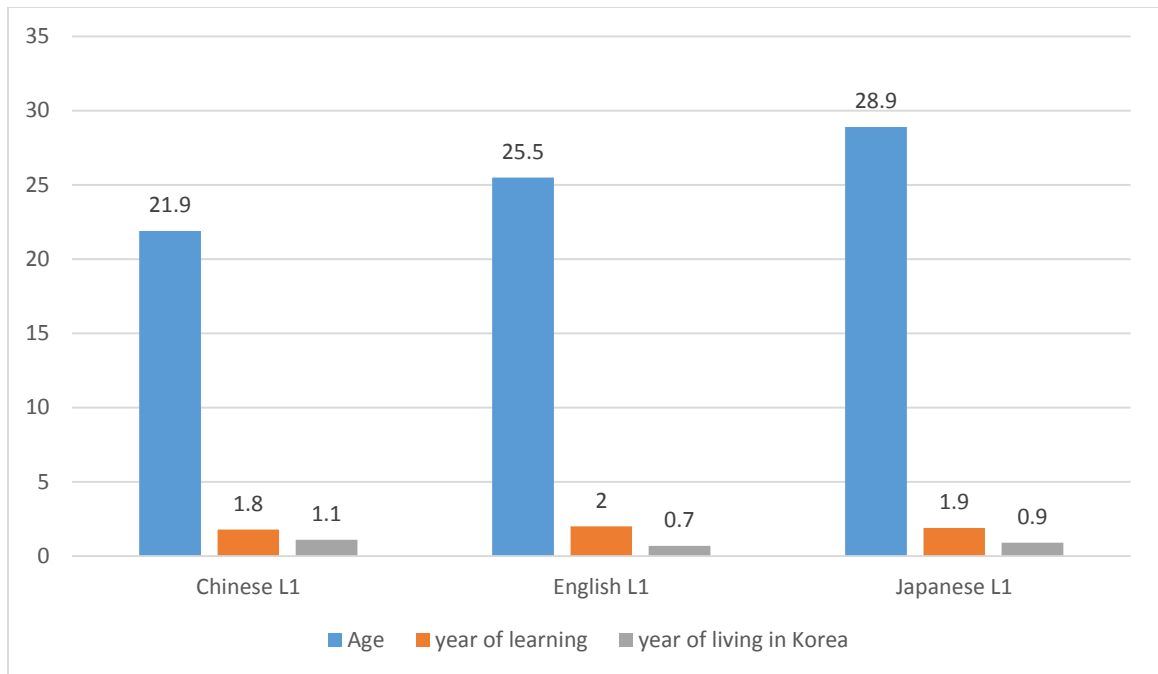
Morphology cannot be understood without syntax (Herschensohn 2007). As discussed earlier, according to Distributed Morphology, morphology and syntax have a strong relation in that syntax is directed into the morpho-phonology as an output (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994). However, if we consider the syntax and morphology separately there should be two hypotheses. If only L1 syntactic features are transferred in L2 Korean case, Chinese and English learners should perform as well as Japanese learners since Chinese and English also have structural case. However, if surface morphology plays an important role in acquisition, Japanese learners will perform better in both written and spoken production—a notion consistent with deep transfer and surface transfer as discussed by Sabourin et al (2006).

The three languages, Chinese, English and Japanese, have different levels of morphological realization in structural case: no morphology in Chinese, minimal morphology in pronouns in English, and full morphology as case particles in Japanese. Therefore, learners' performance with regards to case particles can offer us with a bigger picture of a role of syntax and morphology.

4.2.2 Participants

The participants in this study were intermediate learners of Korean, and the groups tested consisted of 21 Japanese speakers, 22 Chinese speakers and 27 English speakers, totalling 70 participants in all. At first, there were 79 subjects participating in the study; however, five participants were excluded due to an extra high level of proficiency and four participants were excluded due to being bilingual.

All learners were attending either the University of Washington in the U.S., or the Pusan National University or Busan University of Foreign Studies in Busan, Korea. Based on a pretest given to each participant and upon the class level students had been placed in by their Test of Proficiency in Korean (TOPIK), participants were categorized into this intermediate level and were from TOPIK level 3 to 4 based on the level classified by the official organization for TOPIK, National Institute for International Education in Korea.



<Figure 4. Learners' info>

4.2.3 Procedure

The participants were informed about the research by their instructors. The participants then met with the researcher in a quiet place, such as a library, and two types of data were collected—oral and written. The oral task was administered first, and participants were asked to perform spontaneous speaking with one or two topics including;

- 1) What did you do last weekend?
- 2) What did you do yesterday?
- 3) What will you do today?

The main goal of this activity was to investigate the use of case particles with very specific morpho-syntactic features rather than to investigate entire narratives, though a familiar topic was still used. Harris (1997) also states that “the prime objective is performance in the language” (p.16). Therefore, although there is discrepancy among learners’ amount of production

of language use, I chose spontaneous speaking and writing in order to see the learners' pure performance. The topic of activities was chosen because all participants were used to speaking about similar topics in class or in real conversations, so even beginning learners were able to address the question well.

Participants' answers were recorded while they were speaking, and the researcher sometimes asked questions when the participants did not continue the conversation, though based on participants' levels and personalities, the number of narrative sentences varied. If the narrative was too short, the participant was asked more questions by the researcher. As a result, the topic of the data sometimes mutated into a freer and less specific form.

The entire speaking task was recorded. After the speaking task, participants performed a written task about the same topic. If narratives were too short, they were encouraged to write more on different or related stories. After the writing task, they had a short interview with the researcher, which will be introduced in the next chapter in details.

4.2.4 Analysis

The datasets collected during the written and spoken tasks were then analyzed with both quantitative and qualitative methods. For the quantitative analysis, learners' correct and erroneous use of particles in the written and oral production was counted. Lee, Jang and Seo (2009) categorized four types of errors of case particles as in (52).

(52) Error type

- a. Omission ("O" in subsequent tables) – absence of a particle where its inclusion is expected;
- b. Addition (A) – inclusion of a particle where one is not normally required;

- c. Replacement (R) – a correct particle “replaced” by an incorrect particle; and
- d. Malformation (M) – a particle is used in the incorrect allomorph.

Brown and Iwasaki (2013) also utilized this classification. However, as discussed in the earlier chapter, Korean case particles as well as their Japanese counterparts can be dropped in many circumstances unless, of course, there is a scrambling in a sentence or focus interpretation on a DP. Thus, this sort of omission should be treated differently from other errors, and, as such, this study only considers incorrect omission as an error.

4.2.5 Results

In this section, overall use of case particles by L1 Chinese, English and Japanese learners will be shown, and the results of different levels of learners will follow.

		Chinese L1	English L1	Japanese L1
Written	Subject DP	83% (311)	86.5% (302)	96.9% (382)
	Object DP	90% (261)	89.2% (256)	90.5% (258)
	Both	86.5%	87.85%	93.7%
Spoken	Subject DP	50.3% (554)	73.9% (435)	87.2% (677)
	Object DP	73.97% (435)	78.5% (318)	81.2% (233)
	Both	62.13%	76.2%	84.2%

< Table 5. Correct particle use in written and spoken data: percentage and tokens >

In order to calculate the 2-tailed value (P-value), I conducted a t-test for each of the two groups. The results of the t-test indicate that there is a difference in the accuracy of the spoken language produced for each of the three groups that is statistically significant, but only the Japanese and Chinese groups showed any significant difference in the writing results.

	T-test for Equality of Means			
	t	df	Standard error of Difference	p-value
Chinese-English	0.7507	47	3.209	0.4566 (P>0.05)
English-Japanese	1.4813	46	2.930	0.1453 (P>0.05)
Japanese-Chinese	2.1723	41	3.106	0.0357 (P<0.05)

<Table 6. T-test results by three groups: written task>

As Table 6 indicates, there was a significant difference in the scores for the Japanese and Chinese (P=0.0357) L1s but there was no significant difference in the scores when comparing Japanese L1s and English L1s as well as with Chinese L1s and English L1s. More significant differences were found in the results from the speaking task. Table 7 shows the details.

	T-test for Equality of Means			
	t	df	Standard error of difference	P-value
Chinese-English	3.9725	47	3.955	0.0002 (P<0.05)
English-Japanese	2.0636	46	3.828	0.0447 (P<0.05)
Japanese-Chinese	5.5671	41	4.241	0.00001 (P<0.05)

<Table 7. T-test results by three groups: spoken task>

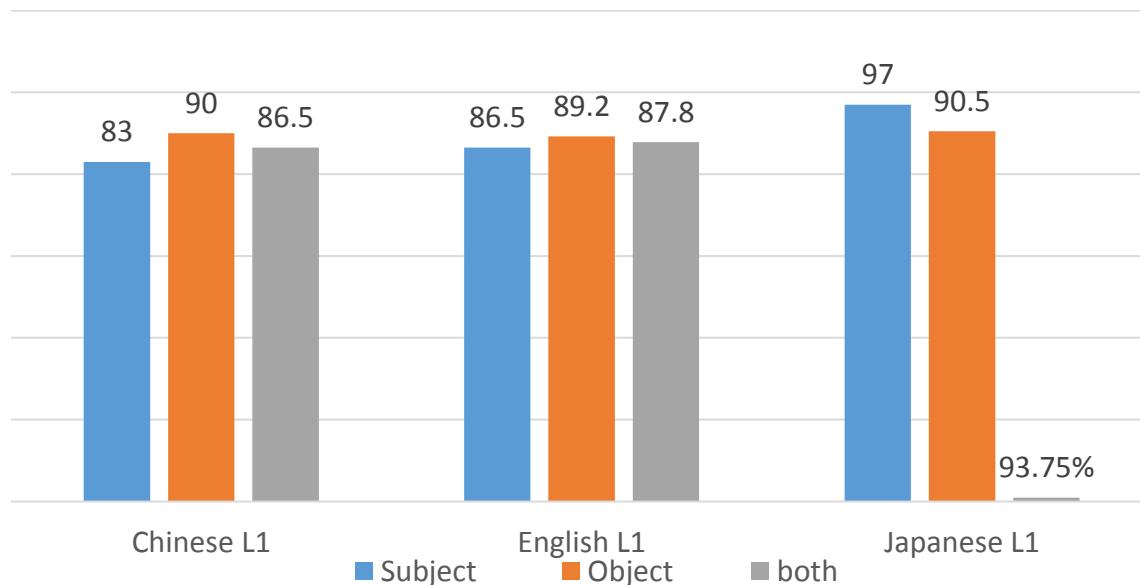
Table 7 shows that there was a significant difference between the speaking scores for the following groups: Chinese and English (P=0.0002), English and Japanese (P=0.0447), as well as Japanese and Chinese (P=0.00001). The results of the Chinese group were especially significantly different from the English L1 group and Japanese L1 group. In other words, the statistical difference between Japanese and English L1s was not as big as between Japanese and Chinese or Chinese and English. This seems to indicate that Chinese learners show very different proficiency from the two groups; namely they performed the least proficiently.

Learners of all three L1s use case particles more correctly in the written data than in the spoken data. This can be explained by two different possibilities. First, this is not surprising in that learners did not have time-sensitive stress in the off-line writing task and results such as this may also reflect the learners' procedural knowledge in choosing nominative or accusative case in DPs.

In spoken settings, Korean native speakers also tend to omit object particles more than subject particles (Ahn & Herschensohn 2013). It has been also found that particle dropping is more restricted in formal writing (Lee, Jang & Seo, 2009; Brown and Iwasaki 2013).

The percentage in table 5 includes both correct use of particles and correct omissions. Although omission can be due to avoidance of particles, only the incorrect omission and incorrect use of particles were treated as errors.

Figure 5 shows overall use of case particles in the written data by learners with different L1s. As expected, Japanese learners outperformed English and Chinese speakers in overall use of case particles, and as with the Korean children in Kim (1997), Japanese speakers performed better when faced with subject DPs than object DPs. These are different from Table 2.

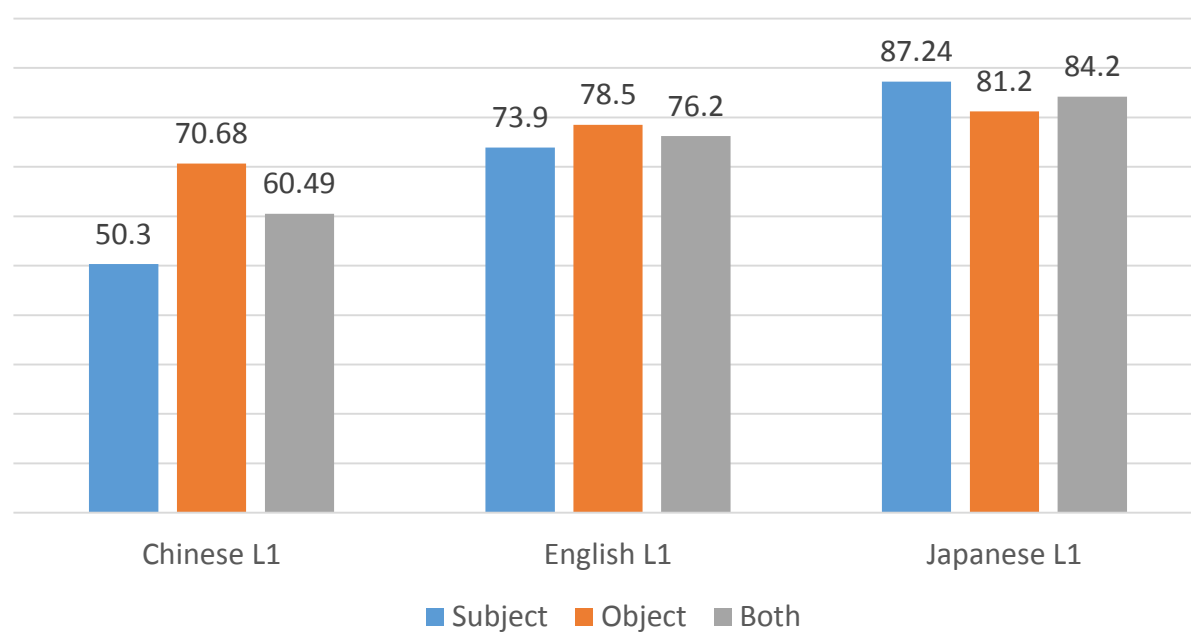


< Figure 5. Correct particle use in written data >

Japanese speakers show similar patterns to Korean children in that they make fewer case particle errors for the subject DP. However, Chinese and English speakers do not favor cases for the subject DP over the object DP. This may be due to the fact that Korean subject DPs can have both topic markers *un/nun* and nominative markers *i/ka* depending on the circumstances. This topic/nominative distinction may be more difficult for Chinese and English learners as they not only have to choose a particle for the subject but also have to decide whether the sentence has

topic or nominative focus depending on the information present in the structure of the sentence. This can include discourse-pragmatics as well as syntax. The difficulty of learning the use of features as related to the discourse-level has been found in other studies (Laleko 2010; Reinhart 2006; Reuland 2011), and the more choice learners have, the more difficult the choice can be.

The participants' speaking data showed more errors than their written data, as shown in Figure 6 below.

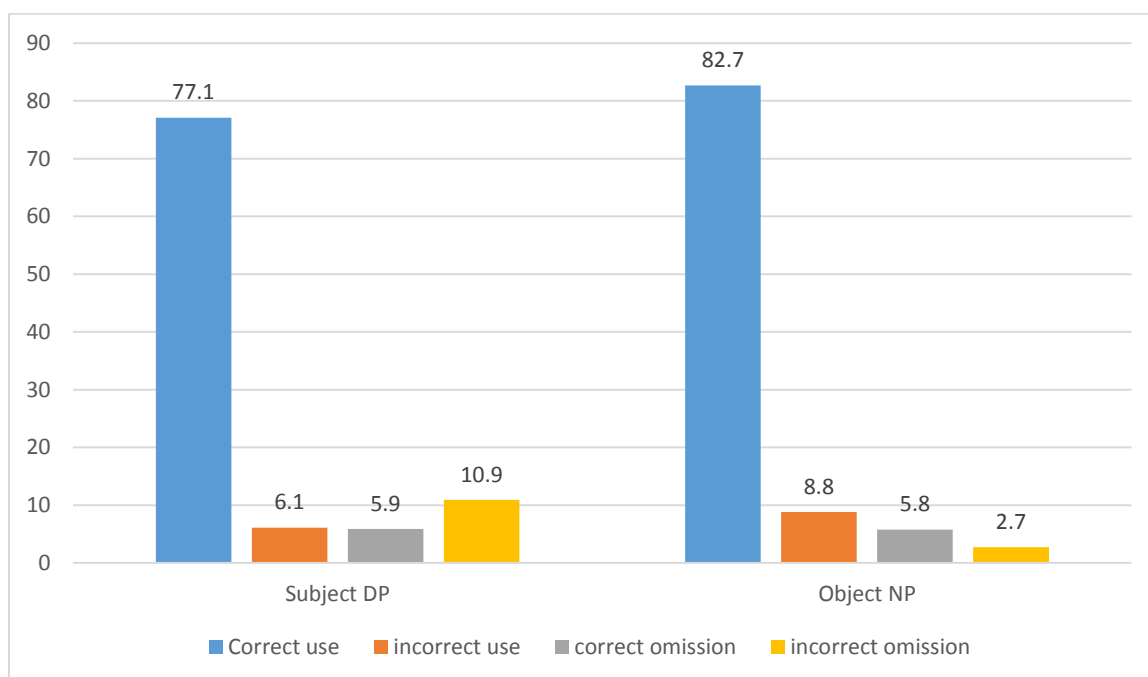


< Figure 6. Correct particle use in spoken data >

All three groups showed less proficiency in oral production. Again, though, overall Japanese speakers performed the best. Interestingly, both Chinese and English speakers showed better performance in using particles for object DPs than for subject DPs unlike Japanese speakers. This may be due to the fact that Korean subjects (as well as Japanese subjects) are realized with either topic particles or nominative particles based on context. The topic particles have two allomorphs and the nominative particles also have two options, and as a result, the

options for topic and nominative markers for a subject DP with two different allomorphs may have decreased the Chinese and English learners' proficiency. Japanese learners, in contrast, could have used native judgment to select either topic or nominative for the subject as Japanese and Korean have similar topic/nominative distinction while the distinctive notion of topic and nominative is new in English and Chinese. Although Chinese is considered a topic prominent language (Li and Thompson 1976), the reality of this situation is controversial (Lu 1979; Zhu 1982; Lu 1986) and the topic-hood is not realized with morphology. Therefore, to English and Chinese learners, selecting subject particles would be more challenging. The next section will show more detailed results by speakers of different L1s.

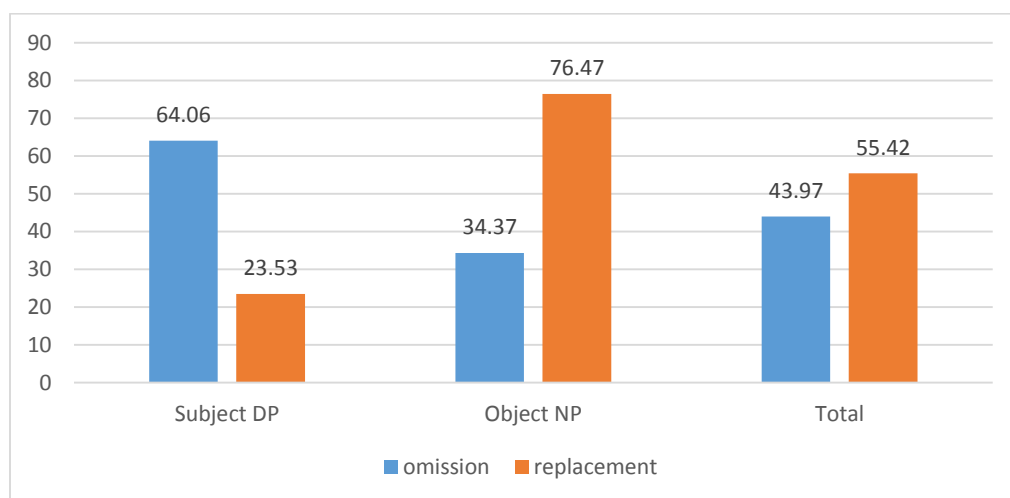
4.2.5.1 Chinese learners



< Figure 7. Chinese written data >

Chinese and English learners perform better in the selection of object particles than subject particles. Chinese learners also used object particles (82.7%) more correctly than subject

particles (77.1%) with the interesting phenomenon that they incorrectly omitted more subject particles (10.9%) than object particles (2.7%)³³.



< Figure 8. Chinese written- error types >

Figure 8 shows error types Chinese learners produced. In the written task in which learners had more time to use their explicit knowledge of the language, they seemed to make fewer errors overall. There were two error types in the Chinese speakers' written task—namely omission and replacement. There were no additional or malformation errors. The entire omission rate of the written task was 13.06% with an incorrect omission rate of 10.9% for the subject and 2.7% for the object. In case of replacement errors, most learners misused subject particles and object particles. Here are some examples of the errors:

³³ Note that the percentage here is different from the overall use in the Table 5; the percentage in Table 5 has both correct use and correct omission rate.

(53) **Example: omission error (Chinese written)**

<omission of subject particles>

- a. 당신은 나-*Ø 만든 케이크를 먹었어?
Dangshin-un *na-Ø mantun keiku-lul mek-es-se?
You-TOP I made cake-ACC eat-PAST-Q
'Did you eat the cake that I made?'
- b. 탐씨*-Ø 지하철을 타는 것을 싫어해요.
Tom-ssi-*Ø cihacel-ul tanun kes-ul sire-hay-yo
Tom. Mr. subway-ACC ride-ing-ACC hate-DECL
'Tom does not like riding the subway.'
- c. 선생님과 친구들-*Ø 군도 영화를 봤습니다
Sensengnim-kwa cinkutul-*Ø kundo yenghwa-lul bwassupnita
Teacher-with friends 'Kundo' movie-ACC saw-DECL
'The teacher and friends watched a movie called 'Kundo'.'
- d. 제 여자친구*-Ø 유럽에 여행을 갔습니다.
Ce yecachinku-*Ø Yulep-ey yehayng-ul kas-supnita
My girlfriend Europe-to traveling went-DECL
'My girlfriend went to travel Europe.'
- e. 우리*-Ø 재미있는 영화를 봤습니다.
Uli-*Ø caymi-is-nun yenghwa-lul pwas-supnita
We fun-PRES movie-ACC saw-DECL
'We saw a fun movie.'

<omission of object particles>

- f. 아기-*Ø 울리다가 내가 미칠 지경이에요.
Aki-*Ø ulli-taka nay-ka mici-l cikyeng-iey-yo
Baby make-cry-while I-NOM get crazy-FUT in the state of-DECL
'I am almost going crazy because I keep making a baby cry.'

Chinese learners did not produce many errors in their writing. The sample sentences in (53a-f) show their pattern of omitting subject particles, including topic or nominative particles. In Korean, subject particles are less likely to be dropped than object particles as a subject has to have either a topic or nominative particle. Interestingly, though, as Chinese learners used more accusative particles properly. Their sentences showed that nominative particles on the subject

DPs were missing but the object DP had the proper accusative particle. (53f) is a sentence with the omission of an accusative particle on the object DP ‘baby’ as produced by a Chinese speaker—a type of omission of object particle not uncommon in the written task.

(54) **Example: replacement error (Chinese written)**

<misuse of subject particles for object particles>

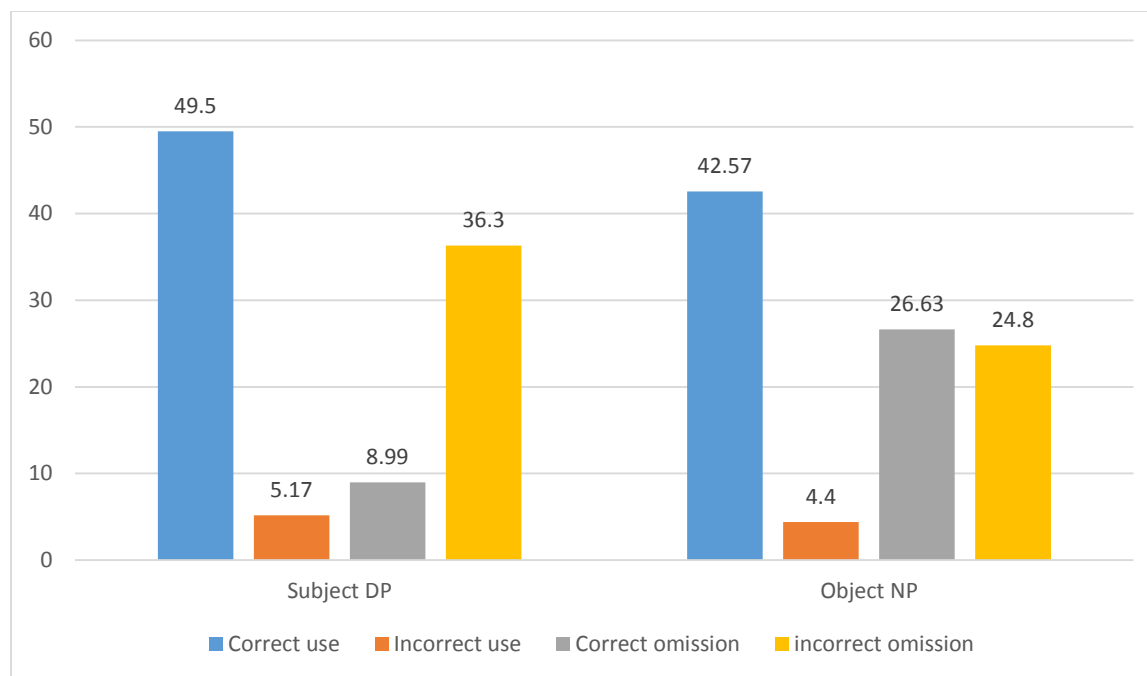
- a. 같이 빵*이 만들었는데..
Kachi ppang-*i mantul-essnuntey..
Together bread-**NOM** make-PAST
‘(We) made bread together.’
- b. 비밀번호*가 알아야 열리지요.
Pimilpenho-*ka alaya yelici-yo
Password-**NOM** know-should open-DECL
‘(We) should know the password and then (the door) will open.’
- c. 새로운 친구들*이 만나는 거 좋아해요.
Seyloun chinkutul-*i mannanun-ke coahay-yo
New friends-**NOM** meeting like-DECL
‘I like meeting new friends.’

<misuse of object particles for subject particles>

- d. 밥 먹는 시간*을 두시간 걸렸어요.
Pap meknun sikan-*ul twusikan kellyesse-yo
Rice eating time-**ACC** 2 hours took-DECL
‘It took two hours to eat the meal.’

The sentences in (54a-c) show an overuse of nominative particles in place of accusative particles. (54d) is an example of an incorrect use of an accusative particle in the place of a nominative particle.

Overall, though, the proficiency in the written task by Chinese learners was high while spoken data showed more inaccuracy.

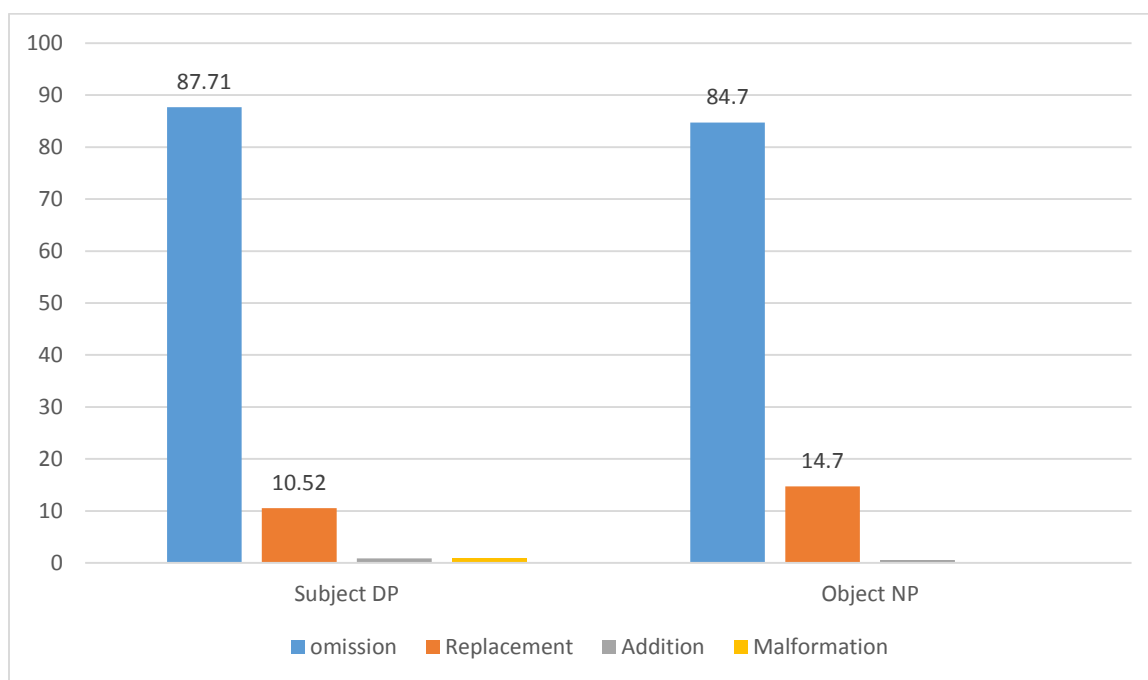


< Figure 9. Chinese spoken data >

Even so, the Chinese group, among the three groups, showed the lowest proficiency in both spoken and written tasks, though Chinese learners and English learners were not significantly different in the written task. The main difference between the two groups was rather found in the spoken task. Chinese speakers used the correct particles with 49.5% of the subjects and 42% of the objects while English learners used the correct particles 64% of the time and 65%, respectively. Chinese learners' omission rate (36.3% for subjects, 24.8% for objects) was, therefore, much higher than that of English speakers (18.8% for subjects, 15% for objects) as Chinese speakers dropped case particles significantly during their spoken task. Because they succeeded in using both particles in their written data, though, they may have acquired the case particles and simply failed to use them correctly in oral production. The higher frequency of particle dropping in the spoken task could indicate a strong relationship between proper particle use and the on-line production task as learners showed less proficiency in a time-constrained task (Clashsen et al 2010, Grüter et al 2011, Sagarra & Herschensohn 2011). The Chinese learners

were not used to using the overt morphology for structural case in their L1, so they might not have used case particles in the high stress environment of spontaneous speaking.

In a case such as that, it is possible learners avoided using case particles (Brown and Iwasaki 2013; Goad and White 2004; Schachter 1974), and it can thus be assumed that because the Chinese learners' performance in the written task was good, their omission in the verbal task was not necessarily due to the absence of the knowledge of the features but more to complicated stages of acquisition and processing (Lardiere 2008, 2009; White 2003; Goad and White 2004).



< **Figure 10. Chinese spoken- error types** >

Error types in the spoken data on Chinese learners are shown in Figure 10. Because they did not use particles, other types of errors are few.

(55) **Example: omission error (Chinese spoken)**

<omission of subject particles>

a. 남자-* \emptyset 여기 살고 있어요.

Namca-* \emptyset yeki salko isse-yo

Man here live-DECL

‘A man is living here,’ (participant 1)

b. 선생님-* \emptyset 아마 얘기 못해요.

Sensayngnim-* \emptyset ama yayki moshay-yo

Teacher maybe talk can't-DECL

‘Maybe the teacher is not able to talk.’ (participant 7)

c. 어려운 문법-* \emptyset 있어요.

Elyeun munpep-* \emptyset isse-yo

Difficult grammar exist-DECL

‘There is a difficult point grammar.’

d. 한국에는 확실히 중국보다 취직-* \emptyset 좋아요.

Hankuk-ey-nun hwaksilhi cwungkuk-pota chwicik-* \emptyset coa-yo

Korea-in-TOP definitely China-rather than employment good-DECL

‘Employment in Korea is definitely better than China.’

<omission of object particles>

e. 그냥 재미있는 것-* \emptyset 봤어요.

Kunyang caymiissnun kes-* \emptyset pwasse-yo

Just fun thing saw-DECL

‘I just saw fun things.’

f. 조선 시대 정부-* \emptyset 고발하고...

Cosen sitay cengpu-* \emptyset kobal-hako...

Chosun dynasty government accuse

‘(People) accuse the government of the Chosun dynasty.’

Chinese speakers omitted the subject particles (36.3%) more frequently than the object particles (24.8%). Again, though, this may be due to the absence of particles as well as the choice of four options of subject DPs, topic *-un/nun* and nominative *-i/ka*. This is also true of the English speakers’ data but not to as high a degree. Chinese learners had not only a higher

omission rate but also a higher frequency of incorrect use of subject particles. Here are some examples of their incorrect use:

(56) **Example: replacement error (Chinese spoken)**

<misuse of subject particles for object particles>

- a. 저는 박사 수업*이 하고..
Ce-nun paksa swuep-*i hako..
I-TOP Ph.D class-***NOM** do-and
'I take Ph.D classes and..'
- b. 지하철을 타기*가 싫어합니다.
Cihachel-ul taki-***ka** sile-hapnita
Subway-ACC taking-***NOM** hate-DECL
'I hate taking the subway.'
- c. 그런데 발음*이 더 잘 해요.
Kulentey palum-*i te cal hay-yo
But pronunciation-***NOM** more well do
'I do pronunciation better.' (I pronounce well.)

<misuse of object particles for subject particles>

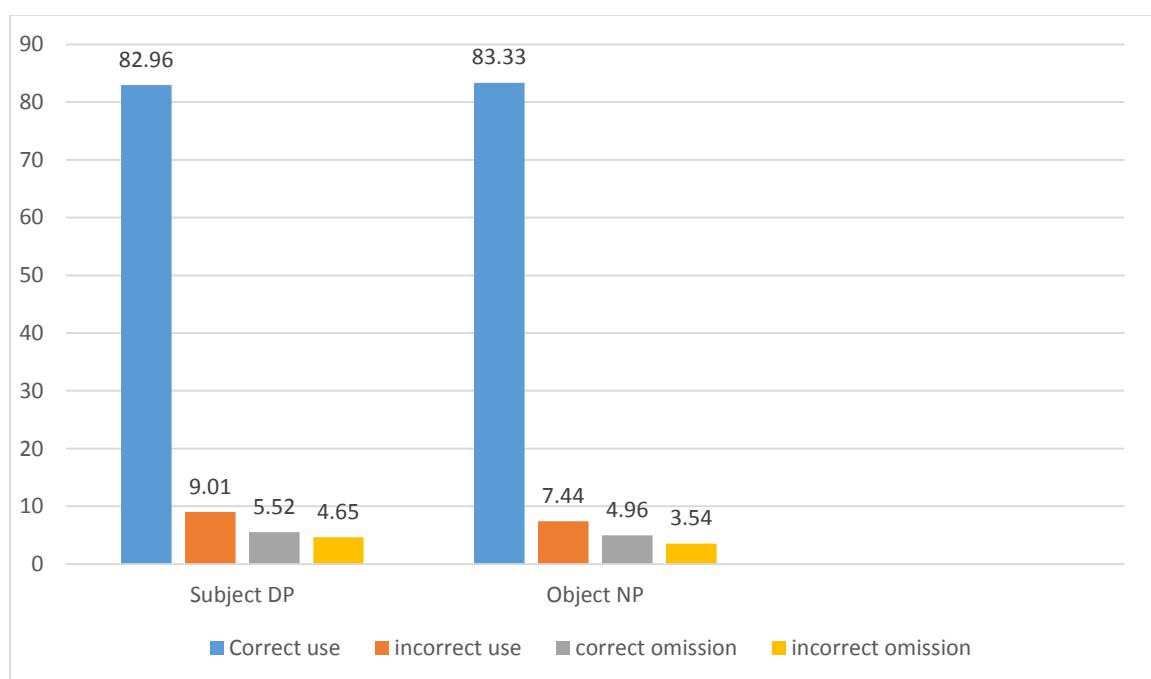
- d. 남편*을 친구예요.
Nampyen-***ul** chinku-yeyo
Husband-**ACC** friend-COP
'My husband is my friend.'
- e. 한국에서 다른 음식*을 없어요
Hankuk-eyse talul umsik-***ul** epse-yo
Korea-in other food-***ACC** not-DECL
'There is no other food in Korea.'
- f. 매운 음식*을 아주 많아요
Maywun umsik-***ul** acwu mana-yo
Spicy food-**ACC** very many-DECL
'There are many spicy foods.'

The sentences in (56) were produced by Chinese learners. The nominative particle *-ka* was wrongly used in place of the accusative particle *-lul* in (56b) as there was a psych verb *-silta* 'to be hated' present, which required a nominative particle and not an accusative particle. The other verb 'to hate' *-silehata* only requires an accusative particle as it is a transitive verb.

Learners may have had difficulty choosing a nominative or accusative particle in such an instance because of similar verbs requiring nominative and accusative particles respectively.

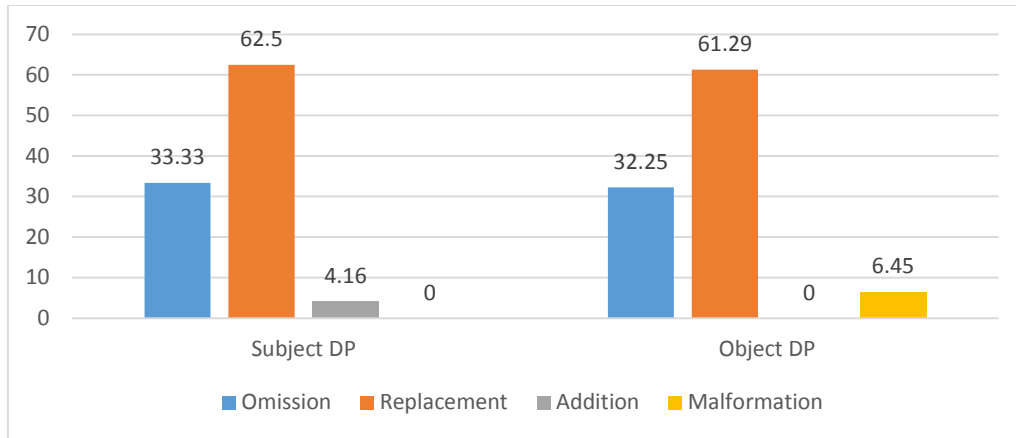
4.2.5.2 English learners

English learners' results of the written task are introduced in Figure 11. These numbers are not the same as earlier ones.



< Figure 11. English written data >

Just as with the Chinese learners, English learners accurately used case particles in the written task. As can be seen in Figure 8, English learners performed with the correct use of the subject DP 82.96% of the time and had a correct omission rate of 5.52%, giving an overall accuracy of 88.48%. Particle use for the object DP was also excellent; the correct use rate was 83.33% and the correct omission rate was 4.96% with a total of 88.29%. English learners not only made few errors but also correctly supplied particles in obligatory contexts.



< Figure 12. English written- error types >

The English learners' overall incorrect use and incorrect omission rate was as low as 12.32%. Replacement error was the highest of all error types, but only accounted for 8.62% of all tokens while omission error was as low as 4%. Here are some example sentences containing replacement error:

(57) **Example: replacement error**

<Misuse of subject particles for object particles>

a. 저는 이것*이 썼어요

Ce-nun ikes-*i ssesse-yo

I-TOP this-NOM wrote

'I used this'.

b. 한국음식*이 찾으면 어렵-습니다.

Hankuk umsik-*i catemyen ulyep-supnita

Korean food-NOM look for-if difficult

'If (I) look for Korean food, it is difficult.' (It is difficult to find Korean food.)

<Misuse of object particles for subject particles>

c. 새 가방*을 필요해요

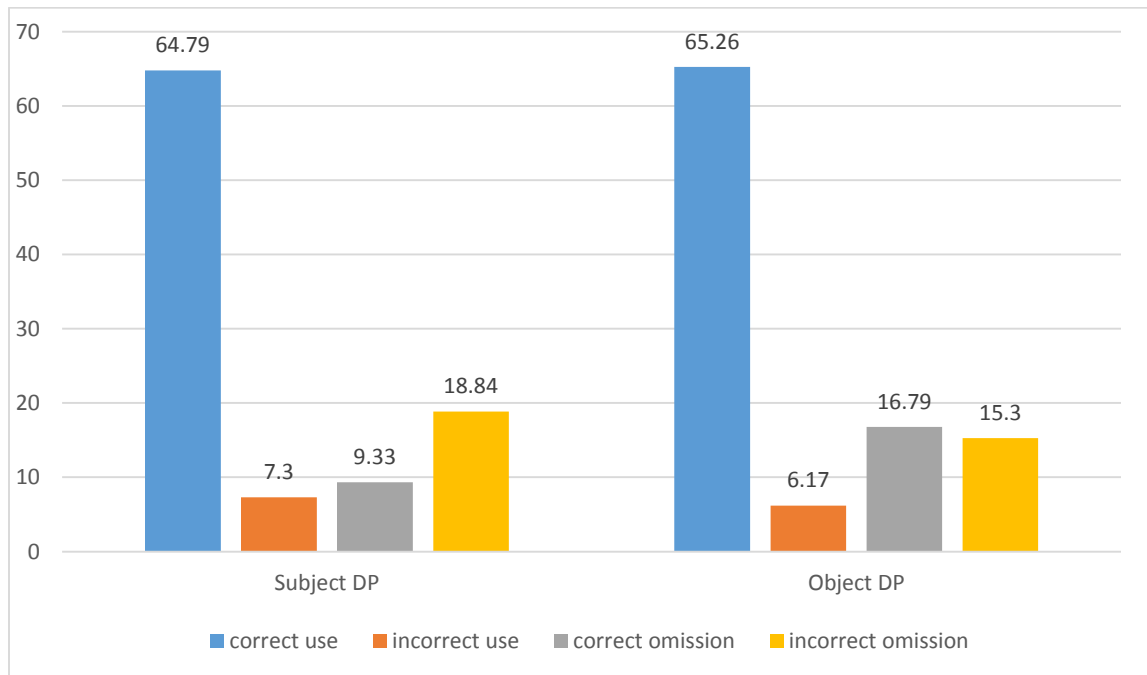
Say kabang-*ul pillyohayyo

New bag-ACC is needed

'I need a new bag.'

- d. 좋은 곳*을 많으니까
 Coen koss-*ul mane-nika
 Good place-ACC a lot-because
 ‘Because there are a lot of good places.’

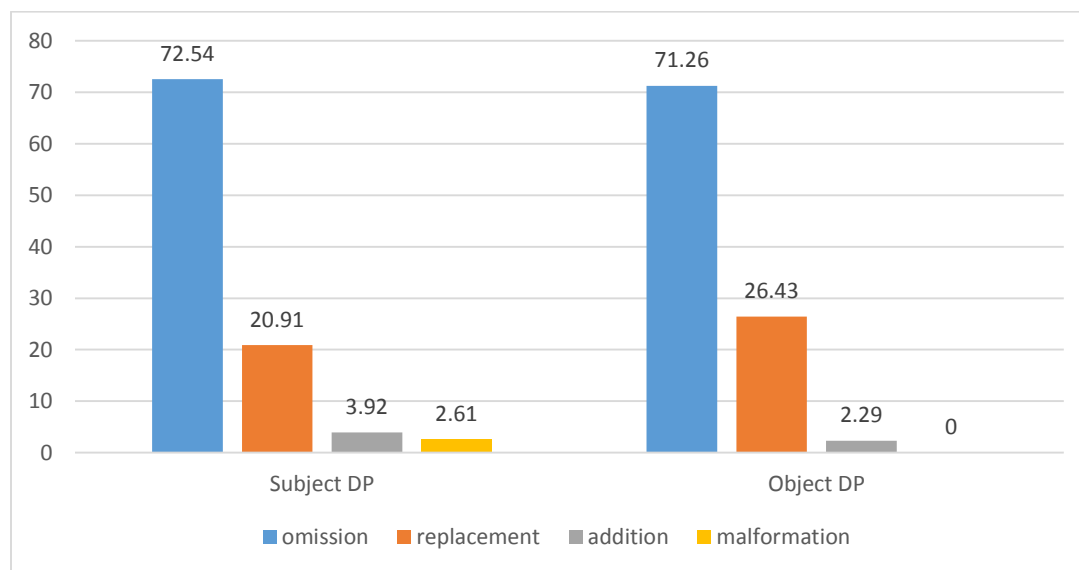
The sentences in (57a-b) contain misuse of subject particles in place of object particles while (57c-d) have incorrect object particles, replacing subject particles. (57c) has the verb *pilyohata* ‘to be needed,’ which can be confusing to English learners as the verb *pilyohata* is an intransitive verb requiring nominative case, whereas in English ‘to need’ is a transitive verb requiring accusative case for the object DP. This error, therefore, seems to result from a direct translation of the English verb ‘to need’ and is, as such, a simple transfer from the syntax of L1 English.



< Figure 13. English spoken data >

Overall, English L1 speakers and Chinese speakers showed similar patterns of oral use and omission of case particles. The accuracy rate of English learners’ spoken data was lower

than their written data, but they outperformed Chinese learners (65.02% VS 47.95%) and most of their errors were due to omission as shown in Figure 16.



< Figure 14. English spoken- error types >

Omission has the highest error rate in the English speaking learners’ spoken data, but was lower (18.84% for the subject, 15.3% for the object) than that of the Chinese learners (36.3 for the subject, 24.8 for the object). The English learners’ total replacement error rate was the second most common error type. Sample sentences created by the English learners are shown in (58) below.

(58) **Example: omission error (English spoken)**

<Omission of subject particles>

a. 고양이***-Ø** 기분이 좋지만 난 진짜 슬퍼요

Koyangi***-Ø** kibun-i cot-ciman na-n cincca sulpe-yo
 Cat mood-NOM good-but I-TOP really sad
 ‘The cat feels good but I am really sad.’ (participant 1)

b. 제니***-Ø** 같이 보지 않았어요.

Jenny***-Ø** kachi boci ana-sse-yo
 Jenny together see not-PAST

‘Jenny did not see it with ...’ (participant 4)

<omission of object particles>

c. 내 친구는 스튜디오***-Ø** 만들고 싶어요.

Nay cinku-nun sutyudio***-Ø** mantulko sipe-yo

My friend-TOP studio make want

‘My friend wants to make a studio.’ (participant 8)

d. 처음에 침대***-Ø** 봐요.

Ceum-ey cimday***-Ø** pwa-yo

First at bed see

‘I see the bed first.’ (participant 14)

The discrepancy between the omission rate of the subject particles and object particles was not significant in the English learners’ data, whereas Chinese learners dropped the subject particles much more often than the object particles during their oral task (36.33% for the subject VS 24.74% for the object). Both English and Chinese learners’ high omission rates might be due to the potential influence of their L1.

It is obvious that learners are more prone to producing errors in the spoken task, likely because learners are focused on other speaking strategies such as finding vocabulary and conjugating verbs, adjectives, and case particles, which can easily be mistaken as non-obligatory and can be omitted or replaced by incorrect particles. Although the replacement error rate is only 5.33% of all tokens, there were 53 instances of misused case particles in the data. Here are some examples.

(59) **Example: replacement error (English spoken)**

<misuse of subject particles for object particles>

a. 얼굴***이** 씻어요.

Elkul-***i** ssisse-yo

Face-**NOM** wash

‘I wash my face.’

- b. 친구랑 영화*가 봤어요.
Cinku-lang yenghwa-***ka** pwa-sse-yo
Friend-with movie-**NOM** watch-PAST
'I watched a movie with my friend.'

<misuse of object particles for subject particles>

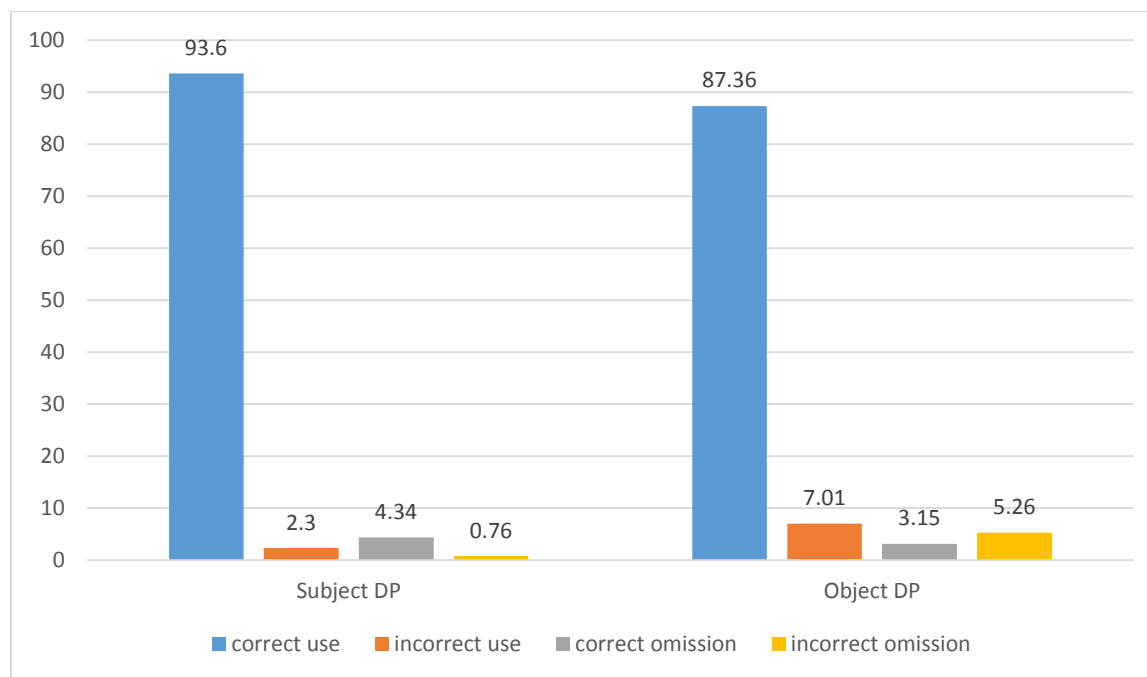
- c. 영화 보기*를 좋아요.
Yenghwa poki-***lul** coayo
Movie watching-**ACC** is-liked
'I like watching movies.'

In (59c), the error may be caused by another mismatch between the English and Korean verb 'to like'. In English, 'to like' is a transitive verb while the Korean *cota* 'to be liked' is an intransitive verb, which only takes a DP with a nominative particle. As such, English learners may have directly transferred the verb 'to like' as well as the object that it takes.

As mentioned earlier, Chinese and English do not have case particles but English shows distinct case patterns in pronouns. This minimal morphological distinction in English could have led English speakers to perform better in Korean acquisition than Chinese learners. Thus, transfer of morphological case from the L1 may have been more difficult for Chinese speakers as the transfer of syntactic components is more challenging than the transfer of both syntax and morphology (Sabourin et al 2006).

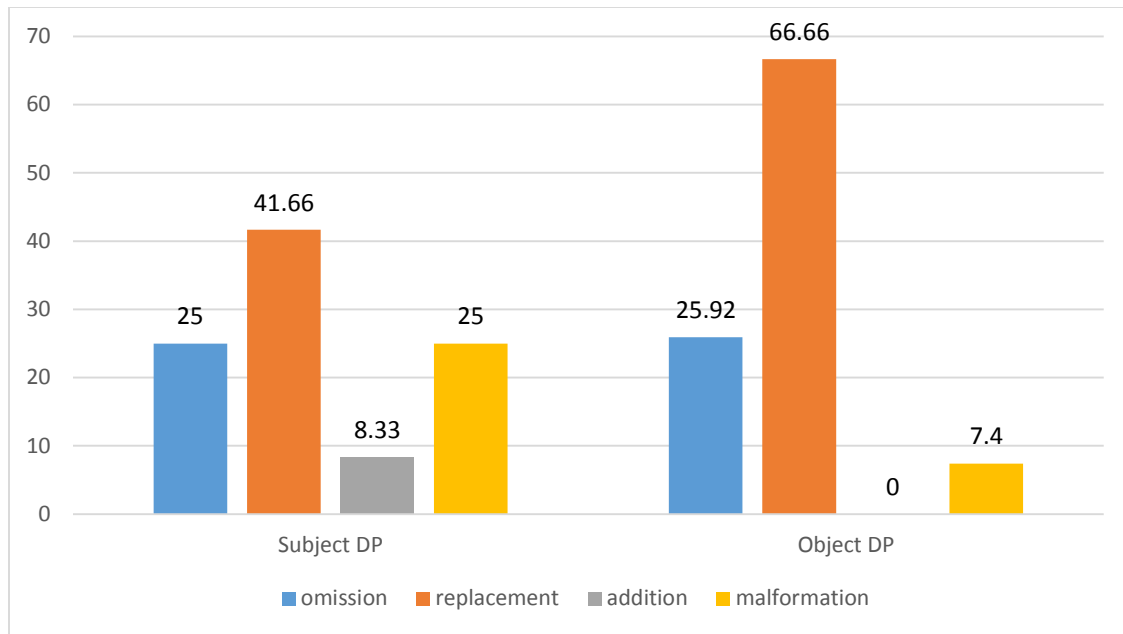
4.2.5.3 Japanese learners

It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that Japanese learners outperformed both Chinese and English learners. Not only syntactic similarity but also morphological case particles in Japanese may have facilitated use of Korean case particles, so it can be expected that their written task was better than their oral task.



< Figure 15. Japanese written data >

As seen in Figure 15, Japanese learners' use of case particles in writing was almost at ceiling. When the correct use rate and correct omission rate are combined, we see a 97% success rate for the subject and 90% for the object. Japanese learners' entire omission rate was also low (4.34% and 3.15%) and their incorrect omission rate was only 0.76% for the subject and 5.2% for the object.



< Figure 16. Japanese written- error types >

Figure 18 shows the error types, which occurred 7.66% of the time. An interesting phenomenon is that Japanese learners' rate of replacement error and malformation error was relatively high when compared to their omission error rate whereas Chinese and English learners' omission rate was the highest in error type, though a few replacement errors were found as in (60).

(60) **Example: replacement error (Japanese written)**

<misuse of subject particles for object particles>

a. 별*이 많이 봐서 좋았어요.

Pyel-*i manhi pwa-se co-ass-eyo

Star-NOM a lot see-so good-PAST

'It was good to see a lot of stars.'

<misuse of object particles for subject particles>

b. 책*을 있습니다.

Cayk-*ul issup-nita

Book-ACC exist

'There is a book.'

This unique learning pattern is shown more in malformation error, in which Japanese learners used an incorrect form of the allomorph. This may be due to the influence of their L1 as we recall Japanese has one form of each case particle while Korean has two allomorphs based on the preceding phonemes. The Japanese learners' rate of malformation was the same as their omission rate in terms of subject. This is likely due to the phonemic similarity between the Japanese nominative particle *-ga* and one of the Korean nominative particles, *-ka* (Brown and Iwasaki 2013). Japanese learners' overuse of *-ka* instead of *-i* was found more in their oral data but was also present in their written data as in (61).

(61) **Example: malformation error in the subject DP (Japanese written)**

- a. 교통*가 복잡해서
Kyotong-***ka** pokcaphay-se
Traffic-**ka (NOM)** congested-so
'Because the traffic is congested'
- b. 핸드폰*가 없었어요
Hayndupon-***ka** eps-ess-eyo
Cellphone-**ka (NOM)** not-exist-PAST
'I didn't have a cellphone.'

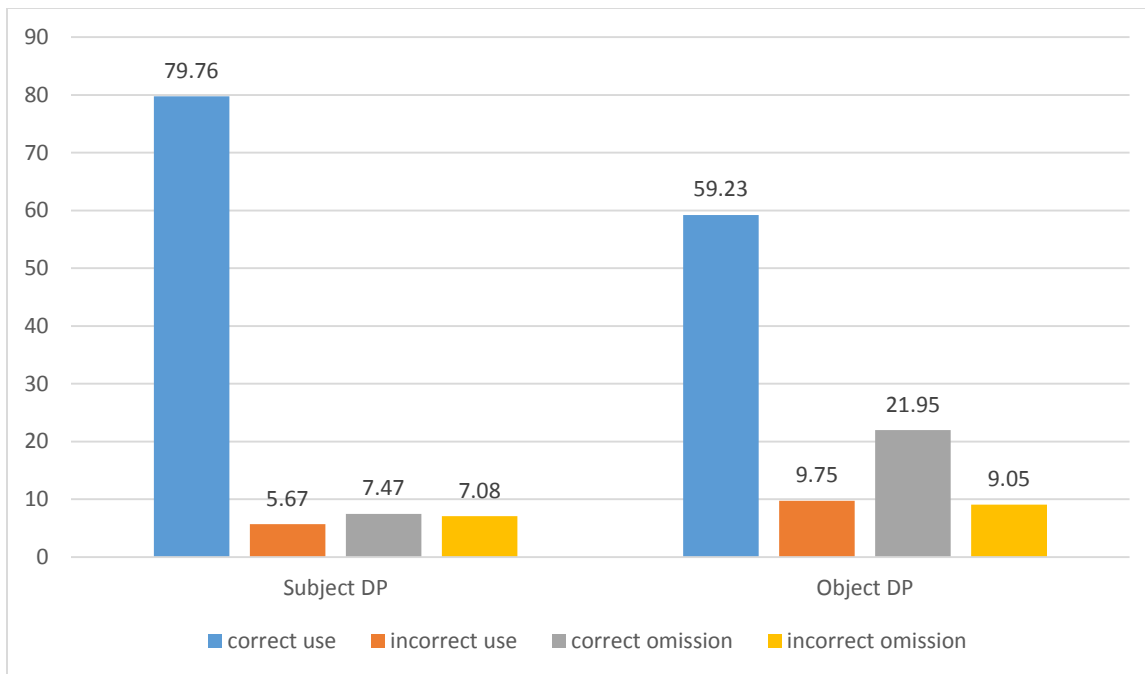
In (61), the proper nominative particle must be *-i* because it follows a consonant. Both examples tell us Japanese learners used *-ka* instead of the correct form of *-i*. This error is likely due to direct transfer from Japanese nominative particle *-ga*, though, there were other errors, which were caused by potential L1 influence.

(62) **Example: replacement error (Japanese written)**

- a. 친구*에 만났어요
Cingu-***ey** manna-ss-eyo
Friend-**LOC** meet-PAST
'I met my friend.'

- b. 지하철*에 타고 가서.
 Cihacel-*ey tako kase
 Subway-LOC take and go
 ‘I went to take a subway.’

In (62), the locative marker *-ey* incorrectly replaces the accusative particle *-ul/lul*. These errors seem to be directly influenced by Japanese in that the Japanese verb *au* ‘to meet’ and *noru* ‘to ride’ take a particle *-ni*, which is also used as a locative marker. However, Korean verbs *thata* ‘to ride’ and *mantata* ‘to meet’ require accusative particles. These errors, therefore, seem to have been directly translated from Japanese, and this pattern of error was also displayed in the spoken data.

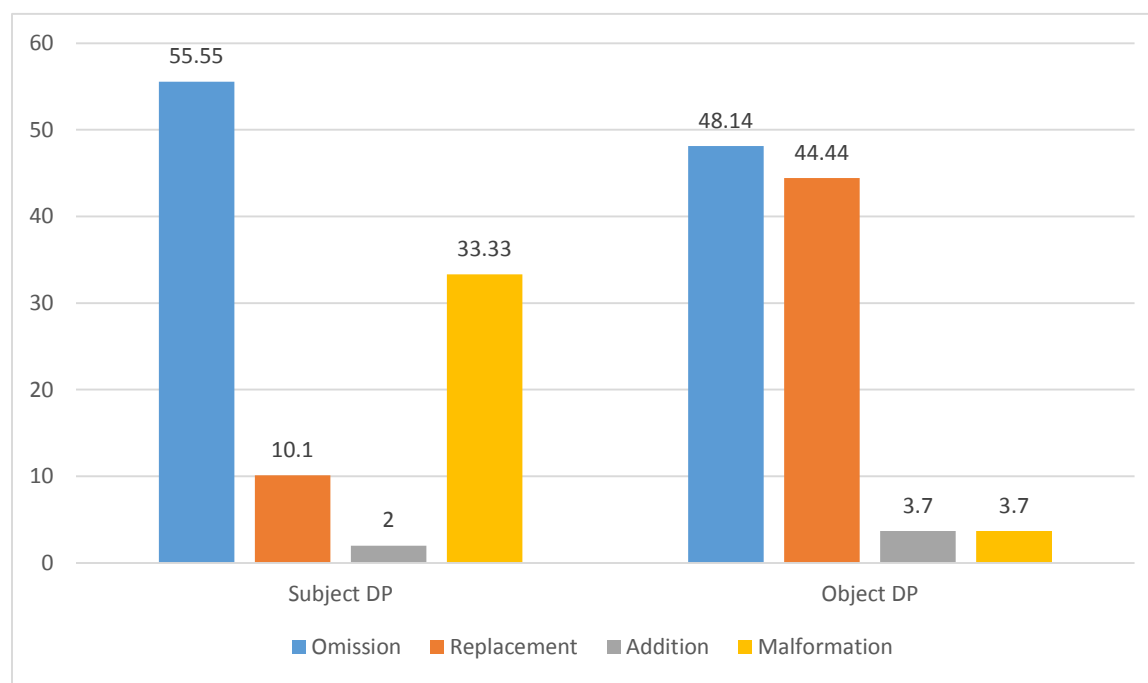


< Figure 17. Japanese spoken data >

Japanese learners’ correct use of case particle for the subject was 79% with a correct omission rate of 7.4%, totaling a correct percentage of 87%. They supplied accusative particles for an object 59.23% of the time while English speakers used object particles in the oral data at a

rate of 65.26% and Chinese speakers had the lowest rate (42.57%). Brown and Iwasaki (2013) found Japanese learners omitted more particles than English learners. However, since they did not distinguish between correct omission and incorrect omission, the results do not clearly show negative avoidance or native-like strategy. In my data, both the correct and incorrect omission rates are shown. Even though Japanese learners omitted object particles quite often (31%), the incorrect rate was only 9%, and the entire omission rate was higher for the objects than the subjects.

I noted that in the process of acquiring case particles (age 1.8-3 years), Korean children showed better performance at acquiring nominative particles and dropping accusative particles or misusing nominative in the place of accusative particles. Japanese learners of Korean showed a similar pattern in that they supplied nominative particles more often than accusative particles and used nominative particles more correctly while dropping more accusative particles incorrectly.



< Figure 18. Japanese spoken- error types >

Just as Chinese and English learners dropped case particles in obligatory contexts, the most common error for Japanese learners was also incorrectly dropping particles. However, a unique error pattern was found in the Japanese speakers' data, namely a malformation error with the subject DP (33.33%). As discussed earlier, this error type is potentially influenced by the L1.

(63) **Example: malformation error in the subject DP (Japanese spoken)**

- a. 타이밍*가 없어서
 Taiming-**ka** epse-se
 Timing-**ka (NOM)** not exist-so
 'Because there was no chance(timing)' (participant 21)
- b. 제 아들*가 있어서..
 Ce atul-***ka** iss-e-se
 My son-***ka (NOM)** exist-so
 'because I have a son' (participant 20)
- c. 슬슬 1년*가 다 갔어요
 Sulsul 1nyen-***ka** ta kasse-yo
 Almost 1year-**ka (NOM)** all passed
 'Almost one year has passed.' (participant 9)
- d. 받침*가 일본어는 없으니까..
 Patchim-***ka** ilbone-nun epsu-nika
 Final consonant-**ka(NOM)** Japanese-TOP not-exist-so
 'Because there are no final consonants in Japanese.' (participant 7)

The examples in (63) show incorrect use of *-ka* for *-i*. Interestingly, there was not a single context in which learners incorrectly utilized *-i* instead of *-ka*. There were times, however, that learners additionally inserted *-i* in order to use the *-ka* particle as in (64).

(64) **Insertion of *-i* for using *-ka* (Japanese spoken)**

a. 열*이가 나서

Yel-***i-ka** na-se (participant 20)

Fever-**i-ka (NOM)** come out so

‘because I had fever’

b. 음악*이가 좋아요

emak-***i-ka** coa-yo (participant 13)

music- **i-ka (NOM)** good-DECL

‘I like music.’

Learners incorrectly added *-i* in front of the *-ka* particle in sentences (64a-b). This type of error was also observed in Korean children (Kim 1997) in so much as Korean children used ‘*Kepuksen-***i-ka*** (turtleship-i-ka)’. However, in Kim’s study, the children incorrectly used both nominative particles in the context of accusative particle because the ‘turtle ship’ was an object in the sentence. Japanese learners, on the other hand, overused *-ka* or *-i-ka* in the context of the nominative particle *-i*. Therefore, they appeared to be aware that the nominative particle must be used. It is not clear, though, whether this was an error in the process of acquiring a correct subject particle with respect to using allomorphs or whether it was due to direct L1 transfer from Japanese to Korean.

This type of error was also shown in one English participant’s data (*hyeng-i-ka* ‘brother-i-ka’ by participant 3), but this English speaker learned Japanese four years prior to learning Korean, so it is not clear how much the L2 Japanese might have influenced the Korean learning, and it is highly likely the nominative particle of Japanese *-ka* influenced the overuse of Korean case particles *-ka* in the context of *-i*. If this is the case, Japanese as an L1 and an L2 may play a role in acquiring target features of Korean case particles. Further study is needed to confirm this.

4.2.6 Discussion and conclusion

In the study, I investigated Korean structural case particles in production, writing and spontaneous speaking within the intermediate L2 learner group with three different L1s. The main goal of the study was to see 1) if the type of task—written and/or spoken—affects the use of case particles; 2) whether learners' L1s play an important role in the use of case particles and; 3) if the L1s do, how much does the L1 influence the use of particles.

In the first research question, learners of all three L1s consistently showed the production of case particles was more correct in their written data. The error and omission rate in the written data was low. This can be accounted for by two different factors. As mentioned earlier, even native speakers of Korean supply more case particles in the formal setting of writing, and though learners could choose any speech style to utilize in their writing, written data is often more formal than speech, leading to better results (Lee, Jang & Seo, 2009; Brown and Iwasaki 2013). The second possible factor is the property of the writing and speaking. Because the speaking production was spontaneous free talking, learners may have had time-constraint stress.

Regarding the question of how L2 learners of Korean produced case particles in written and spoken settings, it became clear that learners' proficiency was higher in their written than spoken data. Although learners were not timed for speaking, it is obvious that they could not have had as much time as in their writing production. It has been mentioned that the time-constraint task is highly relevant to learners' less proficient results (Clahsen et al 2010, Grüter et al 2011, Sagarra & Herschensohn 2011). Also, in the oral production, learners may have needed to find a relevant lexicon while focusing on other grammatical items, which may have made them less likely to pay attention to “trivial” elements, such as particles. Learners tend to focus on

lexical items for meaning before grammatical forms (VanPatten 2004). It is also important to keep in mind that Korean case particles are different from other grammatical morphemes, such as English articles, in that Korean case particles, unlike English articles, can be omitted in many contexts. In other words, it is not ungrammatical to have case particles missing in many instances. Yet, there are times when case particles should be obligatory. In Korean language learning class, though, obligatory use of case particles is not usually taught. Hence, there is a possibility that learners may have supplied lexical items and dropped case particles when they were either too busy with processing information or considered case particles as unimportant.

With the results of this study, it seems evident that the role of the L1 and the distance between L1 and L2 are indispensable factors of L2 acquisition. For example, Japanese speakers were more accurate in both the written and spoken tasks than English or Chinese speakers. Recall that there was no significant differences between Japanese learners and English learners ($P=0.1453$, $P>0.05$) in the written task, but still Japanese learners' performance was at ceiling (94.2%). It was not surprising, therefore, to find Japanese learners were the most proficient, highly possibly because of the similarity between Japanese and Korean.

Similarly, learners' oral production clearly indicates the discrepancies as based on their L1s. While English and Chinese learners performed well in the written task (English 90.78% and Chinese 88.47%), their oral data was significantly different (English 75.83% and Chinese 62.7%). This may be due to the fact that although English and Chinese do not have morphemes for case particles equivalent to Korean or Japanese, the distinct forms for the subject and object pronouns in English facilitate the better performance of English learners. In English, accusative case is the default case (Schütze 2001), which may explain why English learners used the accusative case more correctly if L1 English indeed plays a role in the use of Korean particles.

Both the English and Chinese learners omitted subject particles often but the subject *ce* ‘I’ was usually accompanied with the nominative or topic marker. This could be due to the frequency effect as from the beginning of Korean education, learners have used and heard sentences including *ce-nun* ‘I-TOP’. When other non-pronoun DPs were described, the subject particles were usually missing in the English learners’ data. Here are some example sentences by the English learners:

(65) **Subject particle missing (English learners)**

- a. 제니-***Ø** 같이 보지 않았어요.
 Jenny-***Ø** kachi boci ana-sse-yo
 Jenny together see not-PAST
 ‘Jenny did not see it with ...’ (participant 4)
- b. 어머니-***Ø** 재우려고 책을 읽었어요.
 Emeni-***Ø** cayu-lyeko cayk-ul ilk-ess-eyo
 Mother make sleep-in order to book-ACC read-PAST
 ‘A mother read a book in order to make (a kid) sleep. (participant 21)

This omission was very common and could be influenced by English in that non-pronoun DPs do not show case in English, which makes for omission of the subject. The same participants used the correct topic or nominative marker for the subject ‘I’ as in (66).

(66) **Subject particles with ‘I’ (English learners)**

- a. 나는 친구 필요해요.
 Na-nun cinku pilyohay-yo
 I-TOP friend need
 ‘I need a friend.’ (participant 4)
- b. 제가 제일 좋아하는 계절은 겨울이에요.
 Ce-ka ceil coahanun kyecel-un kyeul-ie-yo
 I-NOM most like season-TOP winter-COP-DECL
 ‘The season that I like is winter.’ (participant 21)

As discussed earlier, Japanese learners made errors where Korean and Japanese structurally differed. Because the two languages are alike, Japanese learners seemed to directly utilize their knowledge of Japanese particles. This may have caused errors such as the overuse of the incorrect *-ka* in place of the correct allomorph *-i*. The Japanese learners' unusually high rate of malformation error rate, when compared to English and Chinese learners, seems to prove this theory. Japanese learners also had a difficult time using accusative particles *-ul/lul* especially during the spoken task. This may be because of the complexity of particles when compared to their Japanese counterparts. The Japanese accusative particle has only one form, *-o*, whereas Korean has two different forms. Japanese learners would, therefore, need to go through a process of choosing based on these rules and, to make matters worse, unlike Japanese, Korean accusative particles have a final liquid consonant [l], which does not exist in the Japanese phonemic inventory. This could cause a high omission of accusative particles by Japanese learners.

It is important to recall, though, that all three L1 groups performed very well in the written task. The discrepancy based on their L1 plays a more serious role in their speaking. A look at their spoken data provides us with answers to the question of what is transferred from the L1 to the new language. The overall high rate of proficiency in the learners' use of case particles tells us that, regardless of their L1s, learners can acquire case particles and use them properly. This knowledge, however, is easily prohibited under circumstances involving time-constraints and stress. The case particles, as functional morphemes, can be easily ignored or treated as less important than lexicons in spontaneous speech.

In addition, speaking is a time when learners' L1s may adversely affect their use of case particles. Deep transfer may have occurred in that learners may be able to utilize syntactic knowledge of case, but the stress of speaking may cause slippage in the learners' results.

Pronouns in English must be transformed into the nominative or accusative case forms. English learners may, therefore, have proper knowledge of case particles in pronouns or certain DPs but, at the same time, use non-pronoun DPs incorrectly or without case particles. This tells us deep transfer from their L1 occurs but not at all times.

In terms of Japanese, successful transfer may occur but can also prohibit correct use of Korean particles. Japanese learners are likely to omit object particles whenever they feel the sentence is too difficult because they know the native strategy is that case particles in both Korean and Japanese can be dropped, and this similarity can have a negative transfer effect (Ringbom 2007) in that Japanese learners tend to overuse phonemically and syntactically similar nominative particle *-ka* in the context of *-i*. Nonetheless, it is obvious that the similar system of case particles in Japanese has had an overall positive effect on acquiring Korean case particles.

			Chinese L1	English L1	Japanese L1
Written	Subject	Correct use	83% (311)	86.5% (302)	96.9% (382)
	Object	Correct use	90.47% (261)	89.2% (256)	90.5% (258)
	both	Correct use	86.5% (572)	87.8% (558)	93.7% (640)
Spoken	Subject	Correct use	50.3% (554)	73.9% (435)	87.2% (677)
	Object	Correct use	73.97% (410)	78.5% (318)	81.2% (233)
	both	Use	62.13% (1054)	76.2% (753)	84.2% (1063)

<Table 8. written and spoken data: percentage and tokens>

In sum, there seems to be a strong relationship between learners' L1s and the acquisition of case particles in Korean. Regardless of whether the L1s have an overt morphological case system or not, learners of Korean can acquire Korean case particles at the intermediate level. The main difficulty in using case particles occurs in an oral setting. The L1 plays a serious role in both spoken and written tasks but is more important in successfully completing the spoken task

while deep transfer occurs in both and is less significant in the spoken. Similarity of syntax is not sufficient in using the target feature, especially in speech. Rather, similarity in both syntax and morphology seem to facilitate use of the target items in both a written and spoken setting (Japanese-Korean). Even so, the similarities of the L1 and L2 may play a negative role in certain circumstances. Nevertheless, features existing in the L1 seem to have a more positive than negative effect on learning similar features in an L2.

Chapter 5. Qualitative study for L2 Korean

Chapter 5 and 6 will focus on the qualitative study of L2 Korean learners. In this chapter, the rationale and method of the qualitative study will be introduced, while chapter 6 will report general findings from the study.

5.1. Rationale of the study

Because language learning occurs through social interactions both inside and outside of a classroom setting, language learning cannot be understood without taking social settings into consideration (Brooks 1992; Donato 1994; Ohta 1995, 1997, 2001). Social sciences are “concerned with psychological and intellectual phenomena the empathetic understanding” of people in society (Ragin & Becker 1992: 140).

This dissertation used both quantitative and qualitative studies to gain a better and more holistic understanding of learners’ acquisition of language as well as of learners’ perceptions of Korean case particles. The necessity of a mixture of quantitative and qualitative study has been discussed in applied linguistics (Cresswell & P. Clark 2007; Greene 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003, 2009; Weiss 1994). As discussed earlier, the quantitative studies investigated learners’ grammatical ability (judgment) and use of case particles. The qualitative study which is used to explore Korean language learners’ diverse stories is a good tool with which to observe learners in a social setting.

My decision to use a qualitative study for this specific research project derived, in part, from my own personal interest. Recently, most applied linguistics studies using a qualitative method have tended to “follow a postmodern acknowledgement” (Holliday 2010:98) and, as such, have produced “subjective” research (Walford 1991: 1). I found myself wanting to describe

the qualitative part of my study not only as a researcher but also as an active observer and interlocutor. The L2 learners in my study entered their language learning classrooms with varying levels of language proficiency, learning styles, personal identities, and motivation as well as different assumptions about the target language itself. As a teacher of Korean, it has always been helpful for me to know about my learners as individuals. Knowing students' linguistic backgrounds, motivations behind learning Korean and language environment has always helped me better understand my learners and design classes specifically tailored to meet their needs. Their struggles with certain parts of the language can be mitigated when I understand their backgrounds and the differences each learner inherently possesses. In addition, knowing the learners' opinions and backgrounds has not only helped me as a teacher but has also influenced me in the design of my research. Therefore, as a researcher of Korean, I have tried to answer research questions regarding learners' proficiency and perceptions of Korean grammar and case particles based on their L1s.

As the previous chapters have shown, learners of Korean who do not have case particles present in their L1s (such as English and Chinese learners) seem to have greater difficulty using Korean case particles and judging errors in particle use. The quantitative experiments showed what parts of language acquisition are relatively easy and what parts were obviously more difficult. Even so, I like to have my participants speak of their own struggles instead of simply judging their struggles by the errors present in their quantitative data. Therefore, in conjunction to my quantitative research, I had each participant talk about what parts of language acquisition they found challenging and about what parts they found the most interesting.

Although there has been some qualitative research on Korean case particles and learners' difficulties in using them, little work has been done to discover what learners' perceptions of

their difficulties are and what strategies they have employed to combat them. My previous research, coupled with a personal curiosity in regards to the subject, finally led me to conduct interviews with L2 Korean learners in the hopes of providing a more holistic view of L2 Korean learning.

Calderhead (1987) states one of a teacher's main duties is to deeply understand each learner, especially their difficulties—a notion that has become of critical importance to the field of second language (L2) acquisition. Stern (1983) similarly argues, “The difficulties of second language learning are a common-sense fact which is universally recognized” (p.400).

Nevertheless, research on L2 Korean has not dealt with learners' stories or perceptions as a tool to better understand the learners' actual learning processes and production. Therefore, there has been a huge gap between the quantitative research in the field of Korean L2 acquisition and the qualitative investigation of learners' perceptions and strategies

The main purpose of this qualitative study is to fill this gap and provide holistic research that links individual perceptions to actual language use. In order to do this, I have tried to examine Korean L2 learners' perceptions in terms of L2 learning. As a Korean L2 researcher and teacher, I hope these findings can foster a better understanding of learners and more efficient instruction in L2 Korean classes.

5.1.1. Individual differences

There is a growing interest in individual learner differences in the SLA field, so it is important to look into these differences and into learners' perceptions of them (Benson & Nunan 2005; Dörnyei 2005; Green 1994). L2 learners vary in terms of their acquisition processes and their ultimate success in learning their target L2s (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009). Awareness of this

variation has made individual differences one of the most thoroughly studied areas of SLA for the past several decades (Duff & Uchida, 1997, Gan 2011). In order to look into the learners' individual differences, close interaction with the learners is inevitable.

Through the language survey and the interviews I conducted, I discovered the participants in my study were not only different in regards to their first language but also in regards to their motivations, language attitudes, preferred language environments, and learning strategies. As such, in this dissertation, I will discuss individual differences beyond those found in the learners' L1, taking into account both external and internal factors.

There are great differences between L2 learners in terms of external factors (as well as in internal development. It is important to look beyond the external factors in order to better understand the acquisition process within the individuals' psycholinguistic contexts (Long 1997). As such, it is desirable to consider the interaction between social activity and psycholinguistic elements (Collentine and Freed 2004; Firth and Wagner 1997). To do so, I will begin by discussing external factors (e.g. motivation, language environment, language use and strategies), as well as internal factors such as actual data and previously acquired languages, though most importantly, learners' linguistic perceptions on Korean will be discussed.

5.1.1.1 Motivation

Gardner and Lambert (1959) were the first to categorize different learner motivations by formulating the theory of attitudes and motivation. They make a distinction between integrative and instrumental orientation. Integrative orientation refers to motivations for L2 learning that form identification with the community of the L2. On the other hand, instrumental orientation refers to reasons for learning a L2 that "reflect the more utilitarian value of linguistic

achievement” (p. 267). Instrumental orientation, therefore, does not usually accompany the intention of integration or assimilation into the L2 community. Troike (2006:86) similarly categorizes two types of motivation—integrative and instrumental—the former of which is “based on learner interest, i.e. to what extent the learner is interested in the country or the culture represented by the target language group” while the latter is deeply influenced by the desire to learn a language in order “to increase occupational or business opportunities, but also to get prestige or power” (Lennartsson 2008: 7).

In addition to integrative and instrumental orientations, two types of motivation have been widely used in the field of applied linguistics: extrinsic and intrinsic motivations (Vellerand 1997). Extrinsic motivation is formed by others, especially in the context of rewards and punishments. Intrinsic motivation, on the other hand, is self-motored and can lead to autonomous learning. As such, intrinsic motivation often accompanies feelings and emotional responses (Slavin 2003) while extrinsic motivation leads learners to be sensitive to extrinsic reward or punishment—a striking contrast to intrinsic motivation, which is done to experience satisfaction (Dörnyei 2001).

An example of intrinsic motivation would be a person who chooses to learn a second language because he or she feels satisfied or experiences intrinsic joy while learning the language. This satisfaction can be present from the moment he or she masters a new concept or portion of the grammar to the moment when he or she achieves complete language development (Bernard 2010). This means intrinsic motivation can also refer to the reason the person chooses to acquire the target language in the first place, from personal interest in the language itself to more broad interest in the culture. Extrinsically motivated activities, on the other hand, are accompanied by some kind of outside goal. For instance, a student who chooses a language

because he or she needs a language requirement to graduate college has an extrinsic motivation. Similarly, a person with extrinsic motivation may wish to learn Spanish because he or she believes Spanish would improve his or her career, provide better job opportunities or make travel to countries in which Spanish is spoken easier. Even though these two types of motivation are separate, they can be connected in the process of learning a language. Bernard (2010) suggests the possibility that “activities can be initiated extrinsically and later be internalized to become intrinsically motivated” (p.5) or vice versa.

Although motivation has been an important issue in L2 literature, the approach to it has been limited or has often asked superficial questions. “L2 motivation is necessarily a multifaceted construct, and describing its nature and its core features requires particular care” Dörnyei (1998:118). Therefore, a more holistic approach to investigate learners’ motivations and use of their L2s should be utilized. I chose to use a mixture of language survey and one-on-one interviews in order to provide a clearer and deeper understanding of the correlation between student motivation and their use of Korean.

In the interviews, most learners mentioned their motivations for learning Korean and their specific learning goals, and each individual group of learners showed clear differences in both of these areas. The L1 Chinese group primarily opted to study Korean in Korea because they wanted to attend a Korean college and needed Korean proficiency. It is because they wanted to succeed at an institution of higher learning and comfortably live in Korea. Many of the English learners, on the other hand, had not yet visited Korea and, as such, their motivation was purely intrinsic. For example, several of the English learners stated they chose Korean out of their own personal interest or out of cultural curiosity. The Japanese participants in my study, on the other hand, often had relationships with Korean friends or family, such as spouses,

boyfriends, girlfriends or best friends. Their main goal was, therefore, to be able to interact more fully with people in their lives. Due to their close relationships with Koreans, Japanese learners also expressed strong cultural interest. This contrast in motivation among the three groups can explain different attitudes and strategies the learners expressed and employed.

5.1.1.2 Language environment and use

My study was conducted in two different places: the U.S. and Korea. Out of the 70 participants chosen for the study, 36 participants were physically in Korea at the time of the study (2 English, 16 Chinese, 18 Japanese) and 34 participants were in the U.S. (25 English, 6 Chinese, 3 Japanese). Among the 34 participants in the U.S., 10 had been living in Korea three months before the study, so a total of 24 participants had not been to Korea at all before the study began.

Following the strict definitions of a second language (SL) and a foreign language (FL), the target language, which is mainly used in the area in which the learner resides, is called the second language while the language not used in the area in which a learner resides is called the foreign language. Although this study deals with Korean as an L2, strictly speaking, 26 learners learned and used Korean as a foreign language while 36 learners who were living in Korea at the time of the study used Korean as a second language. In her dissertation, Hwang (2002) distinguishes Korean FL from Korean SL, focusing only on Korean FL learners. I did not distinguish between the two groups for several reasons, firstly, because I found that the environment in which Korean is used as a second language does not necessarily provide the benefit of immersion to the participants, which will be discussed later. Secondly, in the language survey and interviews, I discovered participants in Korea were also limited in Korean use.

For example, Chinese participant 8 and participant 5 both stated that they do not have many opportunities to speak Korean in Korea.

I: 친구 중에 한국말 쓰는 친구 없어요³⁴?

Do you have any friend who uses Korean?

S: 아니오. 제 친구 같은 언어 (중국어 써요). 항상.. 그래서 여기 왔는데 중국말 했는데.. 중국에 있는 것 같아요.

No. I always use (Chinese) with my friends. So although I came here, I use Korean so I feel like I am in China. (Chinese participant 8)

I: 한국 친구는 자주 만나요?

Do you meet the Korean friend often?

S: 아니오 자주 만나지 않아요. 그 친구를 만날 때 중국어 이야기했어.

No I don't meet him often. When I meet him, we only speak in Chinese. (Chinese participant 5)

Other participants attending a Korean language course in Korea similarly stated that most of the classmates they interacted with were non-native Korean speakers, so they usually got together with people from the same L1 (Chinese) and talked mostly in their L1.

This was the same for the Japanese speakers. One of the Japanese participants, participant 19 was living in Korea with her Korean husband at the time of the interview also shared a similar story.

³⁴ In the excerpts, *I* refers to the Interviewer (myself, the interlocutor). If there is a conversation, the interviewees' initial is used to be distinguished from the interviewer *I*. If it is not a conversation, there is no initial.

집에서 남편도 일본말 잘 할 수 있으니까 그냥 일본말만 말 해요

At home, because my husband can speak Japanese very well, we only speak Japanese.
(Japanese participant 19).

These participants' responses were clear examples of how 'being in the language environment' can differ from 'having opportunities of language use'. While it is natural for learners to have more input in the linguistic environment where their TL is used (e.g. TV or neighborhood), most of the input they had in Korea seemed to be incomprehensible. As a result, it seems that it is still difficult to acquire or use such input at their language level (e.g. Krashen 1985).

Some English learners, on the other hand, stated that they had frequent opportunities to speak in Korean as they had a Korean roommate or a boyfriend/girlfriend who spoke to them mostly in Korean. For the most part, the distinction of KFL and KSL did not cause a meaningful result to become the main focus in my study.

I used a pretest and TOPIK levels as the guidelines by which participants were allowed to participate in my study. Because the qualitative part of the study included a broader band of participants with varying linguistic backgrounds, I was curious to see if there was any difference with respect to the linguistic environment and its effects on learners' attitudes, use and strategies. Many of the participants in the U.S. showed the desire to visit or live in Korea, but because they had not been to Korea yet, their idea of learning Korean in Korea was sometimes imagined with a good deal of fantasy as it was often based on Korean TV shows or movies they had watched. I found that learners in Korea, on the other hand, gave me a strikingly different point of view as their learning and use of Korean as a language took place in a very different social setting. Their use and perception was more that of a "language in real action" (Foucault 1984). Therefore, I

noticed that their idea of living in Korea with an imperfect grasp of the Korean language was seen in a negative light, which can be an example of the difficulty of learning Korean in a pure immersion situation.

Chinese participants 2 and 5 both explained the difficulties they face in taking a Korean course in the Korean language. They seemingly preferred grammar explanations to be given in Chinese as they would prefer to have explicit knowledge of the grammar.

한국에서 (한국어) 쓰기 어려워요. 선생님들은 무슨 표현을 쓰나 우리에게 알려주지만 모두 그냥 대부분 표현할 때 말해요. 중국대학교 언어학과 선생님 자세히 무슨 표현 무슨 표현 다...

In Korea, using Korean is difficult. Teachers told us what kind of expressions we have to use but everything is just explained in the expressions (without clear explanations). Teachers in China gave details of each expression... (Chinese participant 5)

I: 한국어에서 뭐가 힘들어요?

What is difficult in Korean?

J: 뭐가 힘들어..? 선생님.. 한국어로 수업.. 한국어 그냥.. 설명.. 중국어로 문법 있어요. 하지만 그냥 설명해요. 중국 사람들 이해할 수 없어요.

What is difficult? Teachers just explain in Korean. There is a grammar explanation in Chinese but teachers just explain (in Korean). Chinese don't understand. (Chinese participant 2)

Other learners also expressed similar difficulties, showing some of the inherent problems of learning in an immersion situation. This issue reappeared several times throughout the interview process, but it was not expressed by all participants. Especially learners who had not yet visited Korea showed clear expectancy.

I feel like I can improve my Korean much better in Korea because I will only use Korean there. I'm excited. (English participant 3).

English participant 3, therefore, showed a degree of expectancy and hoped to learn Korean in an immersion situation. Therefore, there was a clear discrepancy on learning Korean in an immersion situation.

Overall, the learners' discourse reflected their experiences (Gee, Michaels and O'connor 1992), and the psychological paths (Trudgill 1984). Learners in the U.S. who had not been to Korea did not always show opinions on reality. As Heath (1982) expounds, one of the goals of my research was "to describe the ways of living or a social group" (p.34), so I wanted to open the door of my research to include both the U.S. and Korea.

5.1.1.3 Learning strategies

Cohen (1996) states that language strategies "constitute the steps or actions selected by learners either to improve the learning of a second language, the use of it, or both" (p.2). He also classifies language strategies into two categories: language learning strategies and language use strategies. Language learning strategies are strategies learners use with the specific goal of improving "their knowledge in a target language" (Cohen 1996: 3) while language use strategies are used to better employ the target language in any given situation. In most cases, these two strategies overlap, and sometimes the former is preceded by the latter. Therefore, in this dissertation, I will also look at both strategies, though sometimes the distinction between the two will be unclear, depending upon the learners.

It is important to remember learners' strategies are varied, complex and individually-oriented (Griffiths 2008; Naiman et al 1978; Wenden 1991). Previous research has found that more advanced or successful language learners have greater strategies in that they arrive at

insights of language development and try to play an active role in learning the language (Green and Oxford 1995; White 2008)³⁵. It is also inevitable to consider language strategies related to the language community. Abhakorn (2008) highlights the importance of strategies related to social and compensation strategies, which “are performed as behaviors to aid using a second language” (p.189). This approach seeks to understand L2 use as a communicative tool (Canale and Swain 1980) or as a tool used in the context of a social setting (Ohta 2000; Vygotsky1962, 1978). In my interview, I also noticed that learners have different strategies depending upon identity and their language attitudes toward Korean communities. There are other studies suggesting that language attitude closely directs the quality and quantity of learning strategies a student employs. For example, language attitudes can have so great an effect that they inspire students to pursue learning on a self-directed basis (McCombs 1990). Similarly, “language learning attitudes are the basis of how learners approach their learning strategies they employ” (Gan 2011:68). Strategies can ultimately lead to success in language learning (Oxford & Lee 2008; Riley 1996). Without closely delving into learners’ attitudes, it would be difficult to explore their actual learning strategies.

The interviews, therefore, gave me additional insight by helping me find learners’ perceptions on Korean language, case particles, and the difficulty and strategies they used. I noticed that learners’ strategies were tightly connected to their language identities. Besides, the participants sometimes untied their strategies and rethought their identities as Korean L2 learners.

One of the Chinese participants stated:

³⁵ Oxford (1990) categorized four functional groups of language learning strategies: cognitive, metacognitive, affective or social.

C: 친구들 다 영어 배우고 싶지만 왜 한국에 왔냐고 했어요. 영어 더 쉬워요. 한국 친구 별로 없어요.

C: *All my friends said that they want to learn English but why they came to Korea? English is easier. And we don't have many Korean friends.*

I: 한국어 문법은 어때요?

I: *How about Korean grammar?*

C: 문법 쓸 때 많지 않아요. 많이 배우지만 대화할 때 제일 쉬운 문법 써요. 문법.. 별로 안 써요.

C: *I don't have many chances to use grammar. I learn a lot (of grammar) but I use only the easiest grammar. I don't use grammar that much. (Chinese participant 10)*

This particular participant, Chinese 10, showed little interest in Korean culture or language. She stated she went to Korea to obtain higher education but would have rather gone to an English-speaking country as she thought English was an easier language to learn than Korean. Her main strategy for coping with grammar difficulties she said was “avoiding” which will be also discussed in the next chapter.

Language learning strategies, therefore, are clearly dependent upon the individual language habits and aptitudes of the learners. It was found that motivated and advanced learners possess more concrete and active strategies both inside and outside of the classroom setting (Mckay & Wong 1996; Zuengler & Miller 2006). Learners' strategies give them “the satisfaction experienced in this activity” (Gardner 1985:10), and, as such, learners' strategies will be discussed alongside their attitudes and identities in my study.

5.1.1.4 Previously acquired L2

The main focus of this study is the role of the L1 in language acquisition, but the notion of language transfer (i.e., cross-linguistic influence in language learning) also has to be

contemplated along with the learners' previously acquired languages (De Angelis & Selinker 2001; Dewaele 1998, 2001; Fuller 1999; Odlin 1989; Ringbom 2001; Rothman 2010)³⁶.

Korean is the target language of this study, but all of the participants had learned other languages before starting to learn Korean so Korean was an L3, L4 or Ln for them. I have also paid attention to the learners who acquired Japanese as their L2 before Korean because Japanese has the same case particles as Korean. In my study, there were 10 participants (7 English, 3 Chinese) who had learned Japanese before Korean. Out of the 10, 9 responded in the language survey that L2 Japanese facilitated learning Korean especially for the learning of grammar and case particles. In the interview, these participants also stated knowledge of Japanese facilitated learning Korean as follows:

I started learning Japanese when I was 15 years old...Knowing Japanese was helpful because the grammar is similar if not the same. (English participant 3)

Case particles specifically, the basic of that, I learned in Japan. So that made it a little more easy to understand. (English participant 7)

I didn't have problems with the case particles but I think that was because I had a Japanese background. (English participant 12).

I studied Japanese before Korean, which made learning Korean grammar easier. (English participant 19).

³⁶ Some of the important L3 (Ln) models are: 1) Cumulative Enhancement Model (CEM, Flynn and Vinnitskya 2004), which argues existing (any or all) languages can be transferred; 2) L2 Status Factor Model (Bardel & Falk 2007; Falk & Bardel 2011), which claims that a L2, not a L1, holds the most influence in terms of acquiring L3 morphosyntax; 3) Typological Primacy Model (TPM, Rothman 2010, 2011), which states a typologically similar language, either from L1 or L2, can have positive and negative effects on L3; and 4) Hermas (2010), who highlights mere effect from the L1.

Therefore, L2 Japanese prior to Korean is also considered as transfer from L2 to L3.

5.2 The study

5.2.1 Research questions

The research questions that motivated the start of the project are listed below:

- 1) What are learners' motivations to learn Korean?
- 2) What are the learners' perceptions of Korean and Korean case?
- 3) Do learners' different L1s have an effect on perceptions of Korean as an L2?
- 4) Do learners' different L1s have an effect on perceptions of Korean case particles?
- 5) What are the possible reasons why case particles are challenging to learners?
- 6) What are learners' strategies? Generally and for case particles?

The first question—that of the motivation of Korean L2 learners—was something that most language learners enjoyed talking about. It became a good way to gain baseline understanding of the learners as it showed the primary reasons they choose Korean as a target language. During the interview, learners seemed to enjoy sharing ideas relevant to the question: why did you choose to learn Korean? And, as such, starting from there served as an efficient ice-breaker by providing a viable opening question.

Research questions 2 through 4 asked about learners' perceptions based on their varying L1s and other previously acquired L2s. Because the participants came from three L1 backgrounds, it was important to listen to their individual perceptions of Korean. Moreover, learners tended to enjoy discussing what they found difficult about learning Korean as well. Questions 5 and 6 targeted learners' opinions of case particles, which often cause difficulties,

giving learners the opportunity to discuss strategies used to combat issues they faced. With the learners' perceptions, their actual use of case particles in written and spoken data will be also compared.

5.2.2. Participants

70 filled out the language questionnaires and 57 learners participated in both the language survey and interview (21 Chinese learners, 17 English learners and 19 Japanese learners). As discussed in the previous chapter, all of the participants were at an intermediate level of Korean language learning, and of the 57 participants, nine key informants (three English, three Japanese, and three Chinese) were chosen to meet again in a multiple case study for a span of six months. They were asked to fill out the language questionnaire and take the pretest of translation. Spontaneous speaking task and written task which were discussed in the previous chapter were performed. After that, they participated in the interview. All of these were taken in a quiet classroom, library or a coffee shop.

5.2.3 Method- the interview

I chose the interview format because it has been found to be a good tool in research of 'learners-centredness' in which L2 learners can actively play an agent role (Benson & Nunan 2004; Wenden 2002; Smith 2013). My study used a directed conversation (Lofland & Lofland 1984, 1995) because a method like that "permits an in-depth exploration of a topic or experience" (Charmaz 2008: 25). Vygotsky (1987), allowing the speaker's consciousness to be formed and shown in every word of his or her story telling (p.236). "SLA is a process that takes place in a social setting... and so do most internal processes" (Long 1997:319). Like other social

science issues, the process and problems in SLA can be better unwoven by closely listening to L2 learners through an interview process.

Of the 70 original participants mentioned, I recruited 57 to participate in a second quantitative study³⁷. 13 of the original participants did not have enough time for the study or were unwilling to talk in depth. The study was carefully evaluated by the University of Washington's Human Subject Division and a signed consent form each participant indicated participation in the study was wholly voluntary. Participants who wanted to leave the study midway through were allowed to do so, and after completing the quantitative experiments, 13 learners did not take part in the interview process. The 57 remaining participants' responses will be introduced in the following pages while the nine key informants will have their responses looked at more closely in the next section.

Questions like “What is difficult in learning Korean?” and “Which grammar parts are the most difficult?” can easily be answered in language questionnaires. However, an in-depth conversation provides more deep and elaborate explanations. For example, English learner participant 5 wrote “Korean grammar” as difficult in the language questionnaire, but in the interview, she stated as follows:

한국어는 처음에는 어려워요. 왜냐하면 이거(이전에 배운 언어들)는 다 같은 규칙 사용하지만 한국어를 갑자기 다른 문법이라서요..

Korean, especially, first time, was difficult. Because these languages (that I learned before) use same rules but Korean has a totally different grammar. (English participant 5)

³⁷ I recruited 36 participants (25 English, 7 Chinese, 4 Japanese) in the U.S., who were attending University of Washington, and 34 participants in Korea, who were attending either studying at the Pusan National University, Sogang University or Pusan University of Foreign studies. Participants received \$10 or ₩10,000 after completing the task. Some participants introduced friends into the study.

English participant 5, therefore, elaborated on why Korean was difficult, for her to acquire, explaining that the difficulty lay in the fact that Korean had a very different grammar than the languages she had learned in the past. This perception of ‘cross-linguistic influence,’ namely that ‘difference is difficulty’ (James 1980; Kellerman 1979, 1986; Odlin 1989; Ringbom 1987) was presented in the interview and not the language background questionnaire. If I had only conducted the questionnaire, I would not have found out this learner’s unique perception of what her exact difficulties were and where they lay. Therefore, to answer the “what” and “why” questions behind learner difficulties and to better understand learners’ reasoning (Brown and Iwasaki 2013), I used the interview process.

There are three different types of interviews: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. Structured interviews have pre-planned interview questions and an interviewer asks these questions only. This effectively keeps the interview focused on a target topic (Alsaawi 2014; Bryman 2008). However, this kind of interview also “can limit the availability of in-depth data” (Alsaawi 2014: 151). An unstructured interview, on the other hand, gives flexibility to the questions and content of the interview so interviewees can elaborate and lead the interview in unexpected directions (Dörnyei 2007). Semi-structured interviews, meanwhile, are also known as ‘focused interviews’ and are a mixture of the structured and unstructured interview formats. The interview is performed with preselected questions but can flow into the interviewee-leading direction as well. I chose to use a semi-structured interview because my interview questions were prepared but I wanted my interviewees to also have the chance to elaborate and discuss certain issues “through the use of open-ended questions” (Alsaawi 2014:151).

Seventy learner responses will be shown in the overall data and the nine key informants' interview data will also be discussed separately. The participants in this study were recruited by their Korean teachers or were referred to me by their friends, and the interview itself was performed in a quiet room in a library or at a coffee shop. During the interview, participants used either Korean or English. Some of the interview questions are listed in the appendix.

Interviewing the learners was interesting as their responses guided me into additional questions separate from the ones listed above. In this sense, the interview part of my research became similar to the Grounded Theory (Charmaz 2008). Grounded Theory methodology focuses on interpersonal relationships and the actions of individuals in groups and larger social settings (Mey and Mruck 2009: 101–102). With inductive way of research process, researchers fully immerse themselves in the data (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 37). Therefore, many times the theme of the research is directed by participants. I found the theme of 'language transfer' through the learners' responses, so while conducting the interview, I added more questions regarding language transfer. The questions can be found in the appendix.

Charmaz (2008) states, "the grounded theory journey may take several varied routes, depending on where we want to go and where our analysis takes us" (p.13). Even though my study did not specifically use ethnography, the interview was semi-structured so the participants' responses guided them into more in-depth questions and additional responses. In this sense, the structure of the interview made me generate more research questions regarding language transfer and the role of the L1 and previously acquired L2s.

Although there were basic interview questions, the conversation was often prolonged and other topics were added depending upon the participants' responses, so open questions were used in order to not "affect the respondent's report" (Weiss 1994:74). I chose one-on-one conversation

in order to create a comfortable interview environment (Schwalbe & Wolkomir 2002). Sometimes, though, the participants voluntarily wanted to meet with me a second time to give additional comments after the first interview was over. Moreover, some of the participants brought their classmates or friends with them, so I had three interviews with two participants simultaneously.

Although I met 57 learners initially, I chose the nine key informants out of the 57 for the multiple case study, which will be discussed in more detail in the next section. There were a few specific reasons for selecting these particular informants; if they wanted to meet with me more than twice, they voluntarily became key informants. I met with the nine informants multiple times over the course of six months. Because of geographical difficulties, I could not meet with all of the nine informants consistently. Four of them were in the U.S. and were able to meet with me four or five times while the five informants who were in Korea met with me two or three times in Korea and talked with me on the phone and via Skype later on. These nine informants did not have additional compensation for the multiple meetings and interviews, but they were offered additional help in Korean language learning if they wanted.

5.2.4 Recordings and transcriptions

In order to avoid missing any important points in the learners' answers, oral data and interviews were recorded. In addition, I sometimes jotted down memos while performing the interview in order to highlight important points uttered by the participants (Emerson et al 1995; Charmaz 2008). Most of the time, the interview turned into natural conversation. With the nine key informants, though, I sometimes offered a meal or coffee. Therefore, important points and issues were discussed around meal or tea time, perhaps affecting subject matter discussed. I

noticed participants often opened up to important stories more easily in natural settings such as a restaurant or on the street. It was, therefore, important for me to be a conversation partner in order to help participants actively open up to key issues (Charmaz 2008; Smith 2013).

I completed most of the transcriptions and coding myself in order to reiterate the learners' answers and more deeply understand what they had said. Charmaz (2008) mentions how the researcher "engages in data collection as well as data analysis (p.34) so as to explore nuances of meaning and process" (p.34). Although I recorded every interview, I focused on the most important parts of the interview, paying more attention to the relevant parts of the recordings for the transcriptions. Fetterman (2009) notes how transcribing only the most important sections "keeps the researcher close to the data enabling the researcher to identify subtle themes and patterns" (p.71).

My transcriptions focused on participants' literal information in the interview but did find learners' hidden messages meaningful as well. Because "transcriptions are constructions from an oral conversation to a written text, even the exact same written words in a transcript can convey two quite different meanings." (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:185). I did not include every detail of the conversations in the transcriptions, so things like hesitations, pauses, or false starts were sometimes omitted, though I did pay close attention to possible hidden interpretations or meanings (Pavlenko 2007). I tried to bear in mind that self-corrections, repetitions, pauses, code-switches, omission or additions could be "requests for help" (Pavlenko 2007: 173). My interview questions did not touch on sensitive questions or issues, but I did try to help participants when they could not find correct vocabulary or expressions in Korean.

Transcription is a painstaking process, but I did enjoy the coding. While I was coding my transcriptions, I came to a better understanding of what the learners really wanted to say. I found

some really interesting ideas that I had missed in the interview as I was playing multiple roles such as interlocutor, interviewer, Korean language partner and researcher, so I could not focus on every detail that came up during the interview. The recordings provided me with stories that were reiterated more clearly. Charmaz (2008) states “coding is the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data. Through coding, you define what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means” (p.46).

While coding, I found the real theme of my study (Emerson et al 1995: 188), and this greatly added to the joy of the qualitative work. As a quantitative researcher, I treated my participants as “subjects” who provided me with data to analyze, which was important to a point, but in the qualitative study I was able to observe, see and listen to what the respondents did and said. Although I referred to the respondents as “participants,” I found that in reality, I, and not them, was the one able to “participate” in their worlds.

5.2.5 Content analysis

I used content analysis as a form of transcribed text in order to look at the relevant parts of the questions (Charmaz 2008; Frey, L., Botan, C., & Kreps, G 1999). For the sake of definition, content analysis is one part of textual analysis in that the content in a transcribed text can give rich messages concerning the learners’ perceptions. “Texts are not just effects of linguistic structures and order of discourse, they are also effects of other social structures, and of social practices in all their aspects, so that it becomes difficult to separate out the factors shaping texts” (Fairclough 2003: 25). The goal of using content analysis is to define, identify, and analyze certain phenomena and occurrences of specific messages embedded in speech or texts

(Frey, L., Botan, C., & Kreps, G 1999), and, as such, content analysis is one of the best approaches to using a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methodologies (Smith 1975).

In order to analyze the data, I used definitional, descriptive and interpretative approaches (Berg 2001, Elliot et 2001). Elliot et al categorized five different kinds of qualitative analysis as follows:

- 1) **Definitional:** What is the nature of this phenomenon?
- 2) **Descriptive:** What kinds or varieties does the phenomenon appear in? What aspects does it have?
- 3) **Interpretative:** Why does the phenomenon come about?
- 4) **Critical/action:** What's wrong (or right) about the phenomenon? How could it be made better?
- 5) **Deconstruction:** What assumptions are made in this research? Whose social or political interests are served by it?

I choose to use a mixture of definitional, descriptive and interpretative analyses because of the way participants defined their motivations and identities as Korean learners and because of the concept of language transfer learners defined. In addition, the learners' perceptions on Korean language learning influenced my decision to use multiple forms of analysis, as learners' perceptions must be described as facts in a descriptive approach such as narrative. In his book, Berg (2001) explains that with the interpretative approach, a researcher might "attempt to uncover or capture the essence of an account" (p. 239). With this approach, the research can have relative freedom not only to analyze surface facts but also to come up with possible reasons and solutions occurring behind the scene. Pavlenko (2007) similarly states that it "encourages analysts to reflect on their conceptual lens and to formulate their theoretical assumptions prior to

analysis” (p.175). Most importantly, though, the “why” questions answered in the interviews prompted me to seek out multiple forms of analysis. I was able to investigate the “why” questions and answers through the interpretative approach, which I believed to be the right tool for examining such data.

One of the main goals of my interview study was to discover what learners’ individual perceptions really were. My research questions stemmed from the thought that important factors in acquiring Korean grammar and case particles would appear in learner responses in a repetitive and recurring manner. Until I met with the learners in person, though, and heard their stories, I could not get a clear idea as to what these patterns might be, even though I could hypothesize and guess thanks to similar studies. Ideally, by using a form of content analysis in conjunction with the interviews, I was able to find dominant themes and deep reasons behind certain responses. Subsequent understanding was gained by looking at hidden messages, which helped me generate categories and identify core ideas regarding learners’ perceptions as active or passive learners (Hyland 2002).

5.2.6. Case study

Case study is one of the most widely used research techniques in applied linguistics and L2 acquisition (Casanave 2010a, 2010b; Duff 2007; Merriam 1998). It is used with both quantitative and qualitative methodologies so as to better understand a holistic picture of a person, process or group (Stake 1995; Yin 2003). Baxter and Jack (2008) categorize case studies by purpose and style as follows (p547-548): exploratory, descriptive, multiple-case, intrinsic, instrumental and collective. In addition to the participants’ language survey, I also chose to conduct a multiple-case study with my nine key informants.

The reason I chose a case study was because I needed to analyze and compare learners' productions with their perceptions. My qualitative study will, therefore, be explanatory and instrumental as "I seek to answer a question" (Yin 2003 in Baxter and Jack 2008: 547) and "to refine a theory" (Stake 1995 in Baxter and Jack 2008: 547). My quantitative experiment should, on the other hand, help to provide a holistic sketch of my research. Duff (2010) suggests case studies can provide "detailed linguistic analyses of L2 development" (p.77) because a case study is performed "to look closely at contexts and people" (Van Lier 2005: 195). In order to investigate learners' ideas, perceptions and linguistic lives, a case study seemed a good fit for my research. In her book, Duff (2007) also suggests case studies are useful when there are "key recurring principles (p.23)" in respondents' responses.

When I first conducted the interviews, most of my interviewees were English speakers and Chinese speakers. I noticed most of the participants' answers included the concept of "language transfer." Their responses similarly included the idea that 'this is difficult because it is different from my language.' Here are some examples:

I: 한국어는 뭐가 어려워요?

What is difficult in Korean?

D: 높임말... 그리고 문법... 중국어는 높임말도 없습니다. 그냥 보통 사용하는 게 하나밖에 없습니다. 그래서 (한국어는) 어려워요.

Honorifics.. and grammar.. Chinese doesn't have honorifics. What we normally use is just one kind. So (Korean) is difficult. (Chinese participant 14)

The difficulty in learning Korean is the grammar because it is quite different than English. Case particles are hard because English doesn't have such things. (English participant 23)

Many of the learners had thoughts along the lines of “a different thing is difficult” (James 1980; Kellerman 1979, 1986; Odlin 1989; Ringbom 1987). I noticed the issue of language transfer or cross-linguistic influence from their L1 during the interview process, and it prompted me to want to find out if Korean learners’ L1s had the same kind of case particles, namely in the instance of Japanese³⁸. I wanted to see if Japanese learners would find Korean case particles easier to learn than Chinese and English learners, so I included more Japanese learners of Korean thanks to some of the participants’ referrals. I still had three full L1 groups, though, in order to closely compare learners based on multiple L1s and, as such, a multiple case study was a good tool to use in my overall comparative study.

Although the goal of the case study was not to generalize certain research hypotheses and theories, the case in the study can be applied to other cases in similar situations. Stake (2005: 445) states that because of “all its particularity and ordinariness, the case itself is of interest”. He also suggests a case study can contribute to knowledge, stating:

With an instrumental case study, something external to the case itself holds our interest, and the case study is conducted in order to further our understanding of the external interest. The case itself may or may not be typical, but is chosen ‘to advance understanding of that other interest’ (Stake 2005: 445).

The propositions the researcher seeks to investigate can be a good example or reflection of certain fields of applied linguistics, though case studies or any qualitative studies do not intend to generalize situations and individuals. My study, therefore, will contribute to the field of L2

³⁸ I also had participants whose L1 are Mongolian and Kazak, respectively, which have case particles. However, due to the number of participants, I did not include them in the study.

acquisition especially related to L1 transfer with close attention paid to learners from varying L1s by listening to their stories and looking at their use. With the quantitative and qualitative experiments, I was able to draw the holistic picture of L2 learners' use and development as well as their perceptions with respect to different L1s. The qualitative findings will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6. Learners' perceptions

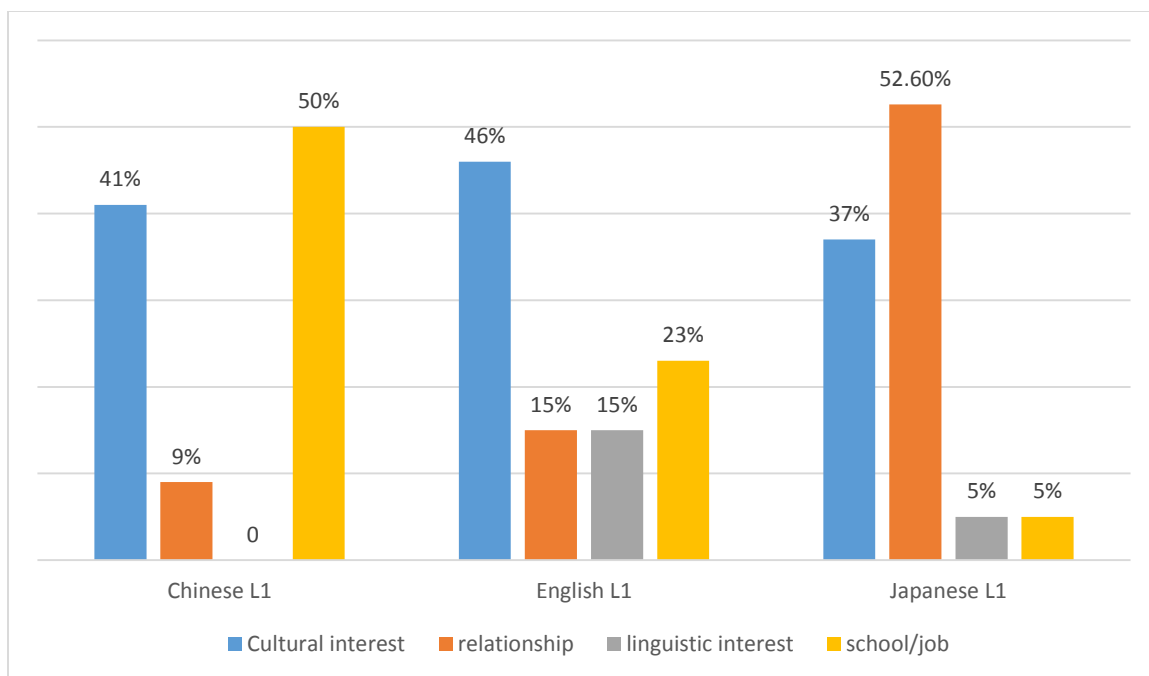
In the previous chapter, I discussed the rationale and the necessity of the qualitative research. Following the procedures discussed in the previous chapter, I discuss the findings of the language questionnaire and interview in this chapter. Especially the overall result of the participants' language survey and the findings from the nine key informants' interviews will be discussed. Learners' motivation, goal, attitude, perception on language transfer and actual data will be compared.

6.1. Results by survey and interview

In this subsection, I will introduce the overall results of the language survey completed by the 70 participants as well as information regarding some of the interviews of the 57 interview participants. Motivations and the learners' perceptions, including difficulty and language transfer from both the L1 and other L2s, will be discussed. Some of the interview excerpts will also be shown. In the next section, a deeper analysis of the nine key informants' interviews will follow.

6.1.1 Motivations

Figure 19 shows the learners' motivations for learning Korean.



<Figure 19. Learners' motivation>

By looking at the learners' responses, I categorized the learners' motivations into four different areas: 1) cultural interest, 2) improved communication mechanisms to enhance relationships with friends or family, 3) linguistic interest, and 4) interest for the sake of school or work. The first three categories—cultural interest, relationship communication and linguistic interest—can be categorized as intrinsic/integrative motivation, while the motivations to learn Korean for school or work can be categorized as extrinsic/instrumental motivation (ref). One notable result of this portion of my study is that Chinese learners showed more extrinsic motivation (50%, 11 out of 22 respondents) than either English (23%) or Japanese (5%) learners. This may be because most of the Chinese learners (15 out of 22) involved in the study were recruited in Korea, and out of the 15 Chinese respondents, 12 had come to Korea in order to gain higher education in a college or graduate school. In order to do so, Korean institutions require international students to pass a TOPIK level 4 test. Most of the Chinese learners, therefore, had

the goal of passing the Korean proficiency test in order to take college level classes in Korea, and, as such, their goal was one of absolute extrinsic motivation. As a result, some of the Chinese learners stated that after they had studied and passed the TOPIK level 4 test, they no longer had the same, strong motivation to study as before.

대학교 입학하기 때문에 요즘에는 공부하지 않는 것 같아요. 토픽시험 치기 전에 열심히 공부했어요.

Because I enter a college, these days I don't study. Before taking TOPIK test, I studied hard. (Chinese participant 5)

This drop in motivation is a good example of how taking Korean may not necessarily be viewed as a goal in and of itself but rather as a tool used to attain something entirely separate. Many of the Japanese learners, on the other hand, showed motivation tending more toward the desire to communicate better with family and friends (52.6%, 10 out of 19 respondents). 17 of the 21 Japanese respondents were either living in Korea or had lived in Korea at the time of my study, and 10 of the Japanese participants had a Korean spouse, Korean friends or a Korean partner, making better communication with said loved ones one of their main reasons for learning Korean in the first place.

남자친구 부모님이 나에게 한국어를 배워라고 했어요. 그래서 내가 배워야지 해서 여기 (한국에) 왔는데..

My boyfriend's parents told me to learn Korean. So I thought I should learn Korean and I came to Korea. (Japanese participant 1)

남자친구가 한국 사람이..입니다. 그래서 한국에 왔어요.

My boyfriend is Korean. So I came to Korea. (Japanese participant 7)

For the English learners, linguistic interests seemed to be the predominate area of motivation and, as such, this area was notably higher for the English group than for either of the two other groups. This can be explained by the perceived similarities of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean as Asian languages, so for Asian learners, Korean cannot be said to be a distant language while English learners are far more likely to see Korean as something unique, which can trigger a certain amount of linguistic interest.

My first reason for learning Korean was because I wanted to learn another language. At the time, I wanted to learn another Asian language.. (English participant 3)

I wanted to learn some new language, which is very different from English. I got three choices for the summer when I took intensive class. My choices were Korean, Turkish or Swahili. (English participant 9)

With the current data, it is difficult to find the exact correlation between motivation and Korean acquisition, but the learners' attitudes towards Korean language and their proficiency of case particles seemed to be highly relevant to the topic at hand. Differences in intrinsic versus extrinsic motivations were clearly shown in the three groups, as around half of the Chinese learners' motivations were extrinsic while more than half of the Japanese and English learners' motivations were intrinsic. It seems to be the case that English and Japanese learners were, therefore, better at using case particles as their interest was less likely to wane after reaching a benchmark goal, such as TOPIK level 4. Further study would be required, though, to delineate the full nature of this correlation, especially in regards to case particles and motivation.

Cultural interest ranked high as a main motivation of all three groups. Recently, interest in Korean culture has been on the rise, and Korean language courses have risen along with this interest—a phenomenon called “hallyu” (i.e., the Korean Wave). Lee (2011) states that “Hallyu

refers to a surge in the international visibility of Korean culture, beginning in East Asia in the 1990s and continuing more recently in the United States, Latin America, the Middle East, and parts of Europe (Ravina, 2009, p. 1)” (p.85). Around half of the participants stated they started learning Korean due to some interest in the Korean culture—a fact even more pronounced among the English learners as very few of the English learners had visited Korea at the time of my study (only 9 out of 28). When compared to the Japanese and Chinese learners, it seems, therefore, the English learners possessed a stronger interest in Korea itself as, according to the U.S. federal department, Korean is not a commonly taught language in the United States (LCTLs)³⁹ and is not related to English in any way. As such, it can be assumed English speakers wishing to learn Korean in the U.S most likely possess stronger personal motivations than either Chinese or Japanese learners. English participant 8 is a good example.

There was ASIAN, old Asian TV in cable TV, there was a TV show ‘My name is Kim, Samsoon’. I didn’t know it’s Korean. I watched it and I loved it. I did some research and I found that it’s Korean. And then I started watching Dramas and listening to music, I think. The first song, yeah the OST. Then I went into Big Bang and did all the Kpop stuff and went into super junior’ it’s you’ is like my favorite. (English participant 8).

Intrinsic motivations often inspire learners to want to be not only bilingual but also bicultural. Citing Benson 1991, Norris-Holt (2001) states that learners’ intrinsic motivation “represents the desire of the individual to become bilingual, while at the same time becoming cultural” (p.2). In a similar manner, two participants in this study expressed the following:

...The more I learn, the more I’m, like, identified with Korea. (English participant 8).

³⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Less_Commonly-Taught_Languages

한국 이름이 하영.. 제 이름이 일본 이름이 나츠미라고 하는데 나츠가 한자로 하.. 영은 그냥 귀여워서.. 한국어를 배우고 한국 문화를 좋아하고.. 저도 한국 이름을 갖고 싶어서..

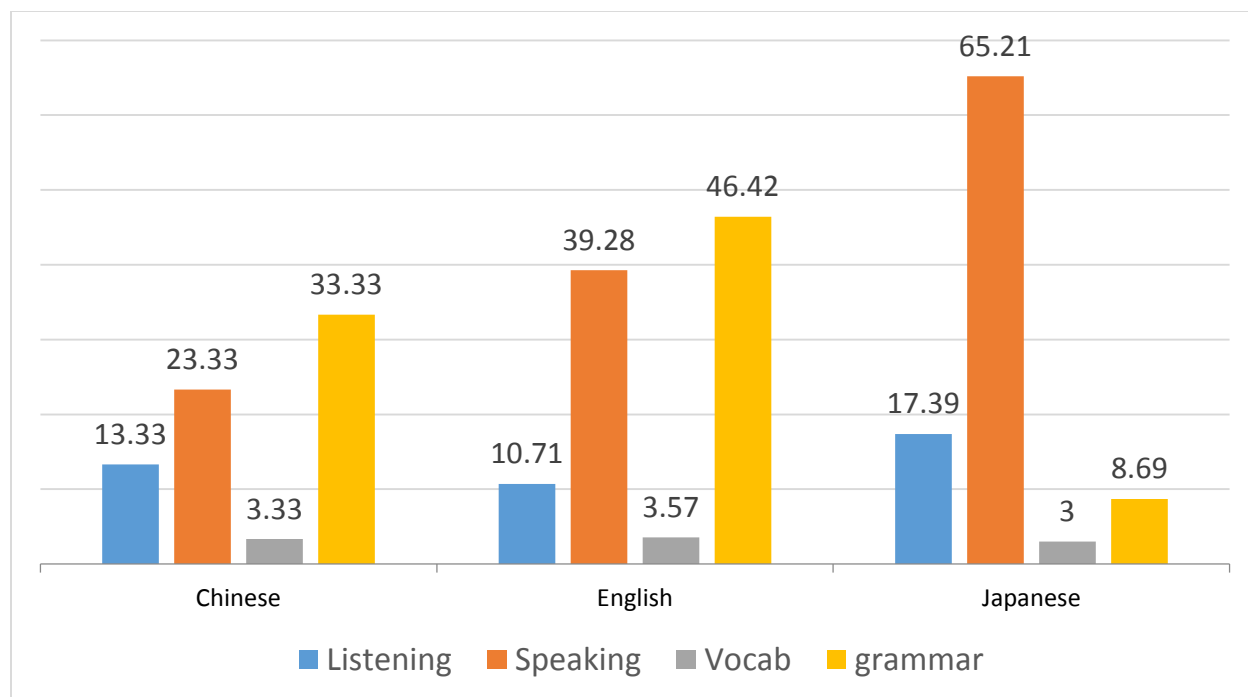
My Korean name is Hayoung. My Japanese name is Natsumi, and Natsu is pronounced 'ha' in Korean way, and 'young' is just cute.. I learn Korean and I like Korean culture so I wanted to have a Korean name.. (Japanese participant 12)

As such, Japanese participant 12 was highly encouraged to be part of the Korean culture by having a Korean name, and some of the other learners showed a similar language identity, though it has been noted L2 learners still show use or proficiency in their L2 by how they perceive themselves or how others perceive them (Norton 1997, 2000; Kramsch 2010). A number of the participants whose motivation was purely intrinsic also wished to show their acculturated identity with Korea through learning the language.

6.1.2 Learners' perceptions on language transfer

Figure 20 shows learners' answers to the question "What is difficult?", and because this question was open-ended, learners could write their own answers, and some respondents wrote multiple answers, so the total score is not necessarily 100%⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ With the same reasons, some of the answers responded only once or twice were not included.



< Figure 20. Learners' perception: difficulty >

According to the results, grammar is the most difficult element for Chinese and English learners while speaking (and pronunciation) was reported to be the most difficult by Japanese L1 speakers. Chinese and English learners did, however, still report speaking as challenging (Chinese 23.33% and English 39.28%). Japanese learners reported that they found Korean grammar less difficult than expected.

Figure 20 above, is the result of the language survey. The most interesting phenomenon observed in this study, though, was the learners' responses in the interview as of the 57 learners who participated, 48 mentioned the notion of 'difference = difficulty' or how 'similar/same things = ease' (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008; Lado 1957; Ringbom 2007). —a concept which will be discussed in greater detail in the following subsection.

6.1.2.1 Difficult Because Different

Learners clearly showed their perception of ‘difficulty caused by differences’ through their interview responses. Some of the Japanese learners found certain Korean phonemes difficult to pronounce, stating they believed that this was because Japanese did not have any equivalent phonemes.

가장 어려운 거요.. 발음.. 발음이 어려워서.. 일본어는 받침이 없어서..

Difficult thing is.. pronunciation.. pronunciation is difficult.. Japanese does not have final consonants so.. (It's hard). (Japanese participant 2)

*한국어는 발음이 어려워요. 예를 들어.. ‘오’ 같은 발음 있잖아요. ‘오’, ‘어’.
일본에서는 그냥 한개만 있는데 한국어는 두 개 있어서 어려워요.*

As for Korean, pronunciation is difficult. For example, the pronunciation like ‘o’. ‘O’ and ‘uh’.. In Japan(ese), there is only one (vowel), but Korean has two sounds so it is difficult. (Japanese participant 13)

Japanese participants 2 and 13 acknowledged that phonetic restriction in Japanese made Korean pronunciation difficult. Participant 2 specifically emphasized how final consonants in Korean were hard to pronounce due to Japanese only allowing coda-ending with a vowel. On the other hand, Japanese participant 13 similarly responded the difficulty resulted from an absence of equivalent vowels in Japanese, as Korean possesses more vowels. In sum, the difficulty these Japanese learners’ faced in speaking was mostly due to the certain phonemes in Korean which do not exist in Japanese.

Although the Japanese learners marked Korean grammar with relative ease, certain elements of Korean grammar were still expressed as difficult because such elements were not ‘exactly the same’ as those in Japanese.

문법 거의 비슷하니까.. 가끔 다른 거 있으면 이해하기가 어려워요.

Grammar is almost similar so sometimes if there is different grammar, it's hard to understand. (Japanese participant 1).

조사 중에서도 일본어랑 다른 거는 어려워요. '지하철을/지하철로' 쓸 때...

Among case particles, what is different from Japanese is difficult. When I use 'subway-ul(ACC)/subway-lo('by').. (Japanese participant 6)

Japanese participant 1 showed how grammar differing even slightly from Japanese was hard to understand while participant 6 showed how case particles similar to those in Japanese were still difficult when they differed. Chinese and English learners similarly showed a good deal of 'difficulty due to the difference,' though their difficulty was more pronounced as their languages are grammatically even more removed from Korean⁴¹.

The difficulty in learning Korean is the grammar because it is quite different than English. (English participant 23)

한국어는 어려워요. 왜냐면 이거는 (미리 배운 언어들은) 다 같은 규칙 사용하지만 한국어를 갑자기 다른 문법을...

Korean is difficult because these languages (that I had learned) have the same rules but Korean suddenly has a different grammar.. (English participant 5)

Many times over, the English and Chinese participants underlined how the inherent differences in their L1s made it difficult to learn Korean.

그.. 순서가 달라요. 중국 사람은 보통.. 저는 먹어.. 음식 이렇게 말해요. 하지만 한국 사람은 저는 그 음식을 말해요. 이렇게 말해요. 처음 한국에 와서 너무 익숙하지 않아요.

⁴¹ Recall that English learners could speak either Korean or English.

(Word) order is different. Chinese people usually say that 'I eat food'. But Koreans say that 'I food eat'. When I first came to Korea, I was not used to it. (Chinese participant 7).

중국어는 조사.. 많지 않아요. 그래서 어려워요.

Chinese does not have many particles. So it is hard. (Chinese participant 1).

높임말 (어려워요)... 그리고 문법... 중국어는 높임말도 없습니다. 그냥 보통 사용하는 게 하나밖에 없습니다. 그래서 (한국어는) 어려워요.

Honorifics (are hard).. and grammar.. Chinese doesn't have honorifics. What we normally use is just one kind. So (Korean) is difficult. (Chinese participant 14)

Chinese participants 1, 7, and 14 showed how grammar, particles and honorific expressions in Korean can be difficult to learn as Chinese does not possess any equivalent.

6.1.2.2 Easy Because Similar

Similarly, it appears that just as learners perceived 'difference as difficulty' they also perceived 'similar things as easy'—a fact which is especially true in the case of the Japanese speakers, as Korean and Japanese are both a part of the Altaic language family and share many linguistic patterns, including word order, grammar and vocabulary. Most Japanese learners mentioned all or most of these similarities in the interview.

한국어는 일본어와 문법이 비슷해서.. 그건 좀 쉬운 것 같아요

Korean and Japanese share similar grammar, so it seems easy. (Japanese participant 13)

문법도 일본어랑 한국어는 비슷한 점이 많잖아요.

Grammar also is similar in Japanese and Korean in many expressions. (Japanese participant 18)

Although Korean and Chinese do differ in terms of grammar, they still share a lot of the same vocabulary. Specifically, sino-words in Korean are from Chinese characters, which are root words. Many of the Chinese learners of Korean, therefore, saw and utilized the similarity, learning Korean vocabulary with relative ease. In Chinese speakers comments, I could find that relative close distance that learners perceive which can be applied to the notion of Psychotopology proposed by Kellerman (1979).

J: 한국어와 중국어의 단어가 많이 비슷해요. 단어 공부가 아주 쉬워요.

Korean vocabulary is similar to Chinese vocabulary. Memorizing vocab is very easy.

I: 한국어 문법은 어때요?

How about Korean grammar?

J: 영어나 중국어보다 더 어려워요.

It's harder than English or Chinese. (Chinese participant 7)

단어.. 한번 보면 기억할 수 있어요. 중국어하고 비슷해요.

Vocabulary.. If I see it once, I can remember it. It is similar to Chinese. (Chinese participant 10)

In addition to the vocabulary, some of the Chinese learners expressed how similar cultural aspects of Chinese and Korean made learning Korean easier. Here are some of the responses given by the Chinese speakers:

한국어를 배울 때 단어 발음이 비슷한 것도 있잖아요. 비슷한 거 많이 많이 있어서.. 문화도 비슷한데 조금 빨리 배울 수 있는 것 같아요.

When we learn Korean, there are some similar vocab and pronunciations. There are many similar things... Also culture (in Korea and China) is similar so it seems to learn Korean a little faster. (Chinese participant 9)

중국 사람 한국어 단어 발음 비슷해요. 문화도 비슷해요.

To Chinese person, Korean vocabulary is similar. Culture is also similar. (Chinese participant 3)

Ringbom (2007, p.1) stresses the cultural unity of the two groups” that learners perceive, despite the different languages in two groups. In other words, the cultural similarities can also play a source for transfer.

English learners of Korean, on the other hand, lack any cultural benefit as English and Korean are distant and the similarity of the two languages is very small when compared to the similarity between Korean and Chinese or Japanese. This distance was mentioned several times during the interviews.

The difficulty in learning Korean is the grammar because it is quite different than English. (English participant 23)

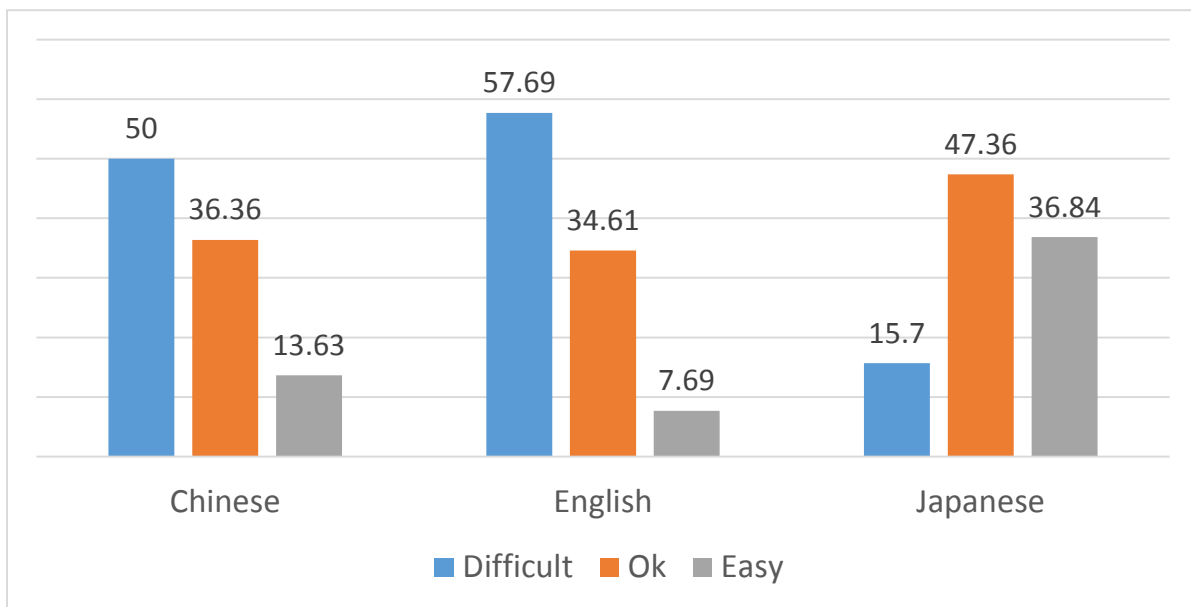
Korean is difficult in that it is totally different from English. It seems that I have to use different parts of my brain. (English participant 27)

As such, Korean, to English learners at least, is perceived as more distant than it would be to a Chinese learner even though both languages come from a different family than Korean. Kellerman’s psychotypology (1979) can be also applied to the both Chinese and English learners of Korean. It is obvious, therefore, that the psychotypology of Korean to English speakers is

much bigger than that of Chinese speakers, and this idea of language perception based upon the distance of the L1 and L2 was shown in the learners' perceptions of Korean case particles as well.

6.1.2.3 Learners' perceptions on case particles

Figure 21, below, shows the result of the overall language survey, focusing on the learners' perceptions of Korean case particles and the ease or difficulty with which they were able to learn them.



< Figure 21. Learners' perception on case particles >

As expected, Chinese and English learners expressed more difficulty (50+%) than Japanese learners (15%), mentioning in the interview that case particles were difficult for them to learn because their L1s did not have the same features and case particles did not make clear sense to them.

Korean grammar is difficult. For example, 'un/nun (topic marker)' versus 'i/ka (nominative marker)'. It didn't make sense at first. (English participant 23)

Case particles.. I thought that 'ul/lul (accusative marker)' was not too bad as it was attached to actions. However, 'i/ka (nominative)' and 'un/nun (topic)' were difficult. Even now I don't think I know when to use the correct particles. (English participant 26).

Trouble.. (case particles).. I keep flipping of the subject and object particles. (English participant 10)

Chinese speakers also expressed similar difficulties with case particles.

조사.. 이거 1 급때 가장 어려워요. 중국어에 없고.. 어려워요.

Case particles.. this especially was difficult in the beginning level. It is not in Chinese... difficult. (Chinese participant 7)

조사는 지금도 어려워요. 나는 내가... 아마 차이가 있어요. 하지만 잘 모르겠어요. 차이는...

Case particles are still difficult. 'Na-nun (I-TOP)', and 'Na-ka (I-NOM)' may have differences. But I don't know the differences.. (Chinese participant 14).

English participants 23 and 26 and Chinese participant 14 mentioned the difficulties they found in learning subject particles, topic and nominative particles, and their statements appeared consistent with their production data (discussed in the previous chapter) as both the Chinese and English learners incorrectly omitted subject particles and often left the subject DP caseless. Their omission rate for the subject DP was higher than the object NPs, unlike the Japanese learners who made more errors on the object NP. As speculated in the previous chapter, this might be due to the difficulties found in mastering topic and nominative particles. During the interview process, learners confirmed this idea by stating they had trouble understanding the differences

between the topic and nominative particles. The interview did, therefore, verify my speculation on frequent omission patterns; it served as a valuable tool to understanding why subject case particles were often omitted by Chinese and English learners.

6.1.2.4. L3 transfer from L2

Language transfer or so called cross-linguistic influence occurs not merely from the learners' L1s but also from other previously acquired languages, and during the interviews, the participants highlighted certain benefits they believed they had reaped from the other languages they had learned. Several of the Chinese and English speakers who had already learned Japanese mentioned how knowledge of Japanese facilitated learning Korean in terms of grammar and case particles.

Both Japanese and Korean have similar grammar so it's helpful (for learning Korean).
(Chinese participant 20)

Knowing Japanese was helpful because the grammar is similar if not the same. At the same time, some of the words are the same in Japanese and in Korean. I actually think that learning Korean helped me remember more Japanese. As you know, Japanese and English are very different, so when I began learning Korean, it allowed me to compare two similar languages and I guess from this, I was drawn closer towards Korean culture.
(English participant 3)

I didn't have problems with the case markers but I think that was because I had a Japanese background. (English participant 12)

I studied Japanese before Korean, which made learning Korean grammar easier.
(English participant 19)

The participants above all expressed how knowing Japanese helped them learn Korean grammar or case particles, though, interestingly enough, one of the learners indicated that languages not typologically similar to Korean also helped him learn Korean case particles. He explained as follows:

I learned Latin so it has very explicit cases and declensions of nouns so I am used to seeing different forms for different grammatical functions. Latin also has a lot of tenses like ..a lot of tenses for like a lot for different things so I am used to things like verbs which take which cases.. (English participant 9)

As such, English participant 9 believed the case system in Latin facilitated his learning of Korean case. This is a good example of the deep structure of transfer shown in the previous chapter's quantitative study and discussed by Sabourin et al (2006).

6.2. Learners' stories

In this subsection, I will introduce and analyze the nine key informants' responses collected during the interview process. Table 9 shows the participants' language backgrounds and general history.

Name (age/ gender/ L1)	Language background	Goal of learning Korean	Years of Learning Korean	Years of living in Korea	Pretest (Trans- -lation score)	place of learning Korean	Case particle use	
							written	spoken
Colin (32M/ English)	L1 English L2 Japanese L3 Korean	Graduate language requirement/ Reading articles in Korean	2	0	6/10	U.S	90.89	73.87
Dora (22F/ English)	L1 English L2 French L3 Korean	Cultural interest	4	0	7/10	U.S.	66.36	65.33
Danny (32M/ English)	L1 English L2 Spanish L3 Korean	Cultural interest/ to talk with his girlfriend	4	4	6/10	Korea	85	60.71
Henglyen (20M/ Chinese)	L1 Chinese L2 English L3 Korean	College entrance	2	1	8/10	China- Korea	89.47	53.13
Hyao (28F/Chine se)	L1 Chinese L2 English L3 French L4 Russian L5 Korean	To talk with her husband	1	2	5/10	Korea	97.2	58.91
Shiao (25 M/ Chinese)	L1 Chinese L2 English L3 Korean	Graduate school entrance	1	1	7/10	Korea	91.87	40.32
Yuko (21F/ Japanese)	L1 Japanese L2 English L3 Korean	Cultural interest	3	0	8/10	Japan- U.S	100	90.87
Moeri (28 F/ Japanese)	L1 Japanese L2 English L3 Korean	To talk with her boyfriend	1	1	6/10	Korea	100	86.93
Saeru (31 F/ Japanese)	L1 Japanese L2 English L3 Korean	Cultural interest/ To talk with her boyfriend	2	0.4	8/10	Japan- Korea	86.5	94

<Table 9. Learners' info>

As Table 9 shows, nine informants differed significantly in terms of their goals for learning Korean, years of study and language backgrounds.

There were several reasons why I chose these nine participants to be key informants. First, these participants were willing to meet me more than twice, so I was able to interact with them more frequently and deeply. Secondly, these participants were eager to share their stories and discuss their learning. Among the nine key informants, I met with Colin and Dora five times over the course of ten weeks. I could only meet with Danny twice in Korea, so I talked on the phone with him two more times after I had returned to the United States. I met with Henglyen, Hyao, Shiao, and Moeri twice in Korea and talked on the phone with each of them once more afterwards. Even though I was only able to talk with Saeru via Skype or over the phone, I did this five times, and I met Yuko four times in the U.S.

6.2.1 Motivations

As Table 9 indicates, learners have different motivations for learning Korean, but their overall motivation can be categorized as both intrinsic or extrinsic (Dörnyei 2001; Vallerand 1997), referring to integrative and instrumental orientation as discussed by Gardner and Lambert (1959). While reporting the informants' different motivations, I will also discuss if there is a correlation between motivation and case particle use.

6.2.1.1 Extrinsic motivation

Of the nine key informants, five—Colin, Henglyen, Shiao, Hyao and Moeri—claimed to have extrinsic motivation.

Colin: *I am doing Korean studies for university and I must learn the language. I would like to be able to read it because I'd like to go to read some scholarly articles for my graduate studyto have a conversation would be nice. I don't care if my speaking level is... if I'm just putting up then I would be happy. But reading would be the most important.*

Colin's motivations and goals for learning Korean were, therefore, purely outer motivation or instrumental motivation (Gardner and Lambert 1959) as he wanted to learn Korean not simply for communication but to benefit his work and graduate study. Being able to read Korean fluently was his primary goal for learning the language.

Henglyen, one of the Chinese informants, similarly expressed his extrinsic motivation as follows:

Henglyen: *한국에 있는 대학 가고 싶어요. 한국어 공부는.. 2 년동안 지냈어요. 부모님이 생각하는.. 시간이 많이 낭비했어요. 그래서 마음이 너무 급해서.. 빨리 입학하자.... 하라고 말했어요. 올해 9 월 전에 꼭 입학하세요 (입학해야해요).*

Henglyen: *I want to go to a college in Korea. I have studied Korean for 2 years. My parents think (that)..I wasted too much time. So they are in hurry.. They said that let's enter...they told me to enter a college. I have to enter a college before September this year.*

Henglyen has, therefore, been learning Korean in order to enter a college in Korea and expressed that the decision to learn the language was mostly his parents' as they wanted him to pursue higher education in Korea as soon as possible. In his case, Korean became a tool to get him into college, though his goal of learning Korean did extend further into his future as follows:

I: *졸업 후에는 중국에 돌아가고 싶어요?*

I: *Do you want to go back to China after you graduate (college)?*

Henglyen: *여기는 기회가 있으면.. 여기... 한국.. 한국에는 확실히 중국보다 취직.. 좋아요. 그럴려면 한국어 잘 해야죠.*

Henglyen: *Here.. if there is a chance.. here.. Korea.. in Korea.. definitely more easy to find a job than in China. In order to do that, I should be good at Korean.*

Henglyen stated Korean would be a good language to know, not simply for the sake of college but also for further employment in Korea after his graduation. Both of these reasons show strong extrinsic motivation.

Shiao, similarly, stated that his main reason to learn Korean was to enter a graduate school in Korea.

Shiao: *대학원 갈 거예요. 아마 국제 무역 신청할 거예요. 대학원 공부하면.. 3년.. 힘들어요. 한국어 해야해요.*

I will go to a graduate school. Maybe, I will apply for the department of international trade. If I study in a graduate school... 3 years.. (it will be) difficult.. I should use Korean.

Shiao said that he wants to go to a graduate school in Korea and thinks that it will be difficult to keep up his study if he does not know and use Korean well.

As discussed earlier, language motivation is correlated with language attitude (Gardner 1985; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993), a fact particularly relevant in the case of Henglyen, whose decision to study Korean was made by his parents as he had no personal interest in learning Korean at first.

I: *중국에서도 한국어 공부했습니까?*

I: *Did you study Korean in China?*

Henglyen: *그 전에 열심히 공부하지 않아요. 열심히 공부하지 않으니까.. 그래서 한국에 온 후에 2 급 더 공부합시다. 한국어는 처음에는 그냥 부모님이 고등학교 졸업 후에 부모님이.. 한국에 유학하러 가자고 말했어요. 한국에 오기 전에 한국 진짜 좋아하지 않아요*

Henglyen: At that time (in China), I didn't study Korean hard. I didn't study hard so... since I came to Korea, I learned 2 more levels. At first, my parents said that I should go to Korea for college after I graduate high school, before I came to Korea, I really didn't like Korea.

As such, Henglyen's lack of personal interest in the Korean language and in Korea as a whole seems to have influenced his attitude toward learning Korean in China as he stated he had not tried hard to learn the language in high school. Dörnyei (1998) mentions that language can be shown as “an integral part of the individual's identity involved in almost all mental activities” (p.118). Therefore, Henglyen's overall attitude towards Korea and the Korean language seems to have developed from a lack of personal interest and motivation. One of the most important reasons behind the other informants' desires to learn Korean was a particular enjoyment of Korean culture, TV or K-pops (Tuk 2012). Henglyen's attitude, though, showed a sense of detachment from Korean culture as below.

Henglyen: 제 고등학교 부터 한국 가수 밴드, 중국 여성들은 많이 좋아해요. 그래서 제 고등학교 때 한 친구 클래스메이트 항상 아 슈퍼주니어 아 동방신기 아 뭐뭐 계속계속계속계속 너무 좋아해서 저도 에이.. 뭐야.. 그래서 많이 싫어요. 싫어요.

Henglyen: From my high school years, Korean singers, bands..were loved by Chinese girls. So one of my classmates in my high school said “ah.. Superjunior.. ah.. DBSK... blah blah”...constantly... constantly... she loved them so much... I said “ew... what's that?”.. so I didn't like it.. didn't like it...

His dislike of Korean culture was accompanied by a lack of interest in learning the language, making what motivation he did have purely extrinsic.

Two of the informants—Moeri (Japanese) and Hyao (Chinese)—wanted to learn Korean so they could talk more easily with their boyfriend and husband, respectively. This desire gave them integrative/intrinsic motivation, though following the categorization of Troike (2006) and

Lennartsson (2008), they can also be said to have instrumental motivation. Recall that the integrative motivation comes from the desire to learn a language due to a particular interest in the culture or community while instrumental motivation is accompanied with business purpose or power (Troike 2006; Vellerand 1997). Both Moeri and Hyao mentioned that they were not interested in the Korean community or culture but would like to have greater prestige or power in the relationships with their respective partners.

Hyao: 중국사람이 왜 한국어 배워야해요? ... 한국어 어려워요.. 저는 남편에게 항상 한국어 I book read..not I read a book. 왜 이렇게 사용해? It's a strange language. 남편은 들었어요. 화가 나요. 중국어도.. 왈왈왈왈.. 우리 항상 싸워요. 말싸움.. 항상 한국어 이상한 예를 들어요.

.... 남편 말고 친구는 없어요. 남편만 연습해요.

Hyao: *Why do Chinese people have to learn Korean? Korean is difficult. I always ask my husband, "why does Korean use this kind of sentence, 'I book read' not 'I read a book'.* It's a strange language. My husband heard that and got mad. And he said "Chinese is also....blahblah..." We always fight. Argue... I always give a strange example of Korean....

... And except for my husband. I don't have a Korean friend. I only practice with my husband.

Hyao mentioned that she did not like the different word orders in Korean and thought that they were strange. She stated that she is learning Korean to interact with her husband but also mentioned that they argue over the differences in the two languages, so her motivation cannot be understood as integrative since her attitude toward Korean has not been positive. If I only conducted language surveys without interviews, I could not find this. In the surface level, both of them apparently marked intrinsic motivation, whereas their actual reason of learning Korean, found in the conversation in the interview, is more closely related to extrinsic motivation.

Therefore, interview, to me, was a good tool to explore the learners more deeply and properly (Charmaz 2008).

Japanese informant, Moeri, similarly stated that her initial reason to learn Korean was not generated by interest in the culture.

Moeri: 내가 아마 한국어를 그 남자친구 만났을 때 하나도 몰랐어. 한글도.. 그래서 여기와서 처음에 시작하니까 그 때 까지 일본어만 대화하고 있었어요. 다른 친구들 모두 한국에 대해 특별 관심 있는 사람이 있어서 ...Kpop 좋아해.. 이런거.. 내가 아무도 없었어요. 남자친구 부모님이 나에게 한국어를 배워라고 했어요. 그래서 내가 배워야지 해서 여기 왔는데 특별 관심 없어서...

Moeri: When I first met my boyfriend, I didn't know anything about Korean... even Hangul as well.. So I started here (in Korea) as a first time.. until then.. we only spoke in Japanese. All my friends were especially interested in Korea.. They liked Kpops...but I didn't have interest like them. My boyfriend's parents told me to learn Korean. So I decided to learn it so I came here.. but I was not interested specifically....

Like Hyao, Moeri started learning Korean because of her boyfriend, though her decision was not as vital as Hyao's as Moeri's boyfriend could speak fluent Japanese and did not have problems communicating with her. Instead, her main reason for learning Korean was strongly influenced by her boyfriend's parents, like Henglyen's decision was influenced by his parents.

Although individual motivation is certainly an important factor used to explain why some language learners are more successful and competent than others (Saville-Troike 2006:85-86), it appears that the learners' actual acquisition can override the learners' motivation in some instances. Moeri, for example, started learning Korean without any strong integrative motivation but her actual learning still flourished as it was highly influenced by her L1, Japanese.

Moeri: 문법? 문법은 진짜 쉬웠어요. 거의 비슷하니까... 조사도 쉬워요...

Moeri: *Grammar? Grammar was really easy.. because it's almost similar (to Japanese). Particles are also easy.*

The similarity between Japanese and Korean, therefore, seems to have helped make her successful in learning Korean. It is important to recall that the duration of her learning was the shortest of the nine informants—she had only been learning Korean one year but her pretest score was 6/10 and her case particle use was also proficient (100% for written and 86.93% for spoken task).

One of the main differences between Moeri and Hyao, who were both initially disinterested in Korea, was that their language attitudes drifted further apart after they began learning Korean in Korea. Hyao stated that her interest in Korea and the Korean language stayed stagnant while Moeri's interest has been increasing over time.

I: 결혼하면 한국에 살거예요? 일본에 살 거예요?

I: *If you two get married, will you live in Korea or in Japan?*

Moeri: 한국에 살거예요. 처음에 사귀 시작할 때 일본에 살자고 했는데 ... 지금은.. 한국에..

Moeri: *We will live in Korea. When we first started going out, we said we would live in Japan.. but now.. we will live in Korea.*

I: 왜?

I: *Why?*

Moeri: 저도 한국 좋아하잖아요.

Moeri: *You know, I also like Korea.*

6.2.1.2. Intrinsic motivation

Four of the nine key informants—Dora, Danny, Yuko, and Saeru—had intrinsic motivation.

Dora chose to learn Korean because she liked Korean culture and wanted to communicate better with her Korean friends. Her main goal was to interact more fully with Koreans, and in this sense, she also wanted her speech to sound fluent and natural.

Dora: There was a TV show 내 이름은 김삼순('My name is Samsoon Kim'). I watched it and I loved it. I did some research and I found that it's Korean. And then I started watching Dramas and listening to music I think. ... if we just always learn like speaking to older people that's not how we speak to our friends that's what I will be mostly communicating with actually in Korea.. I want to be natural. Yeah, I know that it's correct. But I wanna sound natural. I wanna have conversation and not sound like I am five.

Dora's interest in learning the Korean language stemmed from her interest in Korean TV shows, which exposed her to Korean culture and the Korean language. Her interest in the language and culture she described in her narrative as follows:

Dora: ...the more I learn, the more I'm like identified with Korea. More like...I don't know when I see Korean teams on the TV, I like to cheer for Korea. I am not just Swedish, or I am not just German, or I am not just Irish. I am American. So I'm Finnish, I'm Irish, I'm German, ..bunch other white things. I don't have like one thing. I don't have like 'this is a history of my people. This is my blood. These are my things' ... I like it about Asian stuff and Korean specifically. They are very tightening and close. If you are Korean, you can get close really fast. And so, it's appealing.

Dora stated that she was intrigued by Korean culture and wanted to learn more about the language and the country. It became clear that among the nine informants, she was the most motivated to learn Korean. Dora had already learned French, so she compared learning Korean and learning French in terms of motivation.

Dora: French was a requirement. I had to do it to graduate. And....But because I started Korean on my own, I kept studying on my own before I came here. It's not requirement to me. It's more like hobby that I like doing so I don't study.

In the interview, Dora discussed her identity, which seemed to have highly influenced her desire to learn Korean.

Dora: ...And I like Korean history, because Korea's the only place that didn't attack other countries or tried to colonize.. or take over other countries. It fits more with my personality.. live in your own space, do your thing.. Don't bother me. Why are you messing with other people?... So, I like Korea because of that. It's kind of like an underdog sort of feeling that you get.

Dora's passion for Korean culture and identity showed time and again in her effort to learn Korean. She stated that the more she learned the language, the more Korean-like she became, and in terms of second language learning, several studies have been made which show a connection between second language acquisition and identity. Zuengler (1989) states "it could be described as a decision as to who the learner wants to identify with" (p. 82) in the second language learning field—an idea further discussed in other studies investigating L2 learners' identities using their L2s (Bailey 1983, Kramsch 2009, Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, Schumann 1997, Smith 2013).

Japanese informant Yuko's goal was similar to Dora's. Yuko had visited Korea and liked Korean culture, so she started learning the Korean language so she could understand the country better and communicate more fully with the Korean people.

Yuko: I got a lot of opportunities to go to Korea and made many Korean friends, so I started studying Korean to know more about Korea and to communicate with them. I now really like Korea and studying Korean itself. So my goal is to be able to communicate with Korean people in Korean.

Another Japanese informant, Saeru, had a similar motivation.

Saeru: 한국어는 일본에서 취미로 한 2 년정도 배웠어요. 처음에는 한국친구가 있어서 그 가족과 얘기하고 싶어서 배웠어요. 부모님이 친했기 때문에 고향에 와서 같이 고등학교 다녔어요.

Saeru: I learned Korean in Japan as a hobby around for 2 years. At first, I had a Korean friend and I wanted to talk with her family. Our parents were close so they came to our hometown and we went to a same highschool.

Saeru's original reason for learning Korean was to interact with a close Korean friend and her family, but her interest in Korean culture eventually extended further to include Korean TV and K-pops (Korean popular songs).

Saeru: 신화.. 좋아하구요. '슈퍼맨이 돌아왔다' 계속 보고 있어요.

Saeru: I like 'Shinwha' (K-pop group). And I have been watching 'Superman has returned' (Korean TV show) continuously.

Interestingly, Saeru taught Korean to herself by watching Korean TV shows, listening to Korean music and reading textbooks.

Saeru: 일본에서 혼자서 공부했어요. 그냥.. 저는 드라마.. 보고 노래도 듣고.. 책도 보고...

I studied Korean by myself in Japan. I just watched K dramas and listened to Kpops and read books.

A form of self-study like this was not unheard of among the other informants either. Outside of the nine key informants, seven of the other regular Japanese learners had started learning Korean by themselves in Japan due to their cultural interest, and Saeru was among them. Her intrinsic motivation led her to self-teach herself Korean and, as a result, she eventually decided to participate in a language exchange program, which was how she met her Korean boyfriend.

Danny, one of the English informants, also had participated in language exchange, mainly because he had come to Korea for an English-teaching job, so his desire to learn Korean was a mix of survival skills and cultural interest.

Danny: 한국어는 영어 선생님 으로 왔어요. 제주도에... 한국어는 처음 왔을 때 배웠어요. 제주도에서.. 한국에 살니까요.. 수업 거의 없었어요. 학원에서 들었는데 야간 시간에.. 처음에는 holiday 학교에서 수업 있었는데.. 설명하기 좀 힘들어요.

Danny: I came to Korea as an English teacher... to Jeju.. I started learning Korean as soon as I came to Korea... in Jeju... Because I live in Korea.. There was no (official) class. I took Korean in a private institute.. at night... At first.. there was a class in a 'Holiday school'. It is hard to explain..

Free lessons at the bookstore. Once a week. In Level 2, it was too difficult. After 6 months, I finally finished level 1. And the level 1 was too easy. Hahaha So I did language exchange. For 2 years. So I did language exchange mostly...

Danny: 령귀지 exchange 는 너무 힘들어요. 수업 다시 듣고 싶었어요.

Danny: Language exchange is too difficult. I wanted to take classes again.

Danny's intrinsic motivation began differently than the other informants as his initial motivation was very pragmatic—namely because he lived in Korea, he believed that he should speak Korean, and he seemed to have tried every possible way to learn Korean too. He mentioned:

Danny: 2 년전에.. 제주에서.. 여자친구를 처음 만났습니다. 여자친구와 한국어 조금 얘기해요. 여자친구 영어 다 알아듣는데... 한국어로 얘기 많이 하고 싶어요.

Danny: Two years ago... in Jeju, I met my girlfriend at first. I talk with her in Korean a little bit. My girlfriend understands English well... I want to speak Korean with her a lot.

Danny's pragmatic/instrumental motivation has, therefore, switched to far more intrinsic motivation as his initially job-based motivation has shifted and been replaced by his desire to talk with his girlfriend in Korean.

6.2.1.3. Motivation as a factor for case particle use

There are various factors that lead to successful L2 acquisition, and much literature has discussed motivation and L2 proficiency. Saville-Troike (2006:85-86) maintains that the more motivated students are the better they learn a language while Ellis (1994:201) similarly states “research shows they [other factors] can all have an impact but motivation plays a big part in long way learning.” Learning a language cannot, therefore, be separated “from the learners’ social dispositions towards the speech community” (Dörnyei 1998:5), and it is believed that the more motivated learners are, the more input or output they can attain, which leads to greater L2 proficiency.

Because this dissertation mainly focuses on the acquisition of case particles, I have tried to investigate if a correlation between motivation and case particle use exists. Firstly, I categorize intrinsically motivated learners, instrumentally motivated learners and mixed motivated learners and show their case particle use accordingly in the table below:

Motivation Type	learner	Case particle use (written)	Case particle use (spoken)
Intrinsic	Dora(E)	66.36%	65.33%
	Danny(E)	85%	60.71%
	Saeru (J)	86.5%	94%
	Yuko (J)	100%	90.87%
instrumental	Colin (E)	90.89%	73.87%
	Henglyen(C)	89.47%	53.13%
	Hyao (C)	97.2%	58.91%
Intrinsic+ instrumental	Shiao (C)	91.87%	40.32%
	Moeri (J)	100%	86.93%

<Table 10. Learners' motivation and case particle use>

As Table 10 indicates, there seems to be no compelling correlation between learners' motivation and case particle use. An intrinsically motivated learner, Dora, for instance, performed low in terms of case particle use, while two Japanese learners—Saeru and Yuko—who also possessed intrinsic motivation showed much better performance. Because case particles are very specific morpho-syntactic elements, it is difficult to find an exact correlation between motivation and use. However, when one looks at the study's results, Japanese speakers Saeru, Yuko, and Moeri performed better than any of the other learners. Taguchi (2006) found a similar case in his study, finding no strong evidence of a link between motivation and gains in grammar.

In his paper, he states that although there is often more concentration or volunteer activities in a classroom full of motivated learners, the learners' grammatical competence is not found or necessarily enhanced by such activities. Nocon (1991) similarly claims that some L2 learners show high proficiency without much motivation to learn or interest in the language or culture because they consider the language a school subject and put forth more general academic effort as a result (Nocon 1991).

In this study, I can conclude that while learners' motivations are important, the similar features in their first languages can and usually do override their motivations in terms of ease of acquisition. Motivation helps to trigger constant effort and the continuation of learning, but it is other linguistic factors similar to those in the learners' L1s that play a more important role in terms of acquisition of target grammar.

6.2.2 Difficulties

In this subsection, I will discuss learners' responses to the difficulties they faced in acquiring Korean. Because there were various answers from the different L1 groups, responses from the groups—English, Chinese and Japanese—will be introduced respectively.

6.2.2.1 English Learners

Colin: The grammar is like opposite of English; basically it's about the furthest that I ever seen a language. And speaking is difficult. It's the worst because I don't do ...I can't make more difficult forms.

As discussed earlier, Korean grammar seemed to be the most challenging element for the English learners. In the debate of Contrastive Analysis, Wode (1983) argues that learners need to

notice a crucial similarity and difference between their L1 and L2. Colin, in this sense, noticed the ‘language distance’ between English and Korean, so the first thing he mentioned about the difficulty of learning Korean was that Korean was typologically distant from his L1, English, calling Korean the “most opposite of English.” Despite his linguistic background, which included a knowledge of Japanese, Colin did not believe that Japanese was as difficult to learn or as different from English as Korean, stating, “*It (Korean) is about the furthest that I have ever seen a language.*” This implies Colin did not consider Japanese as difficult a language to learn or even as a serious L2, possibly because he did not need to master Japanese during his time in Japan; he went to work specifically to teach English in Japan. Now, though, Colin needs to learn Korean to complete his graduate work and seems to see the difficulty of learning a language typologically distant from English.

Dora, another English speaker, similarly struggled with the typological distance of the two languages.

Dora: Honorifics are hard. It’s hard to do it... which one to use... Case particles are hard. And I also have troubles to think when to use un/nun (topic marker) and when to use i/ka (nominative marker)...

In Dora’s case, she mentioned two specific features that exist in Korean but not in English, namely honorific particles and case particles. It is interesting Dora mentioned case particles first as this may also indicate that she is aware of the difficulty of learning case features due to their absence in her L1. Similarly, she said that the absence of any exposure to other Asian languages has made Korean learning more difficult.

Dora: I didn’t have any other Asian language background, so I guess it was extra hard...(to learn Korean) because basically I had to start from scratch.

This implies that Dora thinks that learning other Asian languages might have helped her learn Korean. She stated that doing so might have helped close the distance in her learning as the distance between Korean and other Asian languages would be less than the distance between English and Korean.

Danny similarly stated that some things in Korean were difficult to learn because of the language's difference from English.

Danny: 처음에 발음 어렵고 단어 이런거 어렵고.. 순서.. 주어 없이.. 그리고 요즘엔 내 생각엔 억양 없어서 ...

Danny: *At first, pronunciation is difficult.. Vocab also... Word order...no overt subject...And these days.. I think that because there is no intonation...*

no accents .. everything sounds same.. not much intonation so when you get a long sentence, it sounds flat. English has intonation so...

Danny mentioned that how pronunciation, vocabulary, word-order, pro-drop property and the lack of intonation in Korean made learning the language difficult as these difficulties were the direct result of Korean's differences from English. He specifically mentioned, "*English has intonation but Korean doesn't,*" implying Korean is difficult to understand because it sounds different than English.

In addition, Danny mentioned that case particles were the most difficult feature to acquire.

Danny: *My writing is horrible. **Because of the particles..I didn't learn it well from the beginning. I just drop them. It's a constant guess game ..what is a subject ..what is an object..Particles are the most difficult.***

According to Danny, particles were not only challenging to learn but made writing more difficult, and due to the difficulties present in and complexity of using them, he stated that most of time he avoids using them. Avoidance was also found in other studies either complex procedure of L2 development or learners' strategy to be errorless. (Goad and White 2004; Lardiere 1998a,b, 2003, 2008; Schachter 1974; White 2003).

6.2.2.2 Chinese Learners

In the interview process, Henglyen, unlike the English learners, mentioned that he thought learning Korean was easy.

I: 한국어 어렵습니까?

I: *Is Korean difficult?*

Henglyen: 아닙니다. 쉽습니다.

Henglyen: *No. Easy.*

I: 쉬워요? 뭐가 쉬워요?

I: *Easy? What is easy?*

Henglyen: 단어. 발음 비슷해요. 문법도.. 문법도 조금 쉬워요.

Henglyen: *Vocab.. Pronunciation is similar.. Grammar is also a little bit easy.*

I: 근데 어려운 문법도 있지 않아요?

I: *But isn't there difficult grammar?*

Henglyen: 있지만 한국친구랑 얘기를 하고 싶으면 그렇게 어려운 단어 거의 필요없어요. 아마 나중에 더 높은 주제 말을 얘기를 하고 싶으면..또 쉬운 문법 단어 사용할 수 있습니다.

Henglyen: *There is, but if I want to speak with Korean friends, I don't need that difficult words. Maybe, if I want to speak some difficult topic later.. Also I can use easy grammar and words.*

I: 어려운 문법은 없어요?

I: *Isn't there difficult grammar?*

Henglyen: *많아... 또 있지만.. 어려운 문법 아마도 제 쓰는 거 필요해요. 혼자 긴글 쓰기 쓸 때 저 중국어 긴글 쓰기도 못 해요. 그래서 한국어 긴글 쓰기 더 어려워요. 긴글쓰기 쓸 때 어려운 단어 사용하면 성적이 더 좋아요. 그래서 그때 어려운 단어 많이 외워야 해요. 많이 사용해야 해요.*

Henglyen: *There is much. But... I need to use the difficult grammar in my writing. When I write a long paragraph by myself... I am not good at writing long even in Chinese. So it's more difficult to write in Korean. If I use more difficult vocab in my writing, I will get a better grade. So for that, I have to memorize difficult vocab. I have to use them a lot.*

Interestingly, according to Henglyen, learning Korean vocabulary was easy because he could get help from Chinese. There was a difficulty he perceived with learning grammar, but he said that he could mitigate it by simply not using more difficult phrases. Writing was the part he found the most difficult, mostly because of his personality; he simply did not enjoy writing—not even in Chinese. Henglyen mentioned if he used difficult vocabulary in his writing, he could probably get better grades, and as his main goal and motivation for learning was to enter a college in Korea, his perception of the Korean language and which parts were the most vital for him to learn seems to have been shaped by his motivation. Henglyen knew that he did not have to sound fluent or even interact with Koreans; he simply needed a good grade to enroll in college, and this motivation seems to have influenced his perception in the easiness of learning Korean as he does not have to master the language or assimilate into the community or culture.

Hyao, on the other hand, discussed her difficulties a little differently.

I: *한국어 어려워요?*

I: *Is Korean difficult?*

Hyao: *좀 어려워요.*

Hyao: *Yes, a little difficult.*

I: 뭐가 어려워요?

I: *What is difficult?*

Hyao: 조사.. 사동이.. 사동 용법.. 좀 애매해요. 중국어에는 조사 많이 없어요. 조금.. 많이 사용하는 조사.. 3 개.. 세개만..

Hyao: *Case particles... Causative structure.. the usage.. it's confusing. In Chinese, there are not many particles.. Just a few... A few that are used often. Only three particles...*

It appears that Hyao has some linguistic background because she used the metalinguistic term for the grammar, though, like many of the other informants, she mentioned Korean case particles as being the most difficult part of the language to learn, also mentioning causative structures. This is because case particles can be selected based on the sentence voice or structure, e.g., passive or causative. Hyao was very specific in her mention of causative structure being difficult to acquire along with case particles.

Like the other informants, Hyao also compared Korean grammar to its Chinese counterpart, stating that *Chinese only has 3 particles*. Later in the interview, I found what she meant by the Chinese particles were aspect markers *le* or *tsu*. These aspect markers are different than Korean case particles in that they do not show case of NPs as bound morphemes. However, it is important to note that Hyao also constantly compared Korean to her L1, mentioning how Korean features nonexistent in Chinese were difficult to learn.

Chinese informant, Shiao, furthered this idea as follows:

I: 한국어 어려워요?

I: *Is Korean difficult?*

Shiao: 네 특히 그.. 발음.. 듣기 어려워요.

Shiao: *Yes, especially, pronunciation.. listening is difficult.*

I: 문법은 어때요?

I: *How is grammar?*

Shiao: 문법. 듣기, 말하기보다 더 쉬워요. 쓰기도 어려워요. 이번에는 39 회 토픽시험 쓰기 좀 못해요. 어려워요. 높임말도 어려워요.. 중국에서는 그런 것 없는 것 같아요.

Shiao: *Grammar is easier than listening and speaking. Writing is also difficult. This time, I was not so good at writing in the 39th TOPIK test. It's difficult.. Honorifics is also difficult...In Chinese, it seems that there was no such thing (honorifics)...*

Shiao mentioned how grammar was relatively easy to learn when compared to listening or speaking, though writing Shiao also found difficult. As for grammar, he thought that honorifics were difficult to learn because Chinese did not have similar expressions or style.

In sum, to Chinese learners, what does not exist in Chinese but exists in Korean was thought to be difficult, including case particles, honorific expressions and certain phonemes. This was similar to the responses given by the English speakers.

6.2.2.3 Japanese Learners

All three of the Japanese informants stated Korean grammar was easy to learn because it was similar to that found in Japanese. The three Japanese informants started learning Korean in different situations. Yuko began her study of Korean in a college in Japan and continued to learn in the U.S. when she began her study at the University of Washington as an exchange student. Moeri, on the other hand, began learning Korean in Korea when she moved to the country to be closer to her boyfriend while Saeru self-taught herself Korean in Japan and then continued her learning by taking classes in Korea. Yuko's responses will be introduced first.

I: *Do you think Korean is easy because you are Japanese?*

Yuko: *I guess so.*

I: *What is easy?*

Yuko: *(NO pause) Grammar! But it's only for grammar.*

I: *You mean word order...*

Yuko: *네].. 끝ㅇㅅ*

Yuko: *yes, they are same'... Case particles... those are easy.*

I: *What is difficult?*

Yuko: *Still pronunciation and speaking is hard.... Translation is difficult. When I was reading a textbook, there is a passive sentence, under that, there's English translation. I didn't know how to translate naturally. English translation doesn't use passive, so it's just active. It doesn't sound strange when I translate it into Japanese.*

Yuko stated that the easiest thing for her to learn was Korean grammar as Japanese and Korean have typologically similar grammars, word-order and syntactic features. She specifically mentioned that case particles were easy to learn. Moreover, though Korean and Japanese are similar in terms of grammar, the phonemic inventory of Korean is larger than that of Japanese, as Japanese has five vowels and sixteen consonants while Korean has ten vowels and fourteen consonants. Due to the absence of certain vowels in Japanese and a mismatch of consonants in the two phonemic inventories, it can therefore be expected that Yuko will still have difficulties with speaking and pronunciation.

Yuko's opinion on L1s and L2s is described as well. She discussed how learning Korean in English and having English as an L2 hindered the translation process and made learning Korean more difficult for her. This seems to show that Yuko is aware of the notion of typologically different languages being barriers when learning another language.

Moeri's opinion is introduced below:

Moeri: 이거 정말 특히 발음 어려워서 어제도 남자친구가 나에게 너 진짜 발음 안 돼. 말해요. 문법은 진짜 쉬웠어요. 근데 문법 거의 비슷하니까... 발음.. 지금도.. 남자친구가 항상 진짜 안돼. 근데 문법 거의 비슷하니까 가끔 다른 거 있으면 이해하기가 어려워요.

Moeri: *This... especially pronunciation is difficult so even yesterday, my boyfriend said that "you are really not good at pronunciation."* Grammar was really easy. But it's because grammar is similar (to Japanese). Even now.. my boyfriend said that I am poor (at pronunciation). But grammar is almost similar so when there is some difficult grammar, it is difficult to understand.

For Moeri, as with Yuko, pronunciation was the most difficult aspect of learning Korean while grammar came easily as it was similar to that of Japanese. Moeri did, however, mention that even though grammar in Korean and Japan was similar, when there was difference between the two, it became more difficult to learn.

Moeri: 근데 문법 거의 비슷하니까 가끔 다른 거 있으면 이해하기가 어려워요.

Moeri: *Grammar is similar but when there are expressions that are different (from Japanese), it's difficult to understand.*

I: 그렇지 예를 들면 어떤 거지?

I: *Yes, for example?*

Moeri: 예를 들면 사동사 같은거.. 일본어 하고 달라.. 그때까지 다 비슷했는데.. 음 괜찮아.. 근데 일본어 이런거인데 왜 한국어 아니?...

Moeri: *For example, things like causative.. different from Japanese. Until then, everything has been same. So, hm..it's fine.. but Japanese has this way but why not in Korean?*

Moeri explained how more advanced grammar expressions, such as causative expressions in Korean, were difficult to understand as they were not the same as their Japanese counterparts.

Saeru: 제가 처음에 배웠을 때는 제 2 외국어였으니까 어려웠어요. 한국어는 쓰기가 어려워요. 쉽고 재밌는 건 말하기하고 듣기예요. TV 많이 봐서 솔직히 괜찮아요.

신화.. 좋아하구요. 드라마보다 슈퍼맨이 돌아왔다? 계속 보고 있어요. 문법은 쉬워요. 어려운 거 있지만 일본어랑 비슷해서 쉬워요.

Saeru: *When I first learned, because it was a second language (foreign language), it was hard. As for Korean, writing is difficult. What is easy and fun is speaking and listening. Honestly, it's ok because I keep watching Korean TV. I like 'Shinhwa (singing group)' and I keep watching 'Superman has returned (Korean variety show)' rather than dramas. Grammar is easy. There is some difficulty but it is easy because it's similar to Japanese.*

Saeru clearly believed that Korean was difficult to learn because it was ‘a foreign language’, but her continuous responses to what was easy for her to learn were ‘speaking and listening’ as she had and continues to watch a lot of Korean TV programs. According to Saeru, Korean grammar was easy to learn because it was similar to Japanese, so her perception of the difficulty of learning Korean seemed to be mostly due to the fact that Korean was a foreign language and she perceived any foreign language as difficult to acquire. It is not rare for L2 learners to fear learning a new language (Gkonou 2014; Horwitz 1986, 2010, Horwitz and Young 1991; Ohata 2005), and MacIntyre (1999) describes “the worry and negative emotional reaction aroused when learning or using a second language” (p. 27).

One of the Chinese informants discussed earlier, Henglyen said that Korean was not difficult for him to learn, but his actual proficiency in Korean case particles usage was not high (89.47% for written, 53.13% for spoken). Saeru, on the other hand, seemed to have a far greater fear of learning Korean but her actual proficiency proved itself to be excellent (86.5% for written, 94% spoken). Moreover, Saeru’s anxiety seems to have been relieved by her interest in Korean culture and by its similarity to Japanese as learners’ mental states or perceptions (e.g. motivation or anxiety) can often be overridden by their L1s. It seems to be the case that regardless of their motivation and language attitude, learners’ L1 plays a key role to use particles of Korean.

6.2.3 Learners' perceptions on language transfer

As discussed earlier, the nine key informants, like many of the other informants, expressed how possessing a typologically similar language helps in learning a L2. Below are two of the Japanese learners' responses in regards to language transfer:

Moeri: *한국어는 비슷해서... 쉬웠어요*

Moeri: *Korean is similar (to Japanese), it was easy..*

Saeru: *아무래도 문법은 비슷하니까.. 어렵지 않아요*

Saeru: *Anyhow.. grammar (in Korean and Japanese) is similar.. not too difficult.*

Interestingly, the notion of transfer from 'similar languages' often expands itself to help learners understand other learners' perspectives as well.

Shiao: *순서! 달라요. 중국어하고 영어 또 비슷해요. 그리고 한국어와 일본어 그 순서.. 비슷하다 그래서 우리반 일본 사람 한국어 배웠을 때 좀 쉬웠어요.*

Shiao: *Word order! Different (in Chinese and Korean). Chinese and English are similar. And in Korean and Japanese...word order is similar. So when my classmates in my class learn Korean, it's easy (for them).*

Hyao: *중국학생은.. 중국학생보다 일본학생 더 잘해요. 왜냐하면 일본어.. 일본어에서.. 한국어 문법.. 거의 똑같아요.*

Hyao: *Chinese students... More than Chinese students, Japanese students are better (at Korean) because ..Japanese.. In Japanese.. grammar is almost same as Korean grammar.*

Both Chinese learners Shiao and Hyao stated that Japanese learners of Korean would have less difficulty because of the similarity between Japanese and Korean.

Saeru: 다른 친구들이.. 영어랑 중국어는 좀 비슷하다고.. 중국 친구들은 한국 문법이 넘 어렵다고 해요.. 달라서..

Saeru: *Other friends... (said) English and Chinese are a little similar... Chinese friends said that Korean grammar is easy. Because it is different (from Chinese).*

Saeru also talked about Chinese learners, who might have less difficulty in learning Korean due to difference, though she stated that this was not necessarily true only in regards to Korean. Saeru also mentioned that English learning was extremely challenging for her due to English's distance from Japanese.

Saeru: 영어를 좀 배웠습니다. 재밌는데.. 역시 아시아 말.. 일본어하고 너무 달라서 어려워져 포기했어요.

Saeru: *I learned English. It was fun but.. it is too different from Asian languages... Japanese.. so it was too difficult so I gave up.*

Beyond L1-L2 transfer, in the interview, learners discussed the transfer present between L2s and L3s. Some of the learners believed that typologically similar or close L2s helped facilitate the learning of an L3 (Andersen 1983; Kellerman, 1983, 1995; Rothman 2010), and Colin, in particular, mentioned this several times as he had learned Japanese before learning Korean. Even learners who had not learned other languages close to Korean stated similar opinions. For example, Dora, who had not learned Japanese or another East Asian language, mentioned that how learning another Asian language before learning Korean may have helped her.

Dora: *I don't have any Asian languages that I learned, so basically I had to start from scratch... so it (Korean) was hard.*

In her response, Dora ascribed the difficulty of learning Korean to her lack of experience with similar languages, and not just typologically similar languages, but ‘Asian languages’ as a whole. It may be possible Dora considers all Asian languages to be typologically similar even though they are not. At any rate, Dora’s comment showed an assumption that learning any Asian language would have helped her learn another, stating:

Dora: After I master Korean, I don't think I could.. Haha I would probably learn ..I suppose it's Japanese because it's close.

Chinese interviewee, Hyao, stated something similar.

I: *프랑스어 어땀어요?*

Hyao: *프랑스어 쉬워요. 영어를 공부해서 프랑스어를 쉬워요. 이거 비슷해요.*

I: *How was French?*

Hyao: *It's easy. Because I had learned English, French was easy. They are similar.*

Although Hyao did not mention what was similar, she seemed to believe a knowledge of English helped her learn French, so like Dora, who believed that all Asian languages could be thought of as ‘similar’, Hyao, seemed to see a similarity between English and French because they are both part of the Indo-European language family and share certain features (e.g., vocabulary).

6.2.4. Learner’ perception on case particles

Of the nine key informants, five said case particles were difficult to acquire. Among the English learners, Dora and Danny specifically stated they struggled to learn case particles.

Dora: Yeah there are too many case particles. hahaha How many times do I have to memorize them. And I also have troubles to think when to use 'un/nun (topic markers)' and when to use 'i/ka (nominative markers)'... What my previous teacher told me the beginning was 'un/nun' is introducing a topic and then switch to 'i/ka'.? And 'un/nun' again?

Dora stated that the sheer number of case particles made Korean acquisition more confusing, mentioning topic particles *un/nun* and nominative particles *i/ka*, both of which can be used for the subject NP. Although she tried to recall the usage of the particles, she was not able to remember them correctly⁴².

Danny: Particles..I didn't learn it well from the beginning. I just drop them. It's a constant guess game ..what is a subject ..what is an object.. Particles are the most difficult. So unique in Korean..

Danny similarly mentioned that particles were the most difficult aspect of Korean language learning, though he believed that his struggle was due to the unique nature of Korean. It can be expected that since both Dora's and Danny's L1 is English, which does not have case particles, case morphology would be a new feature for them. Colin, however, had a different story.

Colin: My Japanese level is... like I learn just through talking to people not studying books so maybe I subconsciously picked up Japanese words but I am not sure... Case particles... Those are the first things I learned in Japanese. I think I learned that in Japan. So that made it a little more easy to understand.... Sometimes my brain chooses the one that I heard the most... if I know that I use passive, then yeah I know easily change it because I remember it from Japanese. So it's fun. It's fun that I know it. Oh I understand this already. And I feel a little more confident with. And I am happier.

⁴² Most of the time, nominative particles are used for the new information or focus, whereas topic particles are used for the old information. (See more Nam 2000; Lee 2006; Sohn 1999).

Colin clearly used the Japanese he had learned via immersion in Japan as a way to jumpstart his Korean learning, stating in terms of case particles, he had learned them in Japanese. As a result, he did not have much trouble understanding Korean case particles. His actual use of case particles was the best of the three English learners (writing: 90.89, spoken: 73.87/ Dora- writing: 66.36, spoken: 65.33/ Danny- writing: 85, spoken: 60.71).

According to Colin, his L2, Japanese, which also possessed case particles, facilitated his learning of Korean case particles, and this L2 transfer to a L3 has been found in many other papers (Bardel & Falk 2007; Falk & Bardel 2011; Flynn and Vinnitskya 2004; Rothman 2010, 2011). Interestingly, in this study, I found prior experience with foreign languages can not only facilitate learners' acquisition or performance of the target features in the L3 but can also influence learners' perception of the new language. For instance, L2 learners in this study said that they believed if they had learned a foreign language similar to their L1 or other previously acquired L2s, they expected the TL to be easier to learn (Ringbom 2007). Colin, who had learned an L2 similar to Korean, had a pretest score (6/10) lower than Dora's (7/10) but the same as Danny's (6/10). Nevertheless, his usage of correct case particles was more proficient than either of the other two, probably due to influence of his L2, Japanese. If this improved performance is the result of features in Japanese, Colin is an example of the L2 Status Factor Model (Bardel & Falk 2007; Falk & Bardel 2011), which states L2s, not L1s, influence L3s, and of the Typological Primacy Model (TPM, Rothman 2010, 2011), which supports the influence of a typologically similar language either from L1 or L2 on L3. The most intriguing aspect of Colin's performance and interviews, though, was how he clearly ascribed his successful use of case particles to his knowledge of Japanese.

The notion of potential help from other L2s to TL can also be found in other informants' responses.

Hyao: 한국어 조사..case... 어려워요.. 그런데 러시아어 이거.. 조사..? 6 개 있어요. 조금 concept 이해할 수 있어요. 문법 저에게 쉬워요. 이거 많이 외국어를 ... 했으니까.. 이거 아.. 영어에 있어요. 이거 아.. 프랑수어에 있어요. 이해 하는 것은.. 저에게 쉬워요.

Hyao: *Korean particles.. case... difficult. But Russian has 6 cases. I can understand the concept (of case). Grammar is easy for me.. because I have learned many foreign languages..this..oh, also exists in English. Oh this exists in French. So it's easy for me to understand.*

One of the Chinese informants, Hyao, stated that knowing many other foreign languages had a positive effect on her learning because she could get help from several other languages at once. It seems that she utilizes everything she can to understand a new language. Ringbom (2007) explains this stratagem, stating, “learners, when trying to make sense of unfamiliar texts, look for facilitating cross-linguistic similarities wherever possible and a language related to the TL provides much more concrete help than an unrelated language” (p.11). In order to better understand Korean, Hyao stated that she used her prior knowledge of Russian, which features a diverse case system not wholly unlike that of Korean. Russian is different from Korean in terms of case in that Russian case endings are never droppable particles and it also has more cases than Korean. Nevertheless, the knowledge of Russian seems to help Hyao to understand Korean case.

Dora similarly discussed this notion of easiness when learning a new language with similarities to an already acquired L2 or L3.

I: *What do you want to learn other foreign languages next?*

Dora: *I would probably learn ..I suppose it's Japanese cuz it's close so it will be easy..maybe..*

Even so, Chinese informants Hyao and Shiyao mentioned that case particles were still difficult for them to learn—in Hyao’s case, even with a prior knowledge of Russian.

Hyao: 조사 어려워요. 이가/은는 어려워요. 을 괜찮아요.

Hyao: *Case particles are difficult. ‘I/ka’ (nominative) and ‘un/nun’ (topic) are difficult. ‘ul’ (accusative) is fine.*

Shiao: 조사 어려워요. 1 급 때는 그거 잃어버렸어요. 쓸 때.. 말할 때 항상.. 좀 습관
지금 되어서... 지금은 좀 괜찮아요.

Shiao: *Case particles are hard. I forget.. especially in the 1st year level..I forgot to use..
always in speaking. Now it became a habit. It’s getting better.*

Shiao stated that his knowledge and use of case particles could be improved with more input and practice. In other words, he believed ‘practice makes perfect’ (DeKeyser 2007; VanPatten & Benati 2010), supporting the idea of input having a positive effect.

Chinese interviewee, Henglyen, on the other hand, stated that he had little trouble with case particles.

I: 조사는 어때요?

Henglyen: 괜찮아요. 주어. 빈어. 이거 어떻게? I like you. 이거 중국어...

(while writing down ‘I you like’) 이것은 한국어?

I: 동사. 서술어.. 목적어

Henglyen: 주어 뭐예요? 동사 뭐예요? 행동 뭐예요? 목적이 뭐예요? 그래서 조사 같이..그러면 항상 이/가가 많이 써요. 뒤에 형용사 동사 형용사 이가 사용. 근데 주어 뒤에 이가 사용하면 틀린 거 많아요.

I: *How are case particles?*

Henglyen: *It's ok. Subject and object..how can I say this? 'I like you'. This is Chinese. (while writing down 'I you like') This is Korean.*

I: *Verb, predicate. Object...*

Henglyen: *What is a subject? Verb? Activity verb? Object? And then together with (object) case particles (are used). And then always 'i/ka' are used the most. When there are an adjective and verb, 'I/ka' are used. But 'i/ka' next to the subject, many times it's wrong.*

In the interview, Henglyen compared Korean word order to Chinese word order as well as offering up a comparison of the two languages' sentences structures, including subject, object and predicate in order to explain the usage of case particles. Although his explanations were not entirely correct ('i/k (nominative)' are not used in front of the verb), he seemed to be well aware of the distinction between the subject particle and object particle based on the type of predicate; object particles have to be used with the active verb. Regarding explicit grammar, Henglyen seemed to be confident about case particles, though it is important to recall that while his particle use in the written task was good (89.47%), his spoken usage was much lower with an accuracy of only 53.13%. This implies that Henglyen either incorrectly used or omitted particles in his speaking, so while his knowledge of case particles was generally correct, he possessed mostly explicit knowledge as he explained things metalinguistically. Explicit knowledge can be used more in written tasks than in speaking because it allows for more time of recall (Cohen, Servan-Schreiber, & McClelland 1992). Knowing syntax metalinguistically can lead to correct use of morphology in writing, as with Henglyen, as Herschensohn (2000) argues that L2 learners "should master syntax before morphology" (p.297).

Similarly, when we turn to look at the Japanese learners' responses to case particles, the three learners reveal that they did not have much difficulty in learning them, though, Saeru mentioned that case particles could still be confusing.

Saeru: 헛갈리는 거 있어요. 조사..

I: 조사?

Saeru: 어렵진 않은데 제가 1 급 2 급 열심히 안하고 취미로 조금씩 했으니까 기초가 없어요. 그래서 지금도 이야기할 때 조사를 많이 실수하는 거 같아요.

I: 어떤거요?

Saeru: 을/를.. 지하철을/지하철로 쓸 때.. 으라고 로 하고.. 을/를 대신..

Saeru: *There are some confusing parts. Case particles..*

I: *Case particles?*

Saeru: *It's not too difficult, because I didn't study hard in the 1st and 2nd level but I studied Korean for hobby, I don't have basic knowledge. So even now, when I talk, I make many mistakes on case particles.*

I: *Like which particles?*

Saeru: *'Ul/lul (accusative)'. instead of 'subway-'lul'(ACC)', I use 'subway-'lo'(BY)'. instead of 'ul/lul', I use 'lo/ulo(BY)'.*

To Saeru, the basic grammar of Korean was mastered in the beginning level, so the reason she was still confused with some case particles was due to a lack of study during her beginning level. The examples she presented can be explained by the discrepancy between Japanese and Korean particle use. In Japanese, transportation should be used with the particle *-ni* 'by' while in Korean, accusative particles *ul/lul* (accusative particles) must be used because the verb *tada* 'to take' is transitive in Korean. Therefore, the difficulty Saeru felt came from a negative transfer from her L1. In other words, the difficulty was because of 'the difference

makes' philosophy discussed earlier. Nevertheless, Saeru's use of case particles in the study was excellent (writing: 86.5%, speaking: 95%).

In sum, many of the difficulties inherent in learning case particles are the direct result of a 'difference' between the learners' L1s and Korean. Their perceptions of their difficulties, though, are not always consistent with their actual performance. Some learners considered case particles difficult but used them excellently (e.g., Saeru) while other learners believed that case particles were easy to learn but still showed lower proficiency (e.g., Henglyen). Most learners who thought that case particles were difficult to understand cited the absence of similar features in their L1s as a direct cause of their confusion and had data that mirrored their difficulties as their actual correct use of case particles in speech was low (e.g., Dora, Danny, Hyao, Shiao). Some of the learners in this study, though, cited either their L1s (e.g., Moeri, Yuko) or a prior L2 (Colin) as a major source of help when learning case particles, and the other learners lacking an L1 or L2 with features similar to Korean also saw the influence a similar L1 or L2 can have. With these findings, I can conclude that learners' grammatical knowledge of case either in their L1 or in previously acquired L2s might be the most important factor of learning and using Korean case.

From now on, the learners' individual language learning and use strategies will be discussed.

6.2.5 Strategies

L2 strategies can be either language learning strategies or language use strategies (Cohen 1996). Language learning strategies focus on better comprehension of the knowledge of the target language while language use strategies have an explicit goal of

mastering the language in the learners' interlanguage (Cohen 1996:p.2-3). I will combine or separate out the two types of strategies accordingly.

Colin: I try to go through to understand as much as I can, you know, like reading to the book, listening to audio files.. now I can listen to them on the bus and things, which helped me because I don't have much time in life so I was annoying to listen more on a bus so I am happy.

Colin's general language learning strategy was to "try as much as he can." He said he was a graduate student and part-time worker at a store, so what he really needed to enhance his learning was more time as he can currently only use his spare time to study Korean. When asked to describe his study habits, Colin said:

Colin:[I will] go over the book, try to read to understand better. If I don't understand, I try to figure out how I can translate it.. you know.. break down into pieces and just reading as much as possible.. and then a lot of it is for preparation for the test next day. Cuz we have a test everyday..

Colin's language learning strategies are, therefore, specifically oriented to help him succeed in class, but he stated that he had further ambitions as well.

Colin: sometimes I just do exactly in order to succeed on the test which sometimes is frustrating cuz it becomes more like battle learning VS grade which I need. On my own, I try to read like things like on facebook. There's like Korean.. like since I do defensive security, I follow like a lot of Korean defensive security things on twitter..

Because Colin's goal is to read articles proficiently in Korean for his graduate work, what he said he wanted to do at the moment was read about Korean society as doing so is an activity

directly related to his graduate study. As such, his motivation and strategies are closely intermingled.

In relation to case particles, Colin stated:

Colin: My Japanese level is... like I learn just through talking to people not studying books so maybe I subconsciously picked up Japanese words but I am not sure... Case particles... Those are the first things I learned in Japanese. I think I learned that in Japan. So that made it a little more easy to understand.... Sometimes my brain chooses the one that I heard the most... if I know that I use passive, then yeah I know easily change it because I remember it from Japanese. So it's fun. It's fun that I know it. Oh I understand this already. And I feel a little more confident with. And I am happier.

The strategies Colin used to learn case particles are, therefore, the direct result of him having learned Japanese via immersion in Japan. Colin said that he had learned case particles in Japanese and used them to help him better understand Korean. He was not at the top of the informants in regards to his usage performance in this study, but he did not have as much trouble understanding and using Korean case particles as many of the other learners because of Japanese. Although his use of case particles in the spoken task was lower than that of the written, he was still more proficient at either task than the other two English speakers, Dora and Danny. Therefore, it can be assumed that Colin's strategy for case particles, namely using his prior knowledge in Japanese, has had some effect on his results.

According to Colin, his knowledge of Japanese case particles has not only helped him to understand and use Korean case particles better but has also lessened his learning anxiety.

Colin: Probably most of things like stuff that I already knew from .. the passive things like are easy to think about when I see it.. I know that I have to change it into 'i' or 'ka' and 'ul/lul' .. like if I know that I use passive, then yeah I know easily change it because I remember it from Japanese. So it's fun. It's fun that I know it. Oh I understand this

already. And I feel a little more confident with. And I am happier. When I can successfully hear stuff, it's kind of fun because I am usually bad at it.

Colin mentioned that he knew the metalinguistic step of changing accusative particles to nominative particles in a passive sentence because he “remembered it from Japanese.” He said that it was “fun” because it was something he could do thanks to his prior knowledge—knowledge that made him “confident and happy” in the end.

MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clement, and Noels (1998) suggest that L2 learners’ confidence contributes to the learners’ communication skills while Heyde (1979) shows self-confident learners can show better performance in speaking as learners have more confidence and motivation when they have control. It is easier to have anxiety, though, in L2 acquisition and anxiety can have a negative effect (Aida 1994; Brown 2000; Cheng 2002; Ewald 2007; Horwitz et. al. 1986). L2 learners’ confidence cannot be easily generated, but Colin was able to gain confidence was from his prior knowledge of case particles in Japanese. This implies that the positive cross-linguistic influence of a L2 on a L3 can include inner and outer results- confidence and better performance. Language learners “who are free from pressure show more confidence” (Wu 2010:182, also see Krashen 1982), and Colin’s prior knowledge of Japanese certainly seemed to make him more confident and less nervous when it came to learning Korean.

Dora’s general strategies are discussed below:

Dora: So I'd rather, I really focus in class or with someone who speaks Korean who can correct me at that time.. And then I can memorize that instead of sitting down on my own doing it on my own. And doing it all wrong. So I don't like studying by myself for languages. It's too easy to mess ourselves up.

Her strategies can be considered language use strategies because they are directly related to the goal of employing the language in day to day life.

Dora: I didn't care of being wrong when I learned French. I thought like if I get a couple things wrong, but it doesn't matter. I still pass the class. But Korean, (with loud voice) I wanna be fluent, I wanna know Korean I wanna be able to watch Dramas. I wanna be able to listen to songs. I want to be able to talk to my friends in a long conversation and just not have to use English. I wanna talk about people behind their back. And it's also motivation to talk about people that don't understand another language.

Dora compared her language learning goals when learning French and Korean, mentioning that while she had felt that it was fine to make some mistakes in French, she did not want to do so in Korean. She wanted to learn Korean in order to “talk to Korean friends without English, watch Korean TVs, listen to Korean songs and even talk about people behind their back” just like Koreans did in daily life. Additionally, Dora discussed how she often tried to mimic native speakers of Korean because she could not forgive even her smallest mistakes. She said that she would like to be corrected by native speakers, which connects to her strong motivation and attachment to the Korean community. Several times throughout the interview, Dora showed her language identity positively.

Dora: I think for everybody but the more you learn the more.. like the more I learn, the more I'm like identified with Korea. More like...I don't know when I see Korean teams on the TV, I like to cheer for Korea...And I like Korean history, because Korea's the only place that didn't attack other countries or try to colonize.. or take over other countries. It fits more with my personality.. live in your own space, do your thing.. Don't bother me. Why are you messing with other people?

She emphasized her strong attachment to and her identity with Korean culture and history, and it is this notion of connection that might make her want to sound like a Korean so

much. Her main strategy for Korean language use, therefore, was mimicry of native speakers (Lado 1957), but case particles were still a problem for her.

Dora: Case particles are hard... mostly just when to use 'i/ka' (subject particles) and 'un/nun' (topic particles)... when to do it mostly But I just guess and usually not that big of the deal? Those things are very similar so it's ok to be messed up? Hm...drop them..maybe..when someone is speaking to me, they usually say this or this in my head sounds more natural... that's what Korean people say... But for strategies... I don't have any... haha

Dora stated that since the two different particles (nominative and topic particles for a subject) were difficult to learn, she did not really want to deal with the difficulties. She said phrases such as: “not that big of the deal?” and “it’s ok to be messed up.. drop them?”. This attitude may be the result of how case particles in Korean can be omitted in many circumstances, though in the instance of subject DP case particles, Dora did not have a particular strategy of her own. In contrast to Colin, who had help from his L2, Japanese, Dora did not get any help from language backgrounds. Her strong motivation for learning Korean was not accompanied with much motivation to learn case particles. In other words, Dora’s motivation could be overridden by her linguistic background when learning specific grammar.

The final English learner, Danny, had a much different story.

I: 한국어 배우는 데 strategy 가 있어요?

Danny: 여자친구가 한국 사람이에요. 여자친구 하고 거의 다 한국말로 대화해요... 나는 운동했을 때 라디오 했어요. 헬스클럽에서.. 취미는 암벽등반이에요. 그래서 실내 암벽등반장 운동할 때 한국사람들이 다 앰피쓰리 라디오 들어요. 나 그런거 한국어 자주 들어요. 일주일에 삼.. 세번 정도 듣는 거 같아요.

I: *Do you have any strategies in learning Korean?*

Danny: I have a Korean girlfriend. I usually speak Korean with her... When I did exercise, I listened to the radio. In a gym.. My hobby is rock-climbing. So when I do rock

climbing, (I found that) Koreans listen to MP3 player. I also listen to Korean through it often. Around.. 3.. 3 times a week.

Danny also possessed language use strategies as his main goal of learning Korean was to interact more fully with Korean people. In addition, Danny stated that he had a Korean girlfriend, so talking to her had become his main strategy. He also listened to audio files while doing exercise, using not only a mp3 player but also other electronic devices.

Danny: 아.. 단어는.. 번역 해서 ..번역하고 그렇게.. 기능 있어요. 요즘도 아이폰에서 사전 생겼어요. 네 그래서 한국어 사전 생겨서 바로 정의.. 정의? 나와요. 편해졌어요.

When asked about his strategies as related to case particles, Danny responded with:

Danny: My writing is horrible. Because of the particles..I didn't learn it well from the beginning. I just drop them. It's a constant guess game ..what is a subject ..what is an object..Particles are the most difficult.... I kind of think about the verb.. I kind of think about the whole sentence planned..and think about ..

Danny mentioned that case particles were the most difficult aspect of Korean and influenced his writing negatively as they were difficult for him to learn. The language use strategy he employed to combat this was predominately the use of metalinguistic and explicit knowledge in so much as he would think about the verb and the sentence as a whole. This strategy seems to only work in his writing, though, and not in his speaking (80% for writing, 60.71% for speaking).

In sum, English learners of Korean used 1) a lot of practice (Colin), 2) their L2 knowledge (Japanese in the case of Colin), 3) interaction with Koreans (Dora, Danny), or 4) avoided using some difficult elements (Dora, Danny).

As for the Chinese learners' strategies, Henglyen mentioned language use strategies as follows:

Henglyen: 저도 친구를 사귀는 것을 진짜 좋아해요. 그래서 친구가.. 중국친구 뿐만 아니라 한국친구랑다 외국친구.. 서양친구도 많아요. 한국어는 친구들 자주 연습해요.

Henglyen: I like making friends very much. So I have not only Chinese friends but also Korean and foreign friends. I also have many Western friends. I practice Korean with them often.

In Henglyen's case, though his motivation to learn Korean was based upon needing to go to college, his personality seems to have exposed him to Korean often. Also, though he said that he was not specifically interested in Korean culture, he still has had many chances to interact with Koreans as he likes to make friends. Henglyen's language learning strategies include studying abroad, resulting in immersion in Korea, which has helped him find better ways to learn.

Henglyen: 사실은 중국에 공부한 일년.. 별로.. 암도 못해요. 진짜.. 그.. 그냥.. 읽을 수 있어요. 볼수 있어요. 암송 할수 있어요. 한국에 온 후에 점점 한국어 어떻게 공부하는지 한국어 어떻게 이해하는지 점점 알 수 있습니다.

Henglyen: To be honest, 1 year of learning Korean in China was not helpful. I couldn't do anything. I could just read and memorize. Since I came to Korea, I could get better ideas how to study Korean and how to learn Korean more and more.

Although Henglyen had studied Korean in China for a year, the lessons he had learned in China were not useful. He said that he could study and understand the Korean language better in Korea. In the previous subsection, several Chinese speakers expressed exactly the opposite, stating negative opinions on immersion in Korea. Henglyen surely held the opposite standpoint.

I: 한국어와 중국어 순서가 다른데 어려워요?

Henglyen: 한국어 사용할 때.. 중국어 머리 속에서 만들어야 해요. 한국어로 말할 때 그냥.. 단어 순서.. 조금 바뀌요.

I: *Korean and Chinese are different in word-order; is it difficult?*

Henglyen: *When using Korean, I have to make a sentence in Chinese. When I speak Korean, I just switch the order of the words (in a sentence).*

In terms of structuring a sentence, Henglyen's strategies involve thinking about the Chinese sentence and switching the order of the words as Chinese has a SVO order and Korean has a SOV order. He also used metalinguistic explanations to produce Korean, using his L1, Chinese. It is important to recall that Henglyen was one of the few key informants to consider case particles easy. The excerpt regarding this ease, which was discussed earlier, is shown again below:

Henglyen: (조사).. 주어 뭐예요? 동사 뭐예요? 행동 뭐예요? 목적이 뭐예요? 그래서 조사 같이.. 그러면 항상 이/가가 많이 써요. 뒤에 형용사 동사 형용사 이가 사용. 근데 주어 뒤에 이가 사용하면 틀린 거 많아요.

Henglyen: (Case particles)...Subject and object..how can I say this? 'I like you'. This is Chinese. (while writing down 'I you like') This is Korean.

Henglyen: *What is a subject? Verb? Activity verb? Object? And then together with (object) case particles (are used). And then always 'i/ka' are used the most. When there is an adjective and verb, 'I/ka' are used. But 'i/ka' next to the subject, many times it's wrong.*

Henglyen understood and used the explicit rule of Korean grammar for his language strategies, and although his explanations on case particle were not always correct, he seemed to understand the part of speech well enough in sentences that used case particles. It is important to note, though, that Henglyen consistently used L1 Chinese either explicitly or implicitly to understand Korean, and in addition, wanted the difficult grammar to make sense to him metalinguistically. This is not just the case for Henglyen either.

I: 한국어에 어려운 게 있으면 어떻게 해요?

Hyao: 처음에 선생님에게 물어봐요. 아 또한 알거예요... 모르면 인터넷으로 찾아요. 중국어 설명 찾아요. 인터넷으로.. 중국 인터넷.. 페이지.. 근데 한국어 문법 설명 없으면... 그래서 구글에서 영어로 찾아보고.. 또는 중국에서 조선족 사람이 있어요. 그래서 조선족 사람에게 물어봐요. 물어봐서 알게 됐어요.

I: *What are you doing if you have difficulty in Korean?*

Hyao: *At first, I ask my teacher. And then, I will understand. If not, I am looking for it through internet... look for explanations in Chinese. Chinese web page.. But still there is not explanations, I am googling in English. Or there are Korean Chinese in China. So I am asking them. And then I came to understand after I asked them.*

Hyao also mentioned wanting to understand grammar clearly whenever she is faced with difficulty. First, she looks to an instructor for help, and if the grammar still does not make sense, she looks for something more clear in Chinese via the internet, finally, resorting to English if even the Chinese is unhelpful. Hyao's major in college was English, so she stated that her English was better than her Korean. She often asks her Korean-Chinese friends in China for help, but when I asked why she did not ask her Korean husband, she said that they usually just argue when his explanations are not clear.

Hyao: 그런데 우리.. 왜 이렇게 사용해요 이해 할 수 있어.. 또는 어떤.. 문화.. like we use different calendar.. 다른 나라 사람들 왜 이렇게 해요? 또는 시험 칠 때 항상 이

문장 어머니 아이에게.. ... 이 question 이 문장 좀 main idea 주제 뭐인지...
중국사람에게 이거 쉬워요. 항상 생각이 중국 사람 생각하고 비슷해요.

Hyao: *But we (Chinese) understand why (Koreans) use (language) this way. Or certain culture.. like we (Chinese and Koreans) use different (lunar) calendar. People in other countries might ask that “why do they do in this way?”.. or during tests, a sentence saying a mother to her child... To Chinese people, finding a main idea of the sentence is easy. Because the thoughts in China and Korea are similar..*

Like Henglyen, Hyao also used her L1, though she used her Chinese cultural background to help her understand Korean as well, hoping an action such as that would elicit better performance on tests as she believes Chinese and Korean culture are similar. Her language strategies, like several of the other learners, involve using her L1, though she uses not only the language but also the culture.

As discussed earlier, Hyao’s prior knowledge of Russian helped her learn Korean case particles.

Hyao: *한국어 조사..case... 어려워요.. 그런데 러시아어 이거.. 조사..? 6 개 있어요. 조금 concept 이해할 수 있어요. 문법 저에게 쉬워요. 이거 많이 외국어를 ... 했으니까.. 이거 아.. 영어에 있어요. 이거 아.. 프랑스어에 있어요. 이할 하는 것은.. 저에게 쉬워요.*

Hyao: *Korean particles.. case... difficult. But Russian has 6 cases. I can understand the concept (of case). Grammar is easy for me.. because I have learned many foreign languages..this..oh, also exists in English. Oh this exists in French. So it’s easy for me to understand.*

Because case particles are difficult to learn, Hyao stated that she tries her best, using Russian, which has a complex case system, whenever she can’t understand something, showing how in order to understand difficult grammar in L2s, learners use every possible source they can

(Ringbom 2007) to understand target features, employing knowledge from their L1 or any previously acquired L2.

Shiao, the last Chinese speaker, mentioned that his learning strategy was simply practice.

Shiao: 그냥 많이 연습해요. 그리고 선생님께서 고쳐줄 거예요. 그리고... 아마 그냥 매일 보고 느낌이 매일매일 조금... 느낌이 조금 있는 것 같아서 아마 알아들을 수 있어요.

I: 조금씩 조금씩..

Shiao: 이거는 어쩔 수 없잖아요. 그냥... 따라해야죠.

Shao: *I just practice a lot. And then my teacher will correct me. And then.. everyday I see (Koreans) and my feeling is getting better.. so I can understand a little big.*

I: *A little big..*

Shiao: *I can't help. So.. just..I copy Koreans.*

Shiao explained that he either practiced by repetition or mimicry of Korean people, and he said that he expects his instructor to correct him if he makes errors, though he stated that difficulty was an obligatory part of the learning process.

Chinese speakers used strategies such as 1) interacting with Koreans (all three informants), 2) utilizing metalinguistic knowledge or L1 (Henglyen, Hyao), 3) use insights or prior knowledge in other L2s (Russian in case of Hyao), 3) searching the internet (Hyao) and 4) plenty of practice (Shiao).

Japanese learners similarly used their L1 Japanese to help them learn Korean. However, their use of L1 patterns differed from that of other learners. Instead of using the metalinguistic knowledge present in their L1, they directly used L1 in their speech while other L1 speakers used either their L1 or other languages to understand structures in Korean. During my conversations

with Yuko, I discovered whenever she could not complete a sentence in Korean, she would switch to Japanese, which seemed to facilitate her making of Korean sentences.

Yuko: *I wanna say it was so convenient to go anywhere.*

I: *OK. 일본말로 어떻게 하지? 'what is it in Japanese?'*

Yuko: *이제가 벤리나 바쇼니 아따노테 도꼬니 이꾸노모 라꾸테시따.*

(In Japanese) ie-ga benli-na basho-ni attanode, doko-ni ikunomo raku-deshita.

house-ga convenience place-in exist-so anywhere going-even convenient

I: *그걸 한국말로 그대로 해보자. 'Let's translate into Korean as it is'*

Yuko: *집이 편리한 곳에 있어서 어디에도 갈 수 있었어요. (the same sentence in Korean)*

Because the prominent grammar, such as word-order and case particles, in Japanese and Korean are the same, Yuko thought that Japanese sentences translated directly from Japanese to Korean would make her Korean sentences perfect. This is an example of direct influence from her L1, namely surface transfer as argued in Sabourin et al (2006). It is important to recall Yuko has been learning Korean in Japan and in the U.S., so she does not have many Korean friends when compared to Moeri and Saeru, who were living in Korea at the time of the interviews and had many Korean friends. Both Moeri's and Saeru's L2 strategies are, therefore, different due to their varied language environment.

I: *한국어에 어려운 게 있으면 어떻게 해요?*

Moeri: *어떻게 공부하나... 그냥 친구랑 같이.. 친구에게 질문하거나.. 남자친구에게 질문 하고, 인터넷으로 찾아서.. 언제 이거는 사용하는지..*

I: *What are you doing if there is difficulty in Korean.*

Moeri: *What am I doing... With my friends.. I ask my friends or my boyfriend. Or I search in the internet.. when and how I use them..*

Like Yuko, another Japanese informant, Moeri mixed Japanese and Korean especially to generate Korean sentences.

Moeri: 그 남자는 나이가... 니쥬 룩사이.. 스물 여섯살...

Moeri: *The guy's age... is 'niju rokusai(Japanese '26')', 26 years old (Korean)*

Moeri's L1, Japanese, seems to have helped her speak Korean through direct transfer.

Saeru, however, did not use Japanese or code-switch as a language use strategy. Instead, she asked native speakers, a teacher or her boyfriend.

Saeru: 쓰기는 좀 못 하는데.. 남자친구한테 물어보거나 선생님한테 물어봐요.

Saeru: *I am not good at writing... I ask my boyfriend or my teacher.*

In summary, the strategies Japanese learners used included: 1) code-switching with Japanese (Yuko); 2) searching the internet (Moeri); or 3) interacting with native speakers (Moeri, Saeru). Although code-switching is one of the easier methods for improving communication with Koreans, it was not utilized by everyone. Instead, the use of code-switching seems to have been dependent on the situation and on the individuals. Nevertheless, having Japanese, the most typologically similar language to Korean, as an L1 seems to have facilitated the learners' use and understanding of Korean.

6.2.6. Avoidance

Avoidance is “a strategy for error-free production in a second language acquisition” (Matter 2003: 103), and five of the nine learners—two Chinese: Hengylen and Hyao; two English: Danny and Dora; and one Japanese: Moeri—mentioned that if the grammar or case particles were too difficult, they tended not to use them.

Hengylen: 한국친구랑 얘기를 하고 싶으면 그렇게 어려운 단어 거의 필요없어요. 아마 나중에 더 높은 주제 말을 얘기를 하고 싶으면 또 쉬운 문법 단어 사용할 수 있습니다.

Hengylen: *I don't have to use that difficult words when I want to speak with my friends. Maybe if I want to talk about highly advanced topic, I can still use easy grammar and easy vocab.*

Hyao: 문법 쓸 때 많지 않아요. 많이 배우지만 대화할 때 제일 쉬운 문법 써요. 이렇게 너무 어려운.. 문법 별로 안 써요.

Hyao: *There are not many times that I have to use (difficult) grammar. I learn a lot but I use the easiest grammar when I have a conversation. Like.. I rarely use too difficult grammar..*

Danny: *(Case particle..) if it's too complicated. I just drop them.*

Dora: *Those things (case particles) are very similar so it's ok to be messed up? Hm...drop them.*

Moeri: 근데 공부하기는 괜찮은데 이거를 대화나 이렇게 말하기가 어려워요.

Moeri: *But it's ok to study.. but it's difficult to use in a conversation.*

Learners, therefore, intentionally avoid using difficult grammar, including case particles, and this strategy can account for the high omission rate of case particles discussed in chapters 3 and 4 and in other studies as well. “It has been shown that even when L2 speakers omit overt morphology, they are in fact sensitive to syntactic, interpretive and morphological consequences of grammatical features” (Goad and White 2004:2).

As such, omission is not due to the absence of knowledge but rather to the more abstract steps of matching syntactic features and morphological features (Lardiere 1998a,b, 2008; White 2003; Goad and White 2004). A study by Schachter (1974) similarly finds L1 Chinese and Japanese learners of English tend to not use English relative clauses, which are thought to be difficult due to the different word order present in relative clauses in Chinese and Japanese.

The omission rates in the spoken data of the learners in this study are included below.

Participants	Incorrect omission rate
Colin	15.15
Dora	30.15
Danny	38.15
Henglyen	39.71
Hyao	32.83
Shiao	20.45
Yuko	4.34
Moeri	12.69
Saeru	1.3

<Table 11. Learners’ incorrect omission rate in speech>

Interestingly, five learners who stated that they avoided elements they perceived as too difficult also omitted case particles frequently (as listed in the bold text in Figure 6). Obviously, not everyone mentioned dropping case particles, but most informants recognized that avoidance was one of their strategies for being more communicative or error-free. English learners Dora

and Danny specifically mentioned that they tended to drop case particles due to complexity, though their actual avoidance rates were 30.15% and 38.15, respectively, while Colin omitted only 15.15%. The Chinese group of informants had a similar pattern with Henglyen (39.71%) and Hyao (32.83%) omitting case particles incorrectly—an action consistent with their recognition of avoidance as a strategy—while in the Japanese group, Moeri (12.69%) tended to omit more than the other two Japanese learners—a fact also consistent with her mention of avoidance as a strategy.

As such, in this data and in the learners' responses, avoidance was frequently used, though interestingly enough, learners also knew that they tended to omit difficult parts of grammar or case particles. Nevertheless, the L1 seems to have played an important role because Moeri (12.69%), who dropped particles the most among the Japanese learners, still omitted less than either Colin (15.15%) or Shiao (20.45%), who omitted the least in their L1 groups.

In sum, as one of the language use strategies, learners not only tend to avoid but also to recognize their strategy patterns, though the L1 itself still seems to be the most important factor for language use and strategies.

6.3 Summary

This chapter has shown the L2 learners' perceptions of Korean and Korean case particles. First, learners' overall perceptions were presented and discussed followed by 9 key informants' perceptions. The concept that all participating learners of Korean most frequently mentioned was 'the distance between Korean and their L1' (Gass and Selinker 1983; Jarvis 1997; Kellerman 1979, 1983; Odlin 1989; Ringbom 2007). Most learners with Chinese and English L1s believed that Korean is difficult in terms of grammar, word-order and case particles due to the difference

from their native languages. However, the perception of the difficulty that Chinese learners expressed was much less than English learners, even though their performance with case particles was not as proficient as English speakers. This supports the idea of a discrepancy between the real distance between languages and a learner's own perception of the distance, namely "psychotypology" (Kellerman 1983, 1995). However, Japanese speakers, as expected, noted that Korean grammar and case particles are the easiest of all the elements because of the similarity to those in Japanese. Therefore, their perception of the difficulty and ease of learning Korean as an L2 seemed to result from the idea of 'difficulty because it is different.' (Jarvis 1997; Kellerman 1979, 1983; Odlin 1989; Ringbom 2007).

With the 9 key informants, I have investigated learners' motivations, perceptions on Korean, perceptions on case particles, attitude and strategies. Among the 9 informants, Chinese students had more extrinsic motivation than Japanese or English speakers. However, no correlation between proficiency of case particles and motivations was found. It could be also due to the small sample of participants. Furthermore, there was a difference in attitude for learners living in Korea and learners living outside of Korea. Informants who resided in Korea sometimes showed a more negative attitude toward Korean culture and society; however, this did not seem to have a critical effect on their actual language learning. It may be because their actual use of Korean can be assisted by their interactions with Korean friends and real-life immersion in Korea. Learners' perceptions of Korean case particles were closely affected by the distance between their L1 and the L2. It seemed that Japanese learners experienced no substantial challenge when using case particles. On the other hand, English learners described fear and difficulty with respect to case particles. Chinese learners did not show as much fear as English learners, but they also did not believe that particles were that easy to learn. Their answers were

mostly akin to “It’s ok.”, compared with Japanese learners expressing “It’s easy”. Lastly, the strategy for language use and language strategies did not pattern differently based on a learner’s L1. Instead, the strongest variable seemed to be their personality and access to Korean speakers within the language environment. Motivation to interact with Korean speakers was not related to the learners’ L1 (Danny, Dora, Henglyen, Shiao, Saeru, and Moeri). Some learners believed that it simply requires a lot of practice and hard work to master a grammar point (Colin, Henglyen, Hyao and Shiao). Other learners searched for resources through the internet and relied on textbooks (Moeri and Hyao). Likewise, their language learning strategies and language use strategies varied depending on the environment.

Finally, L2 learners sometimes used the strategy of avoidance for more difficult parts of the grammar, (Goad and White 2004; Schachter 1974). Especially for case particles, the English and Chinese learners for this study tended to avoid more often than Japanese learners and it was also confirmed with their actual data discussed in chapter 4.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

7.1 Findings and discussions

This dissertation investigated syntax and L2 acquisition of Korean case particles. In the first chapter, I explained the assignment and optionality of Korean case while answering research questions on syntax, including: 1) How are case particles in Korean valued and realized at PF? and 2) What are the restrictions of dropping particles?

Chapter 2 discussed the syntax of Korean case and case particles. Following the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001), I showed how structural case in Korean is a product of the Match and Agree system between the probe and the goal. In order to satisfy uninterpretable features, or the ϕ -set and EPP feature on T, T searches an argument XP with interpretable ϕ features. Nominative case is then valued and left in the XP as a product of the Match and Agree process in order to check the uninterpretable ϕ -set and EPP. As a result, the XP can also be valued [NOM] from T. In the same way, [ACC] case on the object occurs in v. The valued case features can then be realized at PF but can also be omitted at PF, meaning they do not have to be overt.

I did, however, show a restriction on optional realization at PF, namely in instances of scrambling. If a sentence has a scrambling of word order, structural case markers become mandatory. However, in instances such as this, only nominative and not accusative case particles become mandatory as in (67), below. Instances of scrambling still make case markers mandatory, though, as shown in (67b).

- (67) a. Sagwa-lul Na-ka mek-e-ta.
 Apple-ACC I-NOM eat-PAST-DECL
 ‘I ate an apple.’
 b. *Sagwa-ø Na-ø mek-e-ta.
 Apple-ø I-ø eat-PAST-DECL
 c. *Sagwa-lul Na-ø mek-e-ta.
 Apple-ACC I-ø eat-PAST-DECL
 d. Sagwa-ø Na-ka mek-e-ta
 Apple-ø I-NOM eat-PAST-DECL

The mandatory nature of nominative case is especially evident in (67). When scrambling occurs, only sentences (67a) and (67d), which have a case-marked subject, are grammatical, so the accusative particle is not a significant factor for grammaticality. To better sum this up, I proposed ‘Case Spell-out Rule.’

- (68) Case Spell-out Rule (Ahn 2010):
 If any ‘non-nominative’ case element c-commands nominative elements in the nominative spell-out domain (below TP above v), the c-commanded nominative element must be spelled-out at PF with an overt case marker.

Therefore, when scrambling occurs, the moved accusative case marked DP does not involve the grammaticality of the sentence; rather, the c-commanded nominative DPs should have an overt case marker. I also showed how structural case particles are used to indicate focus on DPs, and in such instances, as with scrambling, the case markers must be overt.

Much L2 Korean acquisition literature has focused on the unnatural omission of case markers (Ko et al 2004; Lee 2003; Park 2009; and Jeon 2012), and I suspected that the optionality of Korean and the restrictions on this optionality, as discussed above, might give rise

to the confusion learners face. Because I was teaching Korean in the United States, most of my students were English speakers, so I speculated that the learners' L1, English, which does not have any bound morphemes for case particles, might be a factor in their difficulty of acquiring Korean case. The role of the L1 has been investigated by the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (Lado 1957) and many related articles (Banathy, Trager, Waddle, 1966; Corder 1974; Schachter 1974), which were discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3 introduced the acquisition of case particles by Korean children and L2 learners of Korean. Many studies on L1 acquisition of case particles found that Korean children acquire nominative particles earlier than accusative particles (Cho 1988; Kim 1997; Lee 1972; Lee and Pae 1989). Lee (1972) and Kim (1997), in particular, found that children acquire *-ka* earlier than *-i*, and argue this is due, in part, to the mothers' frequent omission of accusative case particles (Kim 1997). Children, like Korean L2 learners, show errors in the over usage of nominative particles in place of accusative particles (Kim 1997; Lee 1972; Lee and Pae 1989).

In my study, English learners of Korean showed similar patterns to L1 Korean children. I conducted a grammaticality judgment task with the English adult learners of L2 Korean and compared it to Korean native speakers. The task included correct and incorrect sentences. The incorrect sentences had errors in case particles as well as errors of word-order. The results indicated that Korean L2 learners exhibited accuracy in the task 70% of the time while Korean natives showed better than 95%, as expected. Especially for the ungrammatical sentences with the case particle errors, learners were accurate 60% of the time when finding incorrect usage of nominative particles but were only correct 51% of the time when finding incorrect accusative particles. Their performance on case particles was relatively low in comparison (56%). They

seemed to detect errors with nominative case particles slightly better than with accusative particles.

These results do not support the Representational Deficit Hypothesis (Hawkins 1998, 2000; Hawkins and Chan 1997), which would have predicted direct transfer of the uninterpretable features when the learners' L1 has the same features. English has the same uninterpretable case features as Korean, so the learners likely had the knowledge of case features in their L1. However, the RDH, which would predict direct transfer of the uninterpretable features when the learners' L1 has the same features, cannot provide an explanation for the results indicating GJ mistakes on case particles at 56%. Nevertheless, it is still difficult to conclude the English learners of Korean failed to transfer the same features in their L1 and could not, therefore, acquire Korean case particles. Rather, a more complex process of acquisition occurred, as Lardiere proposes with the Feature Reassembly Hypothesis (FRH, Lardiere 2008). Lardiere claims learners' inconsistent usage of case and case forms is due to incomplete "morphological competence" (p133). I argue that the learners' incompetent results may be related to a morphological issue.

In regard to these results and the following analyses, I sought to investigate the role of the L1 with more diverse L1 backgrounds. This idea enabled me to investigate written and oral production tasks by Korean L2 learners with varying L1s, namely Chinese, English and Japanese. Chapter 4 discussed the experiment I conducted using Korean L2 learners of with English, Chinese and Japanese L1s. The reason I chose those three specific languages was the variation in structure, which allowed me to see the degrees of L1 transfer of case features. The degree of transfer can be explained by the degree of similarity between the L1 and L2 (Andersen 1983; Kellerman 1983, 1995; Odlin 1989; Ringbom 2007). The similarity between the three

languages and Korean can be discussed as follows: it is believed that Chinese has structural case, which is morphologically impoverished, whereas English has minimal pair of nominative-accusative case but merely on pronoun DPs. Japanese, on the other hand, has both structural case and morphological case particles.

Therefore, the degree the three languages resemble Korean, specifically in case, is Chinese < English < Japanese (Chinese less than English, English less than Japanese). Within these three language groups, I hypothesized Deep Transfer—that being transfer of syntax from the L1—and the Surface Transfer, which is a transfer of morphology, could be investigated (Sabourin et al 2006) since Japanese speakers will likely show surface transfer while Chinese speakers will use deep transfer and English learners will show something in between.

Chapter 4 presented the quantitative study and its results. Spontaneous speaking and writing were used for the study. Through the study, I sought to answer three questions: 1) How do L2 learners of Korean produce case particles in written and spoken settings?; 2) Will the L1 play a role in the acquisition of Korean case particles?; and 3) What is transferred from the L1 to the L2?

Table 12, below, displays the learners' correct use of case particles.

	Chinese L1	English L1	Japanese L1
Writing	86.5%	87.85%	93.7%
Speaking	62.13%	76.2%	84.2%

<Table 12. Correct particle use in written and spoken data: percentage and tokens>

In relation to research question 1), I found the learners, regardless of their L1, used more correct case particles in writing than in speaking. This result appeared to confirm studies which

also highlight L2 learners' better performance in an off-line setting without time constraints than in on-line processing (Clashsen et al 2010, Grüter et al 2011, Sagarra & Herschensohn 2011). The answer to the second research question—'Will the L1 play a role in the acquisition of Korean case particles?'—was, therefore, likely to be 'yes'. The role of the L1 did seem to be influential in terms of case particles. Recall that the degree of similarity to Korean case particles is Chinese < English < Japanese. The learners accurate performance with case particle was also Chinese < English < Japanese. Moreover, the third research question—'What is transferred from the L1 to the L2?'—found the answer to be 'morphology over syntax'. It is likely the results prove surface transfer with Japanese morphology and case particles. In other words, my study shows morphology plays a more important role than the syntax of the L1, which supports the Morphological Transfer Hypothesis (Montrul 1997, 2000, 2001) and my previous study arguing for the role of morphology (Ahn & Herschensohn 2013).

Along with studies of the learners' actual performance, I also conducted a language survey to collect and better understand the learners' perceptions of Korean case particles. I chose to use both a quantitative and qualitative study. Chapter 5 discussed the necessity of qualitative methodology as a mixture of quantitative and qualitative study can allow a researcher to understand the bigger picture of language acquisition and applied linguistics (Cresswell & P. Clark 2007; Greene 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003, 2009; Weiss 1994). Since language learning occurs through social interactions not only inside of the classroom but also outside of the classroom, I thought it would be more meaningful to listen to the learners' stories and understand their individual differences (Brooks 1992; Donato 1994; Ohta 1995, 1997, 2001; Ragin and Becker 1992).

Chapter 6 revealed the results of the learners' perceptions found through the language survey and the interview. First, in the language survey, I found grammar was perceived to be most difficult for the English learners (46.42%) and Chinese learners (33.33%) to acquire while it was considered far easier for the Japanese learners (8.69%). Speaking and pronunciation was considered the most challenging aspect of Korean language learning to the Japanese speakers (65.21%) while 57.69% of English speakers and 50% of Chinese speakers marked case particles as the most difficult—a striking contrast to the 15.7% of the Japanese speakers who did the same thing. The results were consistent with the learners' performance, but it was interesting to see that the English learners, who used case particles slightly better than the Chinese learners, considered Korean grammar and case particles more difficult to learn than the Chinese learners.

In order to further investigate this and other perceptions, I chose to listen to the L2 learners' opinions and perspectives through an interview. After the participants completed the spoken and written tasks, they were asked to participate in the interview process, and of the 70 participants, 54 students agreed. In the interview, Kellerman's Psychotypology (1983), which highlights learners' perceptual language distance between their L1 and L2, could be used to account for the Chinese and English learners' perceptions. I found that the Chinese learners still considered Korean relatively close to their L1. They mentioned that because Chinese and Korean share much cognate vocabulary and cultural aspects in language, Korean was not difficult to acquire. In other words, Korean and Chinese, though not in the same language family (Korean is an Altaic language and Chinese is a Sino-Tibetan language), were still perceived as close in terms of distance.

When we learn Korean, there are some similar vocab and pronunciations. There are many similar things... Also culture (in Korea and China) is similar so it seems to help learn Korean a little faster. (Chinese participant 9)

This concept of closeness is shown in Chinese participant 9's comments. Even so, Chinese learners (50%) considered case particles relatively challenging when compared to Japanese learners (15.7%), and, interestingly, English learners considered case particles more difficult than the Chinese learners as well. This could be partly due to the conceptualized proximity of Korean and Chinese. Still, the L1's effect seems to more greatly influence the learners' performances and perceptions, so the assumed similarity cannot override the L1 transfer effect; recall how the Chinese learners' use of case particles in the spoken task was 62.13% accuracy while the English learners held 76.2% and the Japanese 84.2%.

Chapter 6 also included a deep analysis of the nine key informants, who voluntarily talked with me more than three times. Each language group had three key informants, and the semi-structural interview used included example questions such as the ones listed below:

- What is your motivation for learning Korean?
- What is difficult to learn in Korean?
- What is relatively easy to learn in Korean?
- How do you, as the learner, consider case particles?
- What makes case particles difficult?
- What are your strategies for learning and using the language?
- How do you practice Korean and Korean case particles?

Because the interview was only semi-structured, I gave a lot of freedom to the informants, so they were able to describe more information in whatever way they chose. In

regard to language transfer, the theme of ‘difficulty due to difference’ came up repeatedly. I found the notion of transfer was not limited to the learners’ L1s; rather, learners also used similar knowledge from L2s or any other languages they had learned prior to the target language, Korean. I noticed that learners with one or more previously acquired languages actual use of case particles was also proficient. Colin, for example, who was an English-speaking informant who had learned Japanese before learning Korean, mentioned;

Colin: maybe I subconsciously picked up Japanese words but I am not sure... Case particles... Those are the first things I learned in Japanese. I think I learned that in Japan. So that made it a little more easy to understand....

Colin specifically said that Japanese facilitated his learning of Korean case particles, and of the three English-speaking key-informants, his use of case particles was the most proficient (90.89% accuracy in writing and 73.87% in speaking), though his pretest was not as high as the other two English-speaking informants. This is a good example of L2 transfer to an L3 in terms of the same morpho-syntactic features (L2 Status Factor Model, Bardel & Falk 2007; Falk & Bardel 2011) and also serves as an example of Typological Primacy Model (TPM, Rothman 2010, 2011).

I was able to discover the learners’ various motivations and language identities through the interview process. I explained extrinsic and intrinsic motivations in Chapter 5 and 6. Extrinsic motivation is motivation related to language learners’ extrinsic reward or punishment (Dörnyei 2001). If a learner learns the language for satisfaction such as job opportunities or good grades, he or she has extrinsic motivation. On the other hand, intrinsic motivation is usually accompanied with feelings and emotional responses by learners (Slavin 2003).

In the survey of this study, the Chinese group expressed stronger extrinsic motivation when compared to the Japanese and English groups, who showed more intrinsic motivation. During the interview, similarly, two of the three Chinese speaking informants exhibited extrinsic motivation while only one English informant showed the same. All of the Japanese informants were found to have intrinsic motivation, and although it seemed as though intrinsic motivation played a role in better learning or in increased exposure to the language, I could not find a concrete, core correlation between the learners' motivations and their ability to use case particles. Rather, the L1 and its similarity to or difference from Korean seemed to be more important in terms of acquiring case particles.

Learners' strategies were also mentioned in Chapter 6. I distinguished between language learning strategies and language use strategies (Cohen 1996), finding that learners have and employ many different strategies, such as repetition, mimicking native speakers, looking for answers, reading grammar explanations and asking native speakers for help. Among these strategies, most of my informants depended upon native speakers in one way or another, either by directly asking them for help or by imitating them and their language. If the informants did not rely on native speakers, they tended to assume their own metalinguistic knowledge or L1 was sufficient help. It was interesting to note that learners still depended upon their L1 as a last resort source for L2 acquisition (Andersen 1983).

I noticed the Chinese (30.55%) and English learners (17.7%), especially, omitted case particles with a degree of frequency during the quantitative tasks when compared to the Japanese learners (7.5%) discussed in Chapter 4. I speculated that this could be due to either subconscious dropping or deliberate avoidance or both. Because avoidance has already been discussed in other L2 literature and classified as a strategy for error-free performance in L2 acquisition (Matter

2003; Schachter 1974), I decided to ask my nine key informants about avoidance in the interviews. Five informants—Hengylen, Hyao, Danny, Dora and Moeri—mentioned that if case particles seemed too difficult to use, they simply avoided using them. However, it was hard for me to conclude that the learners failed to acquire the features of case particles or failed to use them properly. As Goad and White (2004) claim, their avoidance could be an example of being “sensitive to syntactic, interpretive and morphological consequences of grammatical features” (p.2).

7.2 Closing remarks

This study focused on structural case in Korean and its acquisition by L2 learners of Korean with varying L1 backgrounds. This dissertation dealt with various angles used to understand Korean structural case and employed a syntactic approach using the minimalist program to account for Korean’s peculiarity in regards to omission and restrictions to spell-out at PF. I also tried to discover the difficulties L2 learners of Korean face in learning and using case particles, and in order to find answers, I used both quantitative and qualitative methods, comprehension and production tests as well as the interview. I specifically observed the ability of learners from different L1s in order to investigate language transfer from an L1 and the degree to which that transfer occurs. I found that the notion of Psychotypology was particularly important and was used in learners’ perceptions, especially in regards to case particles.

I can, therefore, argue that this dissertation covers: 1) Korean syntax, namely Case Spell-out Rule; 2) UG approach of language acquisition of Korean case particles; 3) L1 transfer effect; 4) the degree of L1 transfer; and 5) qualitative findings of learners’ perceptions with applied linguistic tools.

I would like to conduct further research on the starting point of the L1 transfer effect by looking at more diverse levels of Korean learners, including beginning and advanced levels. In addition, I also want to use another grammaticality judgment task to see if advanced L2 learners of Korean can or cannot access more complicated sentences with case particles such as sentences in which scrambling and case-stacking occur. These further research projects give me hope for a bigger, better understanding of acquisition of case particles by L2 learners.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1. Quantitative study (chapter 3)

Grammaticality Judgment task

<If a sentence is grammatical, check (Y). And if a sentence is not grammatical, check (N) and try to change ungrammatical part into grammatical part. If you don't know if the sentence is grammatical or not, please check (Don't know). If you know that the sentence is ungrammatical but if you cannot change it, you can just circle the ungrammatical part.)

- 1 나는 더운 여름이 좋아해요 (Y, N, I don't know) (I like hot summer.)

- 2 점심을 나 먹고 왔어. (Y, N, I don't know) (I ate lunch and came.)

- 3 된장찌개를 만들려면 된장과 물이 넣고 끓이세요. (Y, N, I don't know)
(If you want to make 된장찌개, put 된장 and water and boil it.)

- 4 UW 에 들어가려면 SAT 점수를 필요해요. (Y, N, I don't know)
(In order to enter UW, you need SAT score.)

- 5 제 이름은 이은빈입니다. (Y, N, I don't know) (My name is 이은빈.)

- 6 이 김밥은 형을 만든 거니까 한 번 먹어 봐. (Y, N, I don't know)
(This 김밥 is what my brother made so try it.)

- 7 나는 혼자 저녁을 먹는 걸 좋아요. (Y, N, I don't know)
(I like eating dinner alone.)

- 8 피아노 탐 잘 쳐요. (Y, N, I don't know) (Tom plays the piano well.)

- 9 어제 노래방에서 수잔이 노래하는 게 봤어요. (Y, N, I don't know)
(I saw Susan singing in 노래방 yesterday.)

- 10 한국어 숙제가 끝내는 데 세 시간을 걸렸습니다. (Y, N, I don't know)
(It took 3 hours to do Korean homework.)

- 11 내년엔 갈 학교가 드디어 결정했어. (Y, N, I don't know)
(The school that I will go to next year has been finally decided.)

- 12 시애틀 나 너무 좋아. (Y, N, I don't know)
(I like Seattle very much.)

-
- 13 내가 만든 옷을 한 번 볼래? (Y, N, I don't know)
(Do you want to see the clothes that I made?)
-
- 14 칠판에 한글로 이름을 썼는데 이름이 봐 주세요. (Y, N, I don't know)
(I wrote my name in 한글 on the board, so please look at that.)
-
- 15 파전을 마이크가 너무 잘 먹어요. (Y, N, I don't know)
(Mike eats 파전 very well.)
-
- 16 너 나 사랑해. (Y, N, I don't know) (I love you.)
-
- 17 너는 나를 사랑해. (Y, N, I don't know) (You love me.)
-
- 18 그 사람은 키를 너무 작아요. (Y, N, I don't know) (He is very short.)
-
- 19 우리 선생님 요리 너무 잘 하세요. (Y, N, I don't know) (My teacher cooks well.)
-

APPENDIX 2. Interview question examples (chapter 5, 6)

1. *What is your goal for learning Korean?*
2. *What is difficult when learning Korean?*
3. *What is relatively easy in learning Korean?*
4. *Which grammar parts in Korean are especially difficult?*
5. *How often are you exposed to Korean and where do you encounter it? (e.g., media, friends, books and etc.)*
6. *Do you think case particles are difficult to understand or learn? Why or why not?*
7. *Do you have any strategies for learning/understanding case particles?*
8. *Do you think that any other L2 which you have learned can help you to learn Korean? If so, which language?*
9. *If you know Japanese, do you think knowing it helps to understand Korean? If so, how?*
10. *If you know any other languages, do you think they help to understand Korean? If so, how?*