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Kim, Sujin
Dorner, Lisa M

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"I won't talk about it here in America:" Sociocultural Context of Korean English Language Learners' Emotion Speech in English

SUJIN KIM

University of Missouri, St. Louis
E-mail: jahanurie@gmail.com

LISA DORNER

University of Missouri, Columbia
E-mail: *dornerl@missouri.edu*

This article examines the relationship between language and emotion, especially drawing attention to the experiences and perspectives of second language (SL) learners. Informed by the sociocultural perspective on the construction of emotion and its representation, this study highlights the intertwined relationship among emotions, cultural contexts, perceived identities, and languages. Using a qualitative case study approach, we examined challenges and strategies of emotion speech in one group of second language learners: Korean adult English learners (ELs) in the United States. Analyses of two surveys with seventeen Korean ELs and interviews with four selected participants demonstrate: (1) A full communication of emotions across cultures and languages was challenging because of the lack of shared cultural contexts among speakers. (2) However, the acquisition of one's second language included learning new cultural maps with which learners developed intercultural capacities to code switch across languages/emotions and, thus, to participate more fully in their second language community. (3) The code switching among SL learners often involved perceived personality change and identity negotiation in different languages since each language was associated with different cultural experiences and emotions/value orientations. Implications for the Second Language Acquisition field will be discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

Despite its inherent nature as the least tangible human experience (Harkins & Wierzbicka, 2001) and the complexity of its definition (Wilce, 2009), emotion and its relationship with language have been studied from many disciplinary vantage points, including anthropology, psychology, linguistics, and the intersection between neurobiology and linguistics (e.g. Averill, 1986; Damasio, 2000; Lutz, 1988; Schumann, 1997; Wilce, 2009). Within these different fields, scholars of bilingualism and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) have attended to the complexity and diversity of how emotions are represented in and across different languages (e.g., Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Ervin-Tripp, 1987; Pavlenko, 2006). However, the findings from such work have not been transferred consistently to SLA teaching and learning. In addition, SLA research typically focuses on the knowledge and performance of language, rather than language's "affective resonances in the bodies of

speaker," thus leaving the field less capable of understanding the intertwined relationships between emotion, language, and identity (Kramsch, 2009, p. 2; see also Schumann, 1997).

In this paper, we address this gap through an analysis of the experiences and perspectives of one group of second language (SL) learners: Korean, adult English learners in the United States. Framed by studies on the social context of language use and its implications for emotion speech (Averill, 1986; Jain, 1994; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000), as well as sociocultural theories of identity and language (Gee, 1990; Rogoff, 2003), we asked: (1) What kind of challenges do Korean adult English Learners (ELs) face in their expression of emotion in English? (2) What strategies do they use to manage challenges that arise from the cultural and linguistic distance they experience? Our grounded theory analyses of two surveys (n=17) and four interviews demonstrate: (1) how the experience and representation of emotions are embedded in, and directed by, shared cultural contexts; and (2) how the code switching by Korean speakers of English is related to their perceptions of their different identities when speaking with Koreans in Korea, and with Anglo- and Korean-Americans in the U.S.

RESEARCH ON EMOTION AND LANGUAGE

The following review first provides a brief discussion of some challenges in emotion research, especially in the fields of bilingualism and SLA. Although bilingualism and SLA are two different disciplines, and have a variety of foci within them, we have found that many studies in bilingualism focus on the process of SLA to examine the representation of emotions across two languages (e.g. Dewaele, 2005; Hakuta & Garcia, 1989). Thus, while bilingualism and SLA are not interchangeably used in this article, we draw on both fields as they are relevant to SL learning in terms of emotion and language. Then, we highlight how the sociocultural perspective on the (re)construction of emotion can help us understand diverse ways of experiencing and expressing emotions across cultures and languages. This is followed by our own stance on the concepts of, and relationships among, emotion, culture, language, and identity, and a brief review of research on three words/concepts that are particularly difficult to translate from Korean to English: *haan* (한), *hwabyungnada* (화병나다), and *jeong* (정). We note that our study focuses on ELs as a case study among the larger SL groups. Through this review, we argue that research must seek to understand how language learners experience and perceive their emotion speech in second languages, especially by examining how learners manage challenges in SL emotion speech in their specific sociocultural contexts.

Challenges in Emotion Research

The complex relationship between emotion and language is not fully explicated despite the vast research produced over decades (Sarter, 2012). Partly, this challenge comes from the difficulty of defining the domain of *emotion* in the first place (Beatty, 2005; MacIntyre & Gregersen, 2012; Sarter, 2012). Whether emotion is viewed mainly as a physical or somatic mechanism (Damasio, 2000; Schumann, 1997), or mental response triggered by the cognitive judgment of one's environment (Lazaras, 1991), or socially-constructed ways of interpreting particular situations (Averill, 1986), the debates over what counts as emotions are ongoing, essentially as "perennial debates over biology and culture, mind and body, nature and nurture" (Beatty, 2005, p. 19).

Broadly, there are two major viewpoints in these debates. In searching for commonalities across cultures, *universality* accounts focus on emotions' manifestations as wired, individualistic mechanisms (e.g. Rosaldo, 1989). On the other hand, *culturalist* accounts have studied the situatedness of emotion and its roles as socially-institutionalized ways of understanding and responding to particular situations (e.g. Lutz, 1988; Lutz & White, 1986). Studies in this realm highlight cultural differences and examine the difficulties of translating emotions across languages, not only at the lexical level, but also the conceptual level (Beatty, 2005). Scholars from the *culturalist* viewpoint have even questioned whether there exists a coherent domain of emotion, given the complexity and variety of diverse cultural perspectives on the category of emotion (Beatty, 2005; Griffiths, 1997), with some problematizing the utility of English as the categorizing language that includes such a term as *emotion* (Beatty, 2005; Fidler, 2011; Wierzbicka, 1986; Wilce, 2009).

Both perspectives have something to share, and also lack something. Whereas the latter position runs the risk of disregarding findings about the universal aspects of human language and emotion from biology, neuroscience, and linguistics, the former may too easily disregard the rich cultural variations that exist across the world (Beatty, 2005; Wilce, 2009). Along this continuum of viewpoints, however, our paper is situated more with the *culturalist* account. Like the *culturalist* scholars, we believe that each language provides its speakers with a particular set of maps and categories that configure the specific features of the society and semiotic world (Wilce, 2009). However, these maps and categories are shaped by one's participation in particular contexts and one's participation can then reshape those maps. Thus, we look to research framed by sociocultural theory to explore how relationships of emotion and language work as Korean adults use English in the U.S.

Sociocultural Construction of Emotion

Apart from the long-standing inquiry and debate over what is emotion, other lines of research in both bilingual and SLA studies have examined the complex relationship between emotion and its representation in language (MacIntyre & Gregersen, 2012). For example, researchers have studied the cross-linguistic diversity of emotion in terms of language socialization (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008), different conceptualizations and representation of emotions in different languages among bilinguals (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2008), language learners' challenges in expressing emotions across languages (Dewaele, 2010), and code-switching and its implications for bilinguals' emotional responses (Dewaele & Nakano, 2013). Thus, research in bilingualism and SLA converge here, as both delve into how learners of other languages travel through different languages of emotion.

Many studies in this realm have recognized the social construction of emotion, that is, how a particular language activates a sociocultural framework represented in that language, which in turn may affect how one accesses his/her emotion lexicon (Dimova, 2010; Hakuta & Garcia, 1989; Jain, 1994; Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2008; Martinovic & Altarriba, 2013; Panayiotou, 2004). For example, studies found that a person's emotional response changes according to the language used (Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Grosjean, 2011), and that even raw or physical experiences of emotion are filtered through the culturally specific meaning-making system to which an individual belongs (Panayiotou, 2004). Therefore, language, as an essential medium of meaning making in any given culture, serves both to "construct and reconstruct emotions" (Panayiotou, 2004, p. 126). Ervin-Tripp's study (1987) supports this sociocultural aspect in terms of code-switching. Through examining bilinguals' code

switching, she found that language switching among bilinguals activates different memories and cultural associations, so that bilinguals draw on different cultural experiences when using different languages. In short, code switching is not only a linguistic exchange, but also a sociocultural practice in which speakers contextualize conversations to fit the social and cultural context of a given language community, with its diverse identities and local practices (Nilep, 2006).

These studies point to the importance of the sociocultural lens in examining emotion and its relationships to language. As people's expression of emotion does not occur in a vacuum, but in specific sociocultural situations, it involves culturally-shaped ways of normative behavior; language is the core means to access cultural norms. In this sense, bilingualism and SLA provide an important window to examine the complexity of language use as a social phenomenon. To further the discussion, Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) use *participation* over *acquisition* to emphasize the sociocultural process of second language learning. When viewed as "a process of becoming a member of a society which entails the ability to communicate in the language of the community and act according to its particular norms," second language learning is a struggle "to participate in the symbolically mediated life world of another culture" (p. 155). Thus, the shift of focus from the investigation of linguistic structure to *language in context* underscores the importance of understanding how contexts and engagement with others mediate one's language learning.

Foregrounding Language Learners' Perspectives and Contexts

The social turn in SLA has helped researchers look closely at language learners' cultural contexts and how they shape language use (Block, 2003; Coffey & Street, 2008; Norton, 1995; Thorne, 2005). Whereas many previous studies tended to categorize language users of the same first language as a homogeneous group—thus, overlooking intra-group variations and shades of experiences—the sociocultural perspective repositioned the language learner/user from a receiver of informational input to a social agent who actively participates in and changes the language community (Coffey & Street, 2008). Such research has legitimized first-person accounts of learners' language experiences and acknowledged learners' own perspectives (Coffey & Street, 2008). Studies in this realm draw on first-person narratives (e.g. Kramsch, 2009; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001), as well as learners' contexts and experiences, particularly how SL learners feel and reflect on their learning processes (Dewaele, 2005; Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008; Lambert, 1963; Matsumoto, Franklin, Choi, Rogers, & Tatani, 2003; Pavlenko, 2005; Santiago-Rivera & Altarriba, 2002; Wierzbicka, 1999). By highlighting the experiences of bilinguals/multilinguals, these studies have examined what is really happening in the process of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural transfer between the native language and the new language being acquired.

Within this work, a few studies have examined the experiences– mainly the challenges – of adult SL learners using emotion language. Dewaele and Pavlenko (2002) found that SL speakers used many fewer emotion words in their speech than native speakers on similar tasks. Factors for this scarcity of emotion vocabulary included proficiency level, gender, type of linguistic material, and the degree of extraversion. Others have highlighted the impact of one's sociocultural context on emotion speech. Santiago-Rivera and Altarriba (2002), for example, argued that certain emotions learned in SL are not easily transferred to actual life contexts because they are not culturally-coded as deeply as experiences in one's native language. In other words, the learner's lack of cultural competence, the ability to recognize,

internalize, and practice the speech community's verbal and nonverbal ways of behaviors (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002), may constrain ways in which one navigates his or her new meaning-making systems. Rintell (1984, 1990) likewise demonstrated that one's communicative proficiency in SL emotion speech is determined by the extent to which the person is familiar with and competent in the target language *culture*. Graham, Hamblin and Feldstein (2001) examined the difference between native Japanese ELs and native Spanish ELs in terms of their capacity to recognize various emotional states expressed in English voices. This research showed a systematic cultural pattern between the two groups: native Japanese ELs had more difficulty than native Spanish ELs in recognizing emotions in English.

In short, this body of research indicates that cultural differences or distance in terms of value orientations and social meaning-making systems play a critical role in comprehending paralinguistic cues of emotion. The more culturally distant the two language speakers (or groups of speakers), the harder it is to understand the verbal and vocal traits in the other language. Even two fairly close languages such as French and English do not always provide the same *feel* of the emotion words. For example, with the words *furious* and *furieux* speakers do not necessarily ascribe the same meaning to these supposed direct translations of one another (Harkins & Wierzbicka, 2001).

Emotion, Culture, Language, and Identity

Using emotion words is not only important in communicating with others, but also in the process of communicating—or identifying—one's *self*. In the introduction to her book, Kramsch (2009) described an episode of a multilingual participant in an intercultural communication seminar who could not control her emotional upheaval as she realized she had another self and reality that was accessible only with her native language. With this example, Kramsch underscored the importance of looking at the *subjective* aspect of language to tap into multilinguals' experiences that engage "their emotions, their bodies, and the most intimate aspects of themselves" (p. 2). Drawing on her notion of language as a "symbolic system that constructs the very reality it refers to" (Kramsch, 2009, p. 2), we examine the domain of emotion and emotion words mainly to illuminate the often hidden and less highlighted selves and realities of language learners.

A focused body of work examines the particular challenges of translating some Korean emotion speech into English, especially due to the lack of shared cultures and identities between these symbolic systems (Choi & Choi, 2001; Min, 2009; Son, 2001). As explained in more detail below, the three words/concepts reviewed here also emerged in our study as the top three words that our participants mentioned were difficult for them to express in English: *haan* (한), *hwabyungnada* (화병나다), and *jeong* (정).

Haan: Emotion Borne out of the Korean History

Korean-English bilingual dictionaries define *haan* using words like grudge, rancor, spite, lamentation, regret, or grief. However, as a multi-layered cultural concept, *haan* is used in diverse ways and can actually signify: a sentiment of sadness for the loss of one's loved one in *jung-haan* (정한), a sentiment of lingering hatred or harboring revenge in *won-haan* (원한), an emotion of regret for not giving the best try for something as in *hoe-haan* (회한), and as

the pain of emotion, in *tong-haan* (통한)(Min, 2009). These different emotional states of *haan* may overlap with one another, which may explain why even proficient ELs do not want to communicate *haan* in English when the other speaker does not share the same cultural background.

In addition, Son (2001) noted that the multifaceted *haan* only can be properly understood as a specific cultural sentiment at both the individual and the national level. As a unique Korean sentiment, using the emotion of *haan* brings to mind national tragedies, such as the Korean War and Japanese colonial exploitation, as well as the personal trauma brought on by such wars. During these periods, people endured long years of physical and mental afflictions using the traditional coping strategies for painful experiences, such as suppressing inner pains rather than revealing raw feelings. This is why *haan* – such grief and/or grudges – are closely tied to the somatic symptom of *hwapyung*, usually expressed as a burning, painful sensation in the heart and occurring frequently among people with chronic depression.

Hwapyungnada: Haan-bearing Somatic Emotion

As an emotional as well as physical state, *hwabyung* is known to come from accumulated anger and repressed hatred over a long period of time. Before it manifests itself as a physical symptom related to the organ, the heart, the anger and hatred may turn into the emotional state of *haan* first. Unlike the temporary state of anger, *hwapyung* and *haan* are characterized by one's long endurance of hardship that eventually constructs a deep-seated, indelible sentiment accompanying a chronic physical state. Psychotherapy in the U.S. has recognized that the somatization of emotion, mainly as heart diseases, is particularly salient among Asian patients (Sue & Sue, 2003). For this reason, some heart disease may go untreated while patients think of it merely as a distressed mental state. Likewise, some patients only focus on the physical symptom, while they need to take care of their mental well-being at the same time. Thus, it is not simple at all for ELs to describe this somatic emotion in English, leading them to avoid its communication.

Jeong: Collectivity-oriented Emotion

Choi and Choi (2001) pointed out that there is not a concept in the West exactly corresponding to *jeong*, which is roughly referred to as a feeling attached to a person, an object or a place. More broadly, it may be defined as affection or love. However, any simple definition does not deliver the full cultural meaning of what one participant in our study defined as, "love in Korean style." The inadequacy of direct translations is likely due to the term's suggestion that the affection/feeling is related to the pervasive "we-ness" in Korean culture (Min, 2009, p. 18). Min has related the emotion *jeong* to the concept of we-ness in the Korean tradition of honoring harmony and interdependency over individual autonomy and independence. The use of "we" rather than "I" to refer to the first-person singular is one example of this collective emphasis on inter-personal relationships in the Korean language. Thus, English words such as love, affection, caring, and altruism represent only a portion of what the word *jeong* stands for, since each alone does not imply the conceptual we-ness bond implied in *jeong* (Choi & Choi, 2001). A *jeong*-bearing person extends one's affection, care and love to things and people around oneself, as if they are part of him/herself.

These examples underscore the intertwined relationship among language (of emotion, in particular), culture, and identity/identities. As suggested above, sociocultural theories highlight that culture is a *process* in which people co-construct a particular meaning-making system through participating in diverse activities of their communities (Rogoff, 2003). Likewise, *identity* is viewed as a socially-constructed consequence of interaction, practices, and institutions, through which an individual makes sense of and articulates who she/he is (Gee, 2001). *Language*, then, is the core element of this identity work, as it is the core medium through which an individual enacts him/herself (Gee, 1990). So, how do these phenomena manifest themselves for adult Korean English Learners in the U.S.?

RESEARCH METHODS

To explore our research questions – (1) What kind of challenges do Korean adult ELs face in their expression of emotion in English? (2) What strategies do they use to manage challenges that arise from the cultural and linguistic distance they experience? – we designed a qualitative research project with 17 Korean-born adult ELs in St. Louis. This section describes the research context and participants, the data collection methods and analytical procedures, and the researchers' positioning.

Participants

Research participants were recruited through the Korean Student Association (KSA) in a Midwestern university and the first author's own community network in one St. Louis school district throughout 2010. The president of KSA helped us conduct and collect surveys with members in several personal meetings that researchers did not attend. Eleven members of KSA volunteered to participate in the survey. Using snowball sampling (Merriam, 2009), the first author also collected six surveys from a neighboring school district community with which she had prior, personal contact. The entire group was asked if they wanted to be interviewed, and four participants volunteered: Susan, Amy, Kyungmin, and Mike. (All names in this paper are pseudonyms.)

For participant selection, we used purposeful sampling (Coyne, 1997); the criteria were: Korean-born, adult ELs who were living in the U.S. for work or school, and who formally studied English in Korea for at least six years before coming to the states. The 17 participants who volunteered for the research included twelve females and five males, aged 19 to 43 (see Table 1 in Appendix III). Although their status differed from international student to working visa holder to permanent resident, all shared the same experience of coming to the U.S. and being exposed to this English-speaking environment after first receiving formal English language education in Korea beginning in middle school. Their self-rated proficiency levels varied from intermediate to superior, native-like, and their total years of English education both in and out of school contexts ranged between 7 and 21 years. It was important to have such variety across participants to examine the core patterns of challenges found across sociocultural contexts/language use, no matter the length of being within an English-speaking culture or formally studying English.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected through surveys and interviews, which were conducted in the language of the participants' choice: English, Korean, or both. (See Appendix I and II for the survey questions and interview protocol.) First, we conducted two surveys with 17 Korean adult ELs; participants sent us their surveys either electronically or physically with the help of the KSA president. The first survey simply asked participants to list Korean emotion words that they believed were particularly difficult to express in English. We identified the top 16 emotion words named by the most participants from a list of over 50 challenging words (see Table 2, Appendix III). Selected words were those mentioned by at least three to five participants. Words that were mentioned less than twice were not included in our final list.

Then, the second survey was adapted from Pavlenko's (2005) "Bilingualism and emotions web-questionnaire" (p. 247). We changed the original online survey form to fit Korean ELs' language contexts, and we added a question on the challenging Korean emotion words that were identified in the first survey. The first part of this survey contained questions about participants' age, gender, English learning/acquisition environment (formal schooling or immersion in an English speaking environment), years of English education, and self-rated proficiency level for speaking, listening, reading and writing in English. This gave us the overall background information about the English learning process of the participants. The second part of the survey probed participants' choice of language for various topics and the reasons for their choices (see Table 3, Appendix III for several example questions and answers). The analysis of participants' responses for both closed and open-ended questions demonstrated that their complex choice of language code-switching depended on the context of language use (what topic, with whom, and which medium, for example). Finally, participants were asked to translate the selected 16 emotion words into English (see Table 1, Appendix III). These translations helped us understand participants' choices and strategies of emotion expression across languages.

Survey data were used to identify general patterns of difficulties in emotion speech among the participants, and many of the questions were re-used as probing questions for in-depth interviews conducted with four case study participants: Susan, Amy, Kyungmin, and Mike. Interviews with Amy and Kyungmin were conducted in Korean. Susan spoke with us in both Korean and English, and Mike used English for the interview. Interviews conducted in Korean were transcribed and translated into English by the first author.

Susan, who came to the U.S. at the age of 20 to study, is a lawyer and permanent resident. At the time of the research project, Amy had been in the U.S. for five years, and she was studying in a graduate program with a student visa. Kyungmin came to the U.S. with family for her husband's studies and had been here for two years. She had a language teaching background as she taught Korean as a Second Language to foreign students in Korea. Mike had been in the U.S. for six years as an international student and was pursuing his graduate degree. Interview questions delved into the specific difficulties that they encountered in expressing emotions in English, differences of emotion speech between Korean and English, and the strategies they used to manage challenges in their emotion speech.

Whereas the survey data provided an overall picture of participants' language choice in terms of contexts, the interview data informed us of participants' perspectives on such contexts: why they would code switch, in what kinds of situations, why emotion was particularly difficult to translate, and how they felt different in different languages. In other words, interview data showed the complexity of participants' experiences and challenges with emotion speech in English. Interview data were coded using a grounded theory

approach and included open and axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). During open coding we employed line-by-line microanalysis, and created a coding chart of thematic concepts and patterns as categories. Then through axial coding, we stratified categories into overarching and sub-categories. The main categories drawn from this analysis included (1) the influence of cultural-historical contexts on emotion recognition and expression, (2) traversing across cultures through language crossing, and (3) identity negotiations across languages.

Researchers' Positions

Sujin (the first author) brought her insider knowledge to the research process. Being a Korean-English bilingual (L1 is Korean), SL learner herself, she could frame the study based on her own personal language learning experiences, better relate to the participants, and understand the nuances of interview conversations to their fullest extent. Given the importance of the shared cultural script, Sujin's bilingual skills were a very helpful tool to plan, implement, and interpret the research process and results. In order to complement the trustworthiness throughout the study, then, Lisa's (the second author) perspectives played an essential role. As an outsider to Korean language and culture but insider to language learning (an L1 English speaker having studied Spanish and Japanese), Lisa could question and clarify the meaning of the emotion terms during analytical processes. Both researchers have worked as English teachers and completed language-related research in various contexts (Dorner, Orellana, & Li-Grinning, 2007; Kim & Dorner, forthcoming; Slapac & Kim, forthcoming).

FINDINGS

Data analysis highlights (1) the importance of shared cultural contexts for a full communication of emotions, (2) the correlation between language acquisition and the degree of community participation, and (3) identity negotiation in different languages.

Shared Cultural Context Matters: "I won't talk about this here in America"

One of the survey questions asked participants when they had the most difficulty speaking in English: Was it when they were talking about neutral, personal, or emotional matters? (question 4, Appendix I). We let the participants answer these questions based on their own definition of neutral, personal, and emotional, but when participants asked for clarification about this question, we specified the terms either over email or in person with the following examples: Neutral topics are informational and factual (e.g. weather, school policy, food contamination); personal topics include anything that is related to the person, such as his/her background information, personal opinion, or experiences; and emotional topics are related to the revelation and expression of one's various emotions (e.g. conversation about distressed moments). Ten survey participants answered that emotional topics were the hardest to communicate. Seven participants answered that neutral topics were the most difficult, since they felt challenged when talking about a topic about which they were not familiar and had no background knowledge.

In another section of the survey, participants responded that they preferred Korean over English for domains that were more subjective, intimate, and emotional; here they listed preferring Korean for the discipline of children, intimate conversations, personal diaries,

childhood memories, and inner speech. They explained these choices by referring to lexical competence, familiarity, immediate availability without code switching, and cultural contexts. In other words, their native language allowed them more spontaneity without the secondary process of choosing and fitting the language to the intended meanings. Participants also pointed to the lack of appropriate vocabulary in English, inability to use figurative English, and difficulty of prompt code-switching as the factors that prevented them from communicating emotions in English.

Above all, most respondents concurred that cultural differences between the two languages were the biggest challenge, as demonstrated in the survey's translation task. When asked to translate basic emotion words from Korean to English, survey participants wrote down two or more English translations. For example, they translated *seolpada* (슬프다) as sad, unhappy, or gloomy; *kipeda* (기쁘다) as happy, joyful, or delighted; and *museopda* (무섭다) as scared, afraid, or fearful.

While participants translated these basic emotion words relatively easily, they said that certain Korean emotion words, like the ones defined above, were either difficult or almost impossible to translate. *Haan* (한), *jeong* (정), and *hwapyungnada* (화병나다) were identified as the most difficult to express in English, with each word being identified as difficult by more than eight survey participants. They wrote that they could not find equivalents for these words or that they felt they would have to explain these concepts with contextualized examples. Some did not even try translating, claiming that "there is no matching word" (Haejin, Survey 2). Others emphasized the specific Korean cultural context, for example, describing *jeong* as "love in Korean style" (Mina, Survey 2). They also contextualized emotions at times by adding a body gesture to emphasize the expression, for example, by writing "pounding one's heart" to describe the meaning of *hwapyung* (Amy, Survey 2). Still others responded that they would not want to communicate those emotions in the U.S. not because of their proficiency level, but because of the cultural difference that made it hard to share such emotions with Americans. They answered, "I won't talk about this (*haan*한) here in America, since people can't get it," or "Americans won't understand it. I will have to explain it" (Susan, Survey 2).

In summary, having shared cultural contexts helps individuals fully communicate certain emotions to others. Participants felt a number of culturally-significant emotions could not be translated exactly from one language to another. Emotions that are experienced, learned, and shared within a particular meaning-making system are highly culture-specific, and therefore one's emotional experiences and expressions are made valid and meaningful only in the framework of a shared meaning-making system. As others have found, when the new language is incapable of "intimately naming the world (both inner and outer)," SL learners often find it futile to try communicating certain concepts and emotions (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p. 166).

Thus, unlike the belief of many beginning SL learners and monolinguals that there must be an equivalent word in another language for every word (Hadley, 2000), one-to-one match between words in two different languages does not always exist (Hartado de Mendoza, 2008). This is why emotion, the least tangible human experience, as well as its representation in language, are left with unclear categorization and fuzzy boundaries. This lack of clarity complicates SL learners' emotion expression, and perhaps their abilities to identify and socially interact in their SL. The following sections highlight how the language of emotion

and code-switching between Korean and English are closely related to one's sociocultural participation and identity negotiation across their L1 and L2 language communities.

Navigating Worlds through Traversing Words

Drawing primarily from the interviews, this next section shows how language learners' negotiation between L1 and L2 increased their understanding of, and skills to manage, their L2 environment. Code-switching was important to our participants, as they negotiated meanings in different language communities, for example, Korean American communities where many members are bilinguals of English and Korean, and English-speaking American communities. Unlike translating, which is a conscious activity of transferring meanings from one language to another, we use the term code-switching to denote how bi- and multilinguals use one language or another, or mix different languages, in order to achieve more effective communication. Code-switching is also an indicator of how language learners/users negotiate and re-construct their identities in different languages, and thus, cultural contexts (Nilep, 2006).

Susan, one of the interviewees, had been living in the U.S. for almost two decades (since she was 20 years old), and had acquired native-like proficiency in English. However, she indicated that she always preferred Korean when expressing emotions whether it was writing in a diary, conversing with her children, swearing, or in her inner speech. Moreover, she still found it difficult to communicate her emotions with "Americans," by which she meant English-speaking Americans or non-Korean-speaking Americans. She said that she did not have sufficient cultural commonality with her friends and colleagues in the U.S., and this is why she usually did not converse about her emotions with American friends. Instead, she chose Korean for most of her emotion speech, if any at all. Nevertheless, during the interview, she pointed out that she might use English, sometimes:

> If it happened in Korea and I talk about it, I will definitely use Korean. If it happened in the U.S. and involved a situation which solely requires English, I may use English. (Susan, interview script)

Thus, Susan emphasized that the context of her conversations–including the place, person and topic – often determined her language choice. Depending on the situation, she sometimes chose to communicate her emotions in English, for example, in her work place with monolingual English speakers or other bilinguals whose first language was different from hers. In this case, one's second language – English in this example – sometimes functions as the language that is more relevant and even easier for describing and handling a situation than one's first language.

Code switching is not just dependent on context; it can also demonstrate one's gradual acquisition of cultural skills to participate in a new language community, as the following episode illustrates. In this excerpt, Amy shared an interesting perspective about dreams and language. She explained that dreaming in English meant that she had developed her English skills to a degree that she could address challenging situations in an English speaking community, her L2 life context. Unfortunately, she believed that dreaming in English didn't mean she was fluent in English, only that she was able to participate:

When I was in Korea, people used to tell me, 'if you dream in English, it means that you are now fully proficient.' I thought that made sense, because a dream is the language of your subconscious world and if you dream in English, that means even your subconscious world is operating in that language. One day, I dreamt a dream and I was arguing with my landlord. I was so angry with his racist attitude. Perhaps, this dream came from my experience with the previous landlord. So emotionally charged, I yelled at him, all in English, accusing him of his mean words and behavior. When I woke up, I remembered all the scenes in my dream, and I realize, deeply realized that talking in English in your dream does not mean that your English is now almost good as your native tongue. It just meant that I was dealing with an English-speaking person in my dream! It was the same as my real life situation, where I feel it so challenging to speak in English, especially arguing with someone who is a racist and speaks only English. I was just defying a guy who speaks only English with all my courage and language skill in the dream! That's all! That's why I was speaking in English in my dream. It was not because English became my subconscious language. (Amy, translated from Interview transcript in Korean)

제가 한국에 있을 때 사람들이 그러더라구요. '꿈을 영어로 꾸면 이제 영어 다 된거다' 그말이 맞다고 생각했죠. 왜냐면 꿈이란 게 무의식의 언어이니, 꿈을 영어로 꾼다는 건, 무의식에서도 그 언어가 작동한다는 거니깐요. 하루는 집주인과 싸우는 꿈을 꿨어요. 그 사람의 인종차별적 태도에 제가 너무 화가 나 있는 거에요. 어쩌면 그 꿈은 예전 집주인과의 경험에서 온 것 같아요. 그 사람이 얼마나 비열하게 말하고 행동했는지, 꿈속에서 영어로 막 소리쳤죠. 꿈에서 깨고 나서 장면이 너무 생생한 거에요. 그리곤 갑자기 알게 된 거에요. 진짜. 꿈을 영어로 꾼다고 그게 모국어처럼 편해진 게 아니란 걸요. 단지 꿈속에서 영어밖에 못 말하는 사람을 상대한 것 뿐이었더라구요. 마치 현실에서 영어를 쓰는 인종차별주의자와 상대하는 그 어려움을 고스란히 꿈에서 느낀 거죠. 꿈속에서 내가 할 수 있는 최선을 다해서, 할 수 있는 영어로 그 사람하고 싸운 거죠, 그냥. 그래서 영어로 말하고 있었던 것일뿐…이제 영어가 내 무의식의 영어가 되었기 때문은 아니었던 거죠.(Korean Transcript)

Amy told us that she had had a traumatic experience in her first year in the U.S. with her first landlord. Taking advantage of the vulnerable position of Amy's family as newcomers with language barriers, the landlord exploited their situation by breaking the initial oral contract to not do any major construction during their lease. In response to the complaint of Amy's family, Amy said that the landlord returned severe verbal attacks full of racism such as, "I know how you people from a poor country try to snatch a good money from good Americans" (Amy, Interview script). Unable to confront the landlord because of the language limitation, she had to endure those "harsh, racist insults" and move out of the apartment. When she recalled the situation, her voice trembled with a recurring emotional uprising. She commented that her dream, as a replay of that past situation, felt like self-therapy in which she had demonstrated her increased abilities of dealing with "a monolingual, racist landlord," as if she were healing her wounded self by defying the landlord, now with regained confidence and English proficiency. When asked if she would better confront such unjust racism now, she answered positively, adding that she has learned over time how to

assert herself in such an emotional situation in English. Instead of bursting into tears and being speechless and incapable of finding suitable expressions, she now has learned how to handle and express her emotion in a sophisticated way, while making her points to the other speaker. The dream evinces not only that her second language became a more effective tool to communicate with the native speakers of English, but it also denotes that she had acquired the cultural skills to negotiate and defy meanings in the U.S. society. Amy can now access and articulate her emotions in English.

These experiences of Susan and Amy demonstrate that one's second language learning is not just the acquisition of new grammar, lexicon, and pronunciation. Language learning is also a struggle to participate in a new life world that is mediated by a different language. The evolving skills in maneuvering a second language enable SL speakers to connect to, and participate in, their L2 community. In that participatory struggle, SL users situationally code switch between their native and second language as the contingent situation requires, and manage the challenge at hand using the more appropriate language of the moment.

SL users code switch between native and second languages not only for communicating with monolingual speakers of English, but also for connecting with people of the same bilingual group. For example, Kyungmin, another interviewee, noted that the expression "I love you" in English felt less sincere than the same phrase (as the literal translation in English-Korean bilingual dictionary) in Korean. She felt that "I love you" in Korean (당신을 사랑합니다/ 너를 사랑해/ 사랑해요) was a very personal expression of inner feelings between people, whereas she felt the English expression "I love [you]"seemed to be used more casually and not only for people, but also for animals and even inanimate objects. She commented that because Koreans do not express affection as frequently and openly as Americans do, when Koreans say "I love you" in Korean, it has more weight. In short, each language may have different cultural approaches to certain emotions. Since the overuse of a word or phrase could weaken its freshness and intensity (Lambert, 1963), "I love you" in English as repeatedly heard and used in public media may feel less sincere or have a different feel for Korean ELs. Thus, they might want to use the Korean expression "당신을 사랑합니다" (I love you) to deliver a more serious personal feeling to someone. For the same reason, proficient bilinguals may choose to use their second language vocabulary to give a fresher or more serious meaning than the potentially overused and weakened meaning of the equivalent expression in their native language. Therefore, one may draw on native language for its spontaneity, vividness, and seriousness. In other times, however, one's first language may be avoided because it has already lost its weight through overuse, and one's second language provides a deeper and heavier feeling instead.

When SL users code switch, they traverse different cultural worlds. They draw on not just the literal meaning of chosen words, but more importantly, the cultural connotation – and often the historical context – of the words. This situational code switching allows them to achieve communication that makes more sense to them and that resonates better with their true feelings. While SL learners tend to avoid expressing emotions in their second language for various reasons, they still do express emotions when the imminent situation prompts them to do so. Through the contextual coordination of language and the situation, they learn ways to participate more effectively in their new cultural world.

Identity Negotiation across Languages

Many survey participants commented that when speaking in English, they felt treated by native speakers of English as less intelligent and more childish. Also, they noted that they tended to talk less, feel illogical, or sound too factual when using English. The fear of ridicule or wrong projection of their self-image to others may cause ELs to use fewer emotion words, and therefore think they may sound more detached or cold, as Amy said:

When I talk in English, a lot of times, people ask me to talk louder. However, when I speak in Korean, my family used to say, "You are too loud, volume down!" I am less talkative, feel less smart, more illogical, too factual, sometimes, when I speak in English. (Amy, translated from Interview transcript)

제가 영어로 말하면 대부분의 경우, 사람들이 저더러 목소리를 좀 키우래요. 근데, 한국말로 하면 우리 가족들은 "아, 시끄러워, 목소리 좀낮춰!" 라고. 영어로 말할때면 말도 안하게 되고, 좀 멍청해진 느낌이 들고, 비논리적이거나, 혹은 너무 사실적이 되거나…그런 느낌이 들어요. (Korean transcript)

Amy said that her confidence level differs between two languages. The volume of her voice reflected this variation as she felt and heard from others that she was quiet and reserved in English, but vocal, expressive, and confident in Korean.

Interestingly, Mike told us other ways to view this kind of "personality change." He said that he felt more talkative and humorous in English, while, in Korean, he felt less expressive and loud. Saying that "I'm a totally different person when I speak in English," Mike associated his language personality to a different set of personal experiences, or, specifically, to the different ways he was socialized into using each language:

I guess the reason my personality changes when I am talking in English is because I picked up not only the expression itself but also other aspects of the speaker, such as facial expression, body gesture, and even the way the speaker talks. By "speaker," I mean an actor or actress in a movie or drama in most cases. The majority of movies and drama [that I have watched] are comedies. So, every time I speak in English, it automatically triggers my sense of humor that doesn't usually appear when speaking in Korean. So when I speak in English, I become more talkative, I use more jokes. For example, when I talk to co-workers or friends, one of them rolls out some amazing story. I raise my eyebrows and say "is that for real?" If this is the case of talking in Korean, I would've said something without any facial expression. One of my favorite films is American President. There is a girl saying "and then you walk out the wrong door" to tease her sister. She says that line with funny looking face I can't even describe. Somehow, I picked up the facial expression, and every time I tease someone, not in an intimidating way, I just say it with pretty much same tone and gesture [as in the movie]. (Mike, Interview transcript)

For Mike, what he calls "personality change" is closely related to his actual experiences with each language. Mike has used media such as films, radio, and music for his English acquisition. He has shared college dormitory rooms with American friends for years, an experience that introduced him to young Americans' communication styles and cultural tastes. He picked up certain vocabulary, expressions, pronunciation, and cultural nuances from those years of daily contact with American friends and media. Above all, he claimed

that he learned "American" ways of interacting during those times. He pointed out that American jokes are particularly "American" and very different from Korean jokes, in terms of the way jokes are used, understood, and enjoyed. So, certain jokes that are very funny and popular in America, when translated, may not be even taken as jokes in Korea. He said that one should be familiar with the cultural context behind a joke and the culturally-specific ways that people communicate the joke's meaning, without which one may not enjoy its full flavor. In sum, Mike's English learning process was a socialization into a new cultural community through which he also established and communicated newly found identities, including the one now regularly accessed and represented in English.

In the above examples, and throughout the interviews, we noticed that Amy had less preference for English than Mike. Mike's English learning process was voluntary and enjoyable since high school, whereas Amy viewed English as a tool to communicate with people, adjust in a new culture, and pursue her goal in academia as a graduate student. This difference led us to another interesting finding from Amy's experiences: when one's second language is a less emotionally-attached language, it may have a distancing effect from emotional distress that one might be experiencing. Amy stated:

I choose to talk loud to myself in English sometimes, when I am very distressed. Because in Korean, the feelings are too intense and hurting, so I can't get over the emotion of the moment. But when I use English purposefully, it feels like somebody else is talking to me, giving me some advice. Then, it gets easier to recover from the stress. It's like a little counseling session for me. (Amy, translated from Interview transcript)

저 같은 경우는, 혼자서 영어로 중얼거릴 때가 있어요, 그니까 굉장히 기분이 안 좋을 때요. 그때 한국말로 하면, 기분이 더 안 좋아지고 그 기분이 너무 강렬해서 그 순간 감정에 매몰이 되죠. 그래서 일부러 영어로 중얼거릴 때가 있는데, 그러면 꼭 누군가 제 3자가 저한테 이야기하는 기분이에요. 충고를 해주는 듯이. 그러면 그 순간의 감정, 스트레스를 이기는 데 도움이 돼죠. 저한텐 꼭 카운슬링세션 같아요. (Korean transcript)

Using another language to distance oneself from distressing emotions has been recognized by other scholars as well (e.g. Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2005). Difficult experiences recoded in one's first language can agitate one's emotions too intensely to evaluate the situation adequately. In this case, one's second language, if it is not a language in which the speaker's emotions and experiences are deeply embedded, can bring about a calming effect by separating the person from his/her experience. Although Amy preferred Korean over English for most of her emotion speech, she validated English as providing her with more objectivity and thus with more psychological power to assess and recover from a distressing situation.

To summarize, (1) these Korean ELs felt the most difficulty when trying to express emotions that are deeply ingrained in Korean cultural and historical contexts. Even when they gained more confidence in their emotion speech with increasing English proficiency, they still chose to avoid expressing highly culture-specific emotions such as *haan* and *jeong*. (2) These Korean ELs traversed between English and Korean for communication of emotions depending on the context of situations and people with whom they were communicating. (3) Some ELs experienced what they viewed as a personality or identity change when they

switched languages, while others experienced a distancing effect from their first-hand emotions of distress when they used English for inner speech, a phenomena that indicate that one's language acquisition involves not only cultural acquisition, but also identity negotiation.

DISCUSSION / CONCLUSION

Although the challenge of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural transfer is not limited to emotions and emotion words, we note that research focusing on the representation of emotion across languages has important implications in the SLA field. By drawing on language learners' own perspectives, such research may fill the gap in SLA which has traditionally separated language from its "affective resonances" for learners (Kramsch, 2009, p. 2). This research reminds us of the intertwined relationship among emotions, cultural contexts, perceived identities, and languages. As part of such efforts, our analysis of Korean adult English learners shows the following: (1) Some emotions are not easily transferrable across languages without shared cultural contexts among speakers. The specific meaning making system within a cultural community shapes and affects people's experiences and expression of emotions, and thus challenges SL learners to communicate and/or use emotion speech. (2) However, the acquisition of second languages includes learning new cultural maps, which direct specific ways of coordinating the expression of one's diverse experiences (including emotions). The language learners in our study did not mechanically acquire new linguistic tools to translate their inner state into another language; instead, they appeared to develop intercultural capacities to code switch across languages, and communicate with and participate in their current L2 community. (3) Despite learners' gradual success of contextual code-switching, the chasm between two cultural worlds that their second language cannot completely fill often leaves learners experiencing some personality changes or the emergence of new identities across languages. Since each language is associated with different cultural experiences and value orientations shaped in different times and spaces, SL learners (perhaps especially adults), discover and construct new identities across languages.

This study has its limitation in that our participants do not represent the general population of Korean English adult learners, and participants' trajectories of language learning and life contexts also varied greatly. It also focused only on English learners, not other languages. However, we find that despite the small sample and the diversity of participants' backgrounds, learners' own voices on their language learning process in their unique context have implications for language learning and teaching. While valuing and building on many extant theories and research findings that have investigated the cognitive and performative aspects of SL learning processes, we add a more learner-centered perspective. By focusing on the relationship between emotion and language, we suggest that language classrooms need to find ways to meaningfully connect to an important aspect of the learners' identities to which emotion and its language are an important window. When emotion speech in one's second language is silenced or less facilitated than other domains of speech, SL speakers may find themselves less functional and whole because they may not have proper access to the reality and self to which only the language of emotion can refer (Kramsch, 2009). As identities are socially constructed and language is the core means of one's identity work, we see from this study an important thread that connects one's social self and one's inner world of emotions. As the connecting thread, the language of emotions

forms the living bridge between L1 and L2 speech communities, and the identities that speakers have constructed for themselves in each of these languages.

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Appendix I
Survey questions (English Version)

Survey I
Please list Korean/English words related to your emotions which you have hard time in translating into the other language (Korean to English, English to Korean).

Survey II
*Please respond in Korean or English.

Age: Gender: Female / Male

1. How would you rate your English proficiency in speaking, listening, reading, and writing on the scale from 1 to 4?

	1 beginner	2 intermediate	3 advanced	4 superior(native-like)
Speaking				
Listening				
Reading				
Writing				

2. Was your English acquisition naturalistic (outside of school) or instructed (at school), or both?

3. Please specify how many years you have studied English, or you have been in English speaking environment.

4. When do you feel the most difficulty in speaking in English?
    1) when you speak about neutral matters
    2) when you speak about personal matters
    3) when you speak about emotional matters

* 5-8 If you don't have any child, you can skip questions 5-8.

5. Which language do you use when you talk to your children?   Korean / English

6. Which do you prefer when you scold or discipline children?   Korean / English

7. Which do you prefer to use for praise or intimate conversation with your children?
    Korean/ English

8. Which language do you usually use when you are emotionally upset and angry to express that emotion? And why?

9. If you swear, what language would you use? And why?

10. For your deepest emotions and feelings, which language do you use?

11. In what language do you talk to yourself (inner speech)?

12. Does the expression "I love you" have the same emotional weight in Korean? Please write the reason for you answer.

13. Which language is more appropriate as the language of your emotions than the other? And why?

14. If you write in a personal diary, which language do you use and why?

15. If you want to describe bad or difficult memories, what language would you prefer to use?

16. How would you express the following Korean words in English? What if you cannot come up with the words? How would you express them?

섭섭하다/서운하다 /seopseophada/seounhada/
답답하다/taptaphada/
속상하다/soksanghada/
괘씸하다/koessimhada/
서럽다/seoreopda/
한맺히다/hanmaechida/
삐지다/pigida/
짜증나다/chajeongnada/
눈치보이다/nunchiboida/
당당하다/tangtanghada/
한/haan/
정/jeong/
홧병나다/hwapyungnada/
(속이)시원하다/siwonhada/
치사하다
인연이깊다/inyeonikipda/

17. If there is any comment about your language use in Korean and in English (differences, similarities, difficulties, and so on), please feel free to write here.

Appendix II
Interview Protocol (English Version)

* Interview

1. Tell me about your English acquisition environment.

2. When do you feel the most difficulty in speaking English? and Why?
    1) when you speak about neutral matters
    2) when you speak about personal matters
    3) when you speak about emotional matters

3. Which language do you usually use when you speak with your children? (Probe for each occasion such as praising, discipline, having an intimate conversation with children)

4. If you want to describe bad or difficult memories, what language would you prefer to use? and why?

5. Which language do you prefer to use to express your emotions? and why?

6. Please tell me about those moments you felt frustrated or difficult when you try to express your emotions in English? What was the occasion? Who were you talking to?

7. What are some difficult words that you may not easily translate into English? Or the other way around? and why?

8. What are your strategies of communication when you find it difficult to express emotions in English?

9. What kind of instructional change would you like to see in English language classroom, especially in terms of learning how to express your emotion? or how your classroom learning helped you in your expression of emotions in English?

10. Please feel free to comment on your experience of English language use in any aspect.

Appendix III
Data Tables

Table 1. Participants of the Study

Participant's pseudonym	Gender (M/F)	Age	Self-rated proficiency S(speaking), L(listening), R(reading), W(writing) 1/beginner, 2/intermediate, 3/advance, 4/superior(native-like)	Years of formal English education	Participation type Survey Interview
Susan	F	39	S – 3 / L – 4 / R – 3 / W – 2	14 yrs	Survey/ Interview
Mike	M	29	S – 3 / L – 3 / R – 3 / W – 2	6 yrs	Survey/ Interview
Amy	F	39	S – 2 / L – 2 / R – 3 / W – 3	12 yrs	Survey/ Interview
Kyungmin	F	36	S – 2 / L – 2 / R – 2 / W – 2	6 years	Survey/ Interview
Jan	F	22	S – 2 / L – 3 / R – 3 / W – 2	10 yrs	Survey
Min	F	22	S – 2 / L – 2 / R – 2 / W – 2	14 yrs	Survey
Young	F	-	S – 2 / L – 2 / R – 2 / W – 1	10 yrs	Survey
Jane	F	28	S – 2 / L – 2 / R – 3 / W – 3	6 yrs	Survey
Kook	M	24	S – 2 / L – 2 / R – 3 / W – 4	----	Survey
Hyung- tae	M	25	S – 3 / L – 3 / R – 3 / W – 3	10 yrs	Survey
Sara	F	23	S – 2 / L – 3 / R – 3 / W – 3	6 yrs	Survey
David	M	19	S – 2 / L – 2 / R – 2 / W – 2	10 yrs	Survey
Haejin	F	30	S – 2 / L – 2 / R – 2 / W – 2	10 yrs	Survey
Mina	F	38	S – 2 / L – 2 / R – 2 / W – 2	6 yrs	Survey
Seok	M	38	S – 2 / L – 2 / R – 2 / W – 2	6 yrs	Survey
Sun	F	43	S – 2 / L – 2 / R – 3 / W – 2	10 yrs	Survey
Eun	F	34	S – 3 / L – 3 / R – 3 / W – 3	10yrs	Survey

Table 2
Sixteen Difficult Korean Emotion Words and Participants' Translations
(words that were identified by more than 3 participants as difficult)

Korean	English
섭섭하다/서운하다 /seopseophada/seounhada/	unhappy, angry, disappointed, I am sorry that xxx didn't do it. Or, How could he not do this to me! , sad, sorry, not fair, you beat my heart
답답하다/taptaphada/	frustrated, stuffy, feels like talking to the wall, xxx doesn't understand it. Can't stand it, feel heavy, feel tight, difficult to breathe
속상하다/soksanghada/	upset, feel bad, unhappy, cut me deep, annoyed, distressing, annoying
괘씸하다/koessimhada/	hate someone, angry, feel bad, unhappy, feel betrayed, How dare! Or How could he!, getting on the nerve
서럽다/seoreopda/	very sad, so sad, feel alone, ditched, abandoned
한맺히다/hanmaechida/	deep sorrow in my heart, sorrowful… can't forget, keep my anger deep in my heart, deeply hurt, hateful
삐지다/pigida/	upset, angry, depressed, excluded
짜증나다/chajeongnada/	annoyed, angry, mad, irritated, make me sick, teasing, freat out
눈치보이다/nunchiboida/	not comfortable with someone, nervous
당당하다/tangtanghada/	active and brave, proud, have confidence, confident
한/haan/	deep sorrow, haan, unforgettable anger, "no matching word, I won't talk about this here in America, since people can't get it, won't use it"
정/jeong/	deep affection, feeling like friendship or family, love in Korean style, affection, love
홧병나다/hwapyungnada/	deeply bothered in heart, get ill because of wrath, drive me crazy, furious, "Americans won't understand it, I will have to explain it"
(속이)시원하다/siwonhada/	nice, good, cool, feel so good, feel refreshed, relieved
치사하다	mean, not generous, dirty
인연이깊다/inyeonikipda/	Have fateful relationship, think it's a destiny, special relationship, meant to be, destined, karma, history, bond

Table 3. Sample survey questions and participants' answers
(Answers in Korean were translated to English)

Question	Answer
Was your English acquisition naturalistic (outside of school) or instructed (at school), or both? Please specify how many years you have studied English, or you have been in English speaking environment.	"To be precise, I started learning English in middle school, but I don't think I've learned anything there. Since high school, I've started watching this and that, so 3 years in high school, 2 years in College, and 5 years in the U.S. , so in total 10 years." (Mike) "It was mostly instructed. However, some of it came from friends." (Susan)
Which language do you usually use when you are emotionally upset and angry to express that emotion? And why?	"Korean/ because I don't have to think but Korean language just automatically delivers my feelings." (Sun) "Korean/ I can't fine appropriate expression in English." (Jane) "Korean, because when I'm upset, and express something, it should be without the translating process, but just right away." (Kyungmin)
Does the expression "I love you" have the same emotional weight in Korean? Please write the reason for you answer.	"No, the two words seem different to me. It probably is because I use 'I love you' more often and broadly to people other than my family, but use '당신을 사랑합니다' to my family only. (Susan) "English expression 'I love you' feels more casual and lighter than Korean expression. Korean '당신을 사랑합니다'expression feels more serious. Also they have different usages; in English, 'love' can be used for human relationships but also for clothing, colors, objects, or hobbies, but in Korean, it is mostly used for only people." (Seok) "Sometimes, people in America don't consider it seriously saying or using 'I love you.'But '당신을 사랑합니다' has a just clear meaning." (Hyung-tae) "Same. But when I have a chance to say '당신을 사랑합니다' or 'I love you', 'I love you' is more comfortable and easy to say, because '당신을 사랑합니다' makes me feel heavy." (Haejin)
If you write in a personal diary, which language do you use and why?	"I prefer Korean. I tried English before, but I cannot convey the same feeling." (Susan) "Korean. Writing in English can describe the events, but it can't express the subtle, complicating changes of inner feelings during the process." (Sun) "Mostly in Korean. But it depends on the situation; sometimes I use English because it is easier to refer to the object or situation

	in English." (Seok)
	"It depends on the purpose. If it is for reflecting myself about the day, I prefer using English." (Hyung-tae)
Do you have a preference for emotion words in a certain language (either Korean or English)? And why?	"Korean. It's easier to express my emotions in Korean. It may be because (1) I have been using korean for all my life, (2) I didn't have any chance to learn how to express my emotions in English (lack of vocabulary), and (3) I don't have a lot of English speaking people to whom I need or want to express my emotions." (Susan)
	"English is more useful when expressing rational thoughts, while Korean is more useful when expressing emotions." (Kook)
	"It is much more difficult to talk about emotion in English than Korean. Some emotions like 'sad, mad, or happy' are easy to come up with in English, but some Korean specific emotions such as 'Haan and Jeong' do not have English expressions So I sometimes do not even try to express them." (Sun)
	"I tend not to express any emotion in English." (Seok)
If there is any comment about your language use in Korean and in English (differences, similarities, difficulties, and so on), please feel free to write here.	"Basically they are all languages for exchanging feelings and opinions, but actually it is not a matter of the same language or not. It is a matter of understanding the listener and his cultural background." (Hyung-tae)
	"Vocabs are limited to express exactly how I feel, especially when I try to express very sensitive emotions. Plus, I'm not familiar with the ways of making appropriate examples." (Kook)
	"The structure of English is totally different from that of Korean, which makes me feel stressed all the time when I speak in English. Sometimes, I can't find the exactly matching words in English, which makes my conversation unnatural." (Eun)