Motivational Factors in Heritage Language Learning

A qualitative case study of *Zainichi* Koreans in Japan

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This qualitative study investigates the language learning experiences of *Zainichi* Koreans living in Japan. These are the communities of Koreans who first came to Japan during Japanese colonial rule of the Korean peninsula and thus, regarding the Korean language, the context is one of heritage language learning. A case study of a *Zainichi* Korean family was undertaken, with semi-structured interviews of family members spanning three generations. Analysis of the interview data revealed that the motivational disposition to learn and speak Korean was influenced more by issues of identity and environmental factors than by images of future selves. Theoretical concepts of integrativeness and communities of practice were therefore found to be more relevant than those concerning future self–guides. There was also evidence to suggest that the motivation of *Zainichi* Koreans has changed over the years, with younger generations in particular facing a different language learning environment than their forebears.

この定性的研究は、日本の在日コリアンにおける言語学習経験を調査するものである。本件の調査対象となるグループは、日本国の朝鮮半島統治時代に、日本に最初にきた朝鮮人たちのコミュニティーである。したがって、本内容は、継承語学習の一つとしての朝鮮語に関するものである。本論文は、とある在日コリアン家族について、3世代にわたる半構造的なインタビューを実施した。本論文におけるインタビューの分析で、在日コリアンの学び・話しの動機を与える気質は、将来の話者自身のイメージよりも、話者のアイデンティーや環境の要員による問題により影響されるということが明らかになった。したがって、話者の将来の言語が導くものよりも、統合的な理論的概念と、コミュニティーにおける言語の実践が、より関連性があるものであると見出された。本論文では、もう一点の証拠が示唆された。在日コリアンの動機付けは、特に、若い世代が、彼らの先祖よりも、異なる言語学習環境に直面することによって何年もかけて変化し続けているということである。

Introduction

This study investigates the motivational factors behind the language learning experiences of *Zainichi* Koreans in Japan. Literally translated, the Japanese word *zainichi* means "residing in Japan," but it is often solely associated with Korean migrants, specifically those Koreans who came to Japan during the period of Japanese colonial rule. In contrast to the large body of research concerning the motivation of both Japanese and Korean learners, in foreign language, second language and heritage language (HL) settings (e.g., Kang & Kim, 2012; Kim, 2009; Ryan, 2009), the language learning motivation of *Zainichi* Koreans as a distinct body of learners has been somewhat neglected. This study seeks to redress that imbalance by way of a case study of one *Zainichi* Korean family. Inspired by the biographical research of Shoaib and Dörnyei (2005) and the person-in-context relational view of motivation advocated by Ushioda (2009), the study adopts a qualitative approach in the belief that such methodology can provide a means of capturing the complexity and dynamism of language learning motivation, amid the additional issues arising from an HL setting. To help contextualize the study, the following section provides further information on the historical, political and educational backgrounds of *Zainichi* Koreans in Japan.

Koreans in Japan

Terminology

Koreans are one of the oldest and largest groups of immigrants in Japan (Noguchi, 2015). This includes *Zainichi* Koreans, plus their descendants, and South Koreans, that it to say those who were born and raised in South Korea and subsequently moved to Japan in post-colonial years. Okano and Tsuchiya distinguish these two groups as "oldtimers" and "newcomers" respectively (1999, p. 111), though various other terms have been used in the Japanese language literature, including *zainichi chosenjin,*[1] *zainichi kankokujin,*[2] *zainichi kankoku chosenjin, zainichi korian* or simply *zainichi* (Ryang, 2009, p. 4), to reflect differing geographical and/or ideological identification.

Although the word *zainichi* has itself been criticized (e.g., Ryang, 2009), for the purposes of this paper and ease of reference, this paper uses *Zainichi* Koreans to refer to the "oldtimers" and their descendants.

Historical and Political Background

The Korean peninsula was formally annexed to Japan in 1910 and remained under Japanese colonial rule until the end of World War II in 1945. This 35-year period of annexation resulted in an increase in Korean migration to the Japanese archipelago. Japanese labor shortages in the 1920s saw large numbers of workers arrive from Korea (Lie, 2008). During the war there was an increasing amount of enforced migration, with both Korean men and women[3] forced to work, and in some cases even fight, for the Japanese war effort (Lie, 2008). Figures vary, but by 1945 the Korean population in Japan is estimated to have numbered approximately two million (Lie, 2009), of which approximately 97% had come from the southern part of the Korean peninsula (Ryang, 1997, p. 3, cited in Noguchi, 2015, p. 65).

Following the end of World War II, the number of Koreans in Japan decreased to approximately 600,000[4] as many Koreans returned to their homeland. The post-war period also saw a change in Japanese government policy regarding the status of Koreans. With the annexation of Korea in 1910, Koreans had become Japanese imperial subjects, but in 1947 they lost their residential rights and became subject to the alien registration system (Ryang, 2009). Then in 1952, with the renouncement of Japan's sovereignty over the Korean peninsula, Zainichi Koreans were left stateless since Japan recognized neither the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) or the Republic of Korea (ROK)[5] (Ryang, 2009).

However, it was after the Korean War (1950–1953) that "the Korean diaspora in Japan was firmly formed" (Ryang, 2009, p. 4). The peninsula was divided into North Korea (DPRK) and South Korea (ROK), though neither state was recognized by the Japanese government until 1965, when the normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and the ROK began. South Korean identity was then legally recognized and those holding that nationality gained permanent residency (Ryang, 2009). This provided the opportunity for *Zainichi* Koreans to secure Japanese social and welfare benefits and with a South Korean passport, greater freedom to travel.

Whether or not they chose to adopt South Korean nationality, *Zainichi* Koreans still encountered discrimination in Japanese society, primarily in the workplace (Lie, 2009). A turning point came in 1974 with a successful employment discrimination case brought by a *Zainichi* Korean worker against the Japanese company Hitachi.[6] This led to further court cases and a change in the policy of local government authorities to permit the hiring of *Zainichi* Koreans (Lie, 2009). Then in 1992, all *Zainichi* Koreans who were able to prove residential roots back to the period of annexation, or who were born and had since resided in Japan, were granted special permanent residency (Ryang, 2009).

According to Japanese government figures,[7] 519,740 Korean nationals were registered under the registration scheme for foreign residents as of 31st December 2013. This figure includes both "oldtimers" and "newcomers", but not those *Zainichi* Koreans who had acquired Japanese citizenship, a group estimated to include over 300,000 additional people (Noguchi, 2015).

There are now Korean communities in most major metropolitan areas across Japan

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[1] *Chosenjin* means Korean people, though is more commonly associated with those from North Korea.
[2] *Kankokujin* is the Japanese word for people from South Korea.
[3] Including the so-called "comfort women" who were forced to work as sex slaves for Japanese soldiers.
[4] According to official figures, 611,758 Koreans were living in Japan as of November 1948 (Wagner, 1951).
[5] Both were formed in 1948.
[6] Hitachi had dismissed Pak Chonsock after discovering his Korean background.
[7] Ministry of Justice - http://www.moj.go.jp/ENGLISH/m_hisho06_00044.html accessed 8th July 2017.

(Noguchi, 2015). One of the oldest and largest is in Osaka, since many Koreans emigrated there during the colonial period, including a large population from the southern island of Cheju (Rands, 2010). Whilst noting the likelihood of sociocultural and sociolinguistic variation between communities, further examination of such diversity is beyond the scope of this study (see Rands, 2012 on the Korean communities in Osaka and Tokyo). Moreover, use of the word "community" in singular form nonetheless acknowledges and implies the existence of different communities.

Political Affiliation

The end of the Korean War saw *Zainichi* Korean communities divided along political lines, with two main organizations: the General Federation of Korean Residents (more commonly known as *Soren* in Japanese and *Chongryun* in Korean) and the Association for Koreans in Japan (known as *Mindan* in Japanese), representing the interests of the DPRK and ROK respectively (Noguchi, 2015). However, for many *Zainichi* Koreans, particularly those from the first generation, *Soren* was the preferred choice and it became the dominant force (Lie, 2009). However, in recent years its influence has waned due to a number of factors, including diminishing financial support from North Korea and the changing demographic composition of *Zainichi* Koreans. In 1950 the proportion of Japan-born *Zainichi* Koreans was 49.9%, but in 1974 that proportion had increased to 74.6%, and by 1993 it was approximately 90% (Chapman, 2004). It can therefore be said that ties with the former Korea and/or North Korea are becoming weaker through the generations. According to Ryang (2009), such generational changes became more pronounced during the 1980s due to a greater realization and acceptance by younger generations of the decreasing chances of Korean unification and therefore repatriation to the Korean peninsula. This was compounded by a general increase in the standards of living and education in *Zainichi* Korean communities, mirroring Japan's post-war economic boom. Accordingly, the majority of Koreans now have no political association with either North or South Korea (Ryang, 2009).

Education

The majority of *Zainichi* Korean schoolchildren attend Japanese schools (Okano & Tuschiya, 1999), with the remainder attending Korean schools. These are primarily *Soren*-affiliated schools (or *chosen gakko* in Japanese), although there are also South Korean schools, which number approximately seventy and four respectively. The number of *Soren* schools has decreased in recent years due to lack of funding from both North Korea and the Japanese government (The Japan Times, 2014).

Although the curriculum of *Soren* schools has become less political over recent decades, there are still strong ties with North Korea, such as those maintained through Korean language and traditional dance and music programs (Noguchi, 2015). Unlike their South Korean counterparts, *Soren* schools also adopt an HL immersion system (Noguchi, 2015), referring to the Korean language as *urimal*, meaning "our language" in Korean (Noguchi, 2004).

With this contextual backdrop in mind, the following section sets out the theoretical basis for the current research. Since the study encompasses both HL learning and second language (L2) motivation, literature from both of these fields is reviewed.

Literature Review
Heritage Language Learning

Over recent decades, the concept of HL has been increasingly used to describe the language spoken by minorities in a majority language setting (Valdés, 2005). However, the label of HL learner "encompasses a huge, heterogeneous population" (Kondo-Brown, 2005, p. 564), which has caused debate over the types of HL and HL learners (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003).

Polinsky and Kagan (2007) differentiate between broad and narrow notions of HL. A narrower conception is encapsulated by Valdés, (2001, p. 38) who, in the context of the United States, defined a heritage student as "a language student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or at least understands the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in that language and in English". Thus under the narrower conception of HL, a level of proficiency is assumed, with some degree of active or passive bilingualism (Van Duesen-Scholl, 2003).

Valdés herself notes the limitations of such a definition (Valdés, 2005) and goes on to suggest that the term "L1/L2 user" may better capture the characteristics of HL learners, given that the L2 may be acquired in a combination of naturalistic and instructed settings (2005, p. 414). This was further supported by He (2010), who suggests that heritage learning is acquired in informal settings, such as across generations in the home and the community, rather than in more

formal classroom settings.

Under a broader conception, the relationship between cultural heritage and linguistic heritage is emphasized (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). Thus Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) describes HL learners as "a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to non-speakers who may be generations removed, but who may feel culturally connected to a language" (p. 221). She also distinguishes between heritage learners and learners with a "heritage motivation" (2007, p. 222), the latter seeking a connection with their family's heritage from a more removed position. In her Canadian study of multiple languages (including Japanese and Korean), Feuerverger (1991, cited in Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 222), identified three themes:

i) the need for heritage language literacy at home and school;
ii) the relationship between language and ethnic community participation; and
iii) the relationship between language and identification with the ethnic homeland.

In his study of Korean language use among newcomers in Japan, Ogoshi (2005) found that Korean performed a social role, helping to forge a sense of belonging with the Korean community.

Kang and Kim (2012) stated that the extent to which a heritage language is used regularly in the home or community depends on the degree of association between the learner's ethnic identity and the HL. In their study of second-generation Korean-Americans, they found a positive correlation between those with a strong identification with Korean ethnicity and their perceived and actual competence in the Korean language. This is a similar finding to the earlier research of Cho (2000) and Lee (2002), both also involving Korean-American contexts. It also reflects the study of various HL learners in the USA by Tse (2000), who concluded that an HL learner having positive attitudes towards the HL and their ethnic group facilitates HL acquisition.

Of particular relevance to cross-generational comparisons of HL learners, as in the present study, is the finding that if the HL continues to be used across the generations, then language maintenance can be achieved (Fishman, 1972, cited in Sevinç & Dewaele, 2016, p. 4). Conversely, research has also shown that language shift to the dominant language takes place as each successive generation becomes less proficient in their HL (Lynch, 2008, cited in Sevinç & Dewaele, 2016, p. 4). That was found to be the case with Korean immigrant families in the USA (Cho & Krashen, 1998, cited in Cho, 2000, p. 370).

L2 Motivation

Motivation has been recognized as an important factor in second language acquisition (SLA) (Dörnyei, 1998). Studies into L2 motivation have taken many perspectives, such as its effect on proficiency or its relationship with other variables including autonomy, learner anxiety and learner identity. Perhaps reflecting such diversity, L2 motivational studies have evolved under the influence of different fields of research. Following the pioneering social-psychological studies of Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972), with their concepts of integrative and instrumental motivation, there followed a dynamic period of research, first based on a more education-oriented premise and then encompassing the realities of modern L2 learning, taking into account the rise of English as a global language and contemporary issues of self and identity (Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009).

A significant development has been the conception of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009), a framework which drew inspiration from the psychological theory of possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Under the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS), a learner's motivation is guided by a two-fold perception of their future selves, being an ideal L2 self and an ought-to L2 self, together with their L2 learning experience. The L2MSS has been validated by subsequent research, largely using quantitative methodology. It has also paved the way for further and ongoing investigations into the phenomena of Directed Motivated Currents (DMC), a term used to describe periods of intense and sustained activity (Dörnyei et al, 2015).

Commenting on the role of identity in SLA, Lamb (2009) felt that whilst the more psychologically situated construct of the L2MSS provides a suitable framework of interpretation, it is important not to lose sight of the social dimension of the concept of identity claiming, "(t)he formation of self-guides occurs in and through the social domains in which the individual moves" and then quoting Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 954) to suggest "the pool of possible selves derives from the categories made salient by the individual's particular socio-cultural and historical context" (Lamb, 2009, p. 229).

Lamb (2009) therefore advocated the use of "middle range" theories such as the situated learning theory (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). This views learning as a social activity, occurring within "communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991), with learners moving from a peripheral to a more central position of engagement within the community as a

result of increased participation in community activities and interaction with more experienced community members. Lamb further suggests that a greater level of participation may lead to a transformation of identity (2009), a suggestion that is supported by Lambert (1974, cited in Noels, 2003, p. 106), who believes that learning another language may have implications for ethnic identity, affecting both feelings of belonging to L1 and L2 groups.

This may be particularly relevant where the L1 and L2 groups are unequal, such as in an HL setting. For learners from a minority group, the development of an L2 identity in conjunction with increased L2 proficiency may undermine their ethnic identity (Noels, Pon, & Clément, 1996).

The relationship between social factors, specifically those relating to ethnic group affiliation, and L2 proficiency was investigated by Gatbonton and Trofimovich (2008). In the bilingual setting of Quebec, they found a significant albeit complex link between the two. For example, feelings of pride and loyalty towards the ethnic group were found to have no links with proficiency, though strong ethnic group identification, with a positive orientation towards the L2 (English) group, was associated with high proficiency (Gatbonton & Trofimovich, 2008). This also highlights the significance of context, and the notion that a consideration of matters such as the relationship between L2 motivation and identity needs to be understood within the learning context (Chen, 2012).

This may take on even greater significance in an HL context. The poststructuralist theory of a person's investment in an L2 (Norton Peirce, 1995) may be helpful in that regard. Although concerned with the broader theme of power relations, Norton Peirce (1995) argued that the motivational orientations of the socio-psychological model (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1985) did not capture "the complex relationship between relations of power, identity, and language learning" (1995, p. 17) identified in her study of immigrant women in Canada. In Norton Peirce's view, "an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space" (1995, p. 18).

Moreover, Ushioda (2003) reiterated the view that motivation is a socially mediated phenomenon, rather than just something coming from within. While researchers like Deci and Flaste (1996), point out the learner must be internally motivated to learn as the agent in the learning process, Ushioda (2003) argued that the motivation to learn is also socially and culturally mediated with others. Space precludes a more extensive discussion of these issues, but the preceding review nonetheless offers an overview of literature relevant to the current study.

A Paradigm Shift in L2 Research Methodology

Developments in L2 motivational research also led to a reappraisal of research methodology. Whilst the use of quantitative methods enables precise statistical analysis of L2 learner traits, another body of thought questioned the suitability of scientific measurement techniques to adequately investigate the complexity and dynamism of L2 motivation. For example, Crookes and Schmidt (1991) suggested that diary studies may offer "a better way to investigate the dynamics of motivational factors in learners" (p. 495) and Lamb (2009) argued that quantitative research on the L2MSS should be supplemented by case studies to "investigate the L2 self-guides of specific individuals over time, in their various contexts of learning" (p. 230).

Ushioda (2009) called for a person-in-context relational view of motivation to

> …focus on the agency of the individual person as a thinking, feeling human being, with an identity, a personality, a unique history and background, a person with goals, motives and intentions; a focus on the interaction between this self-reflective intentional agent, and the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro-contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of. (p. 220)

In line with these comments, more qualitative methods began to be adopted, with interviews in particular offering "rich insights into the process and experience of motivation" (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2012, p. 402). Notable examples include Ushioda (2001), Shedivy (2004), Hsieh (2009), Campbell and Storch (2011) and Noguchi (2015), the latter also set in the HL context of *Zainichi* Koreans in Japan. The present study continues this trend by adopting a qualitative approach within the framework of a case study, the rationale for which is set out below.

The Study
Research Questions

Whilst *Zainichi* Koreans have been the subject of previous research, principally in relation to issues of identity (Chapman, 2008; Noguchi, 2015) and diaspora (Ryang & Lie, 2009), there has been a distinct lack of motivational research in this HL setting. The aim of this study is therefore to raise awareness of motivational issues that are specific to this group of learners by answering the following three research questions:

1. How are aspects of self and identity related to *Zainichi* Koreans' motivations for learning the Korean language?
2. How do environmental influences shape the motivational dispositions of *Zainichi* Koreans with regard to learning the Korean language?
3. How does their motivation for learning the Korean language change over time (including between different generations), and what factors drive this change?

Given the HL setting, the participants' acquisition of Korean is the primary focus of the study, with other languages, primarily English, being used more for comparative purposes.

Participants

It was felt that a single family spanning several generations could provide a compelling cross-generational comparison of motivational issues and experiences. A family of six was chosen, comprising the maternal grandmother, both parents and the three adult children. Both for ease of reference and to help preserve anonymity, the family members are hereinafter referred to as Participants 1 to 6, with the numbers corresponding to the descending ages respectively, so that Participant 1 is the oldest and Participant 6 the youngest. The relationship between the participants is shown via the family tree in Figure 1 below.
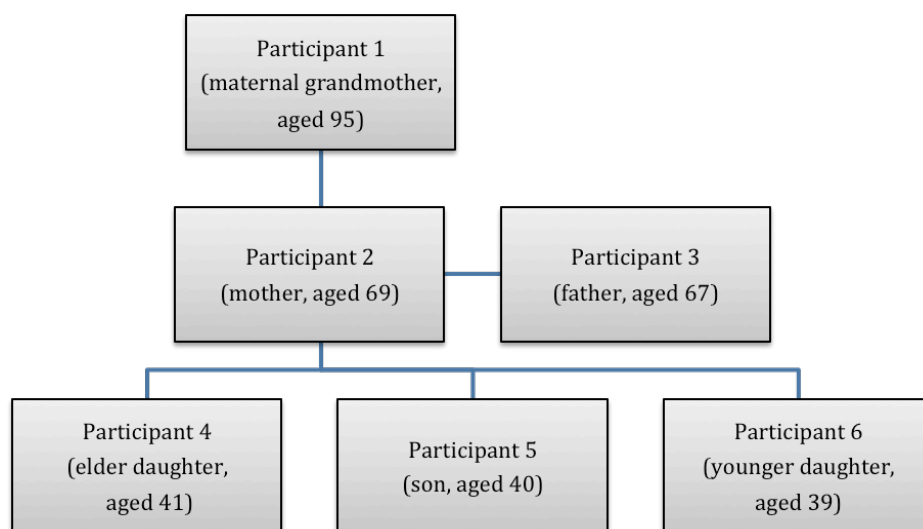

Figure 1. Family Tree of the Participants

Participant 1 is a Korean national who came to Japan in or around 1941 (at the age of 21), and is therefore a first generation *Zainichi* Korean. She voluntarily left the Korean peninsula to marry a Korean man from the same hometown who had previously moved to Japan with his family, also voluntarily. They lived together in Nagoya, in Aichi prefecture and had four children, the third of whom was Participant 2. Participant 2 met and married Participant 3, whose father was *Zainichi* Korean and mother was Japanese. His father moved to Japan from Cheju, the southern island of Korea, in or around 1940 at age 18. He did so voluntarily, to look for work but also with a view to avoiding conscription into the Japanese army. Participant 3 is therefore half Korean and half Japanese. Since both Participants 2 and 3 were born and raised in Japan (in Nagoya and Tokyo respectively), they are second generation *Zainichi* Korean. They have three children, Participants 4, 5 and 6, all of whom were born and brought up in Tokyo as third generation *Zainichi* Koreans. The educational background of the participants is set out in Table 1.

Table 1. *Participants' Educational Backgrounds*

Participant	Primary Education	Secondary Education		Tertiary Education
		Junior High School	Senior High School	
1	*Seodang*,[8] Buyeo, Korea (1 year)	-	-	-
2	Japanese elementary school, Nagoya	Japanese school, Nagoya	Japanese school until aged 17 then transferred[9] to North Korean school, both in Nagoya.	North Korean university, Tokyo (2 years)
3	Japanese elementary school, Tokyo	Japanese school until aged 14 then transferred[10] to North Korean school, both in Tokyo.	North Korean school, Tokyo	North Korean university, Tokyo (4 years)
4	North Korean elementary school, Tokyo	North Korean school, Tokyo	North Korean school, Tokyo	North Korean university, Tokyo (2 years)
5	North Korean elementary school, Tokyo	North Korean school, Tokyo	North Korean school, Tokyo	-
6	North Korean elementary school, Tokyo	North Korean school, Tokyo	North Korean school, Tokyo	Japanese college, Tokyo (2 years); English college, New York (1 year)

The focal family was chosen due to their diversity of language learning experiences, but also because they were personally known to the researcher. This meant that access was readily available and participants were able to share their experiences freely. However, the existence of a personal relationship raises other issues, which are considered further in the limitations section.

Data Collection Tools and Procedure

The main data collection tool was an individual, semi-structured interview. The interview questions were divided into several sections covering general language learning, motivation-specific questions, Korean-specific questions (including issues of identity) and current language learning experiences. Follow-up questions were asked as appropriate in order to clarify or expand upon answers.

The interviews were carried out in the participants' homes, though the interview with Participant 6 was conducted online. The interviews ranged from 13 to 90 minutes in length and were conducted in Japanese or English, or a combination of both.

Researchers

Data collection was conducted by the principle researcher with the assistance of Participant 4, who served as an interpreter both during the interviews and also as a translator during the transcribing process, in both cases from Japanese and/or Korean to English. The involvement of Participant 4 with the interview of her family members raises an issue of impartiality, so to reduce the risk of data contamination it was decided to make her the focus of the first interview. This ensured that her answers were not influenced by the other interviews. It also meant that she was more familiar with the subject matter when she was called upon to translate questions and answers during the interviews with other family members.

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[8] She attended a *seodang* (*terakoya* in Japanese) which was a school held in the village temple. However, she only attended for one year, and thereafter continued her studies at home.

[9] At that time she decided to change schools for her final year at high school.

[10] At that time his father decided to send his children (Participant 3 and his siblings) to North Korean schools.

Data Analysis

The transcripts were transcribed (and when necessary translated) and analyzed. In view of the amount of data collected, a template approach to coding was adopted (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). The template of codes that was chosen was a list of seven, broad dimensions of L2 motivation identified by Dörnyei (1998) following his review of thirteen different frameworks and models for L2 motivation.

As advocated by Dörnyei (2007), a second-level coding process was then undertaken with the transcripts further reviewed and subcategories identified within each of seven dimensions. Some of those categories had previously been utilized but others were specific to the participants in question, particularly relating to issues of identity and nationality. The resulting template is shown in Table 2 below:

Table 2. *Coding template*

Motivational Dimensions	Motivational Sub-Categories
Affective/Integrative	Attitudes towards the Target Language Attitudes towards the Target Community Attitudes towards Language Learning National Identity Enjoyment Interest Mood
Instrumental/Pragmatic	Previous Employment Current Employment Future Job/Career Prospects Daily Life English as a Global Language Travelling Further study
Macro-Context-related	Contact with L2 Native-Speakers Contact with the L2 Community Intergroup Relations Ethnolinguistic Relations
Self-Concept-related	Achievement/Satisfaction Confidence Acceptance of Limits Self-Determination Debilitating Factors
Goal-related	Goal-Specificity Travel Communication Study
Educational-Context-related	Institution Compulsory Study Teachers Methodology Class Size Other Students Other Study Self-Study
Significant Others-related	Parents Other Family Members Friends Partner

Following the path taken by Shoaib and Dörnyei (2005), the researcher also noted whether the motivating factors had a positive, negative or neutral impact on the participant's

motivation. The research data appears in the Appendix but by way of illustration a sample is presented in Table 3 below, showing an example of one category from each of the seven dimensions.

Table 3. *Motivational Categories with Illustrative Examples by Participants*

Motivational Category (Dimension)	Illustrative Examples (by Participants)
Attitudes towards the target language (1)	*I don't really speak Korean or I guess, think about speaking Korean, but I do think here and there that I do wanna keep that language and I wanna learn it again.* (Participant 6)
Current job (2)	*Plus with the translators I can use both Japanese and Korean.* (Participant 4)
National identity (3)	*[I] Never tried to hide [my] identity.* (Participant 1)
Self-determination (4)	*So I studied [Korean] by myself.* (Participant 2)
Study (5)	*Try to make my pronunciation better.* (Participant 4)
Institution (6)	*At Korean university everybody lived together. So from morning to night, all Korean.* (Participant 3)
Family (7)	*Grandfather tried to speak to us in Korean first of all.* (Participant 5)

Findings
Aspects of Self and Identity
Dealing with concepts of self and identity, the ambit of the first research question falls within the first construct of the L2MSS, (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009), the desired image a learner has of themselves using the L2. Given the HL setting, it was also expected to cover issues of *Zainichi* Korean identity. Relevant data from the seven dimensions is examined in turn.

The majority of factors identified within the **Affective /Integrative dimension** relate to issues of self or identity. It became clear from analyzing *Attitudes towards the Target Language* that for this group of *Zainichi* Koreans, learning Korean was very different from learning other languages. Participants reported that it was more of a natural process even though Japanese is and remains their main language of communication.

- *For us it's not a new language or second language feeling. It's like my language. I'm learning my language, not second or third. …it's not because we have to learn for the business or something. It's a spirit or historical reason or something.* (Participant 4)

However, what was remarkable was the comparatively low number of occurrences that the participants considered to have had a positive impact on their motivation. That was particularly the case with regard to attitudes towards the Korean language and the Korean community. It could be argued that regarding Korean as a natural language learning choice means that it lacks the element of excitement or interest that learning a new language might otherwise bring. This was evidenced by Participant 5 who said, "*English was fresh.*"

Language has been described as "the pillar of ethnolinguistic identity" (Sachdev & Bourhis, 2005, p. 66, cited in Gatbonton & Trofimovich, 2008, p. 230) and that was borne out in the research data, with the extracts below highlighting the largely positive impact that the recognition and internalization of Korean identity had upon participants' motivation to study the Korean language. This finding supports those of Cho (2000), Tse (2000), Lee (2002), and Kang & Kim (2012) in an HL context, and the contention that learning another language has implications for ethnic identity, affecting feelings of belonging to both the minority language group and the majority language group (Lambert, 1974, cited in Noels, 2003, p.106).

- *I didn't think I was Japanese or Korean. I didn't know my identity. Then when I was about eighteen I started to think about my identity and being Korean, and started to study Korean then.* (Participant 2)
- *Language is a national symbol therefore when I started to feel like a Korean, I was able to learn more Korean.* (Participant 3)

There was also the additional factor of a change of identity, or at least nationality, following the family's decision to obtain South Korean passports in 1998. According to Ryang

(2009), the majority of *Zainichi* Koreans possess South Korean nationality "primarily out of convenience" (p.68) since under the previous alien registration system they were able to obtain a (South Korean) passport and therefore no longer needed the re-entry permits that their permanent residence status then required.[11] That practical reason was the motivation for the change in this case, with both Participants 4 and 6 planning extended foreign trips. Interestingly, even though they now hold South Korean passports, the participants gave differing answers when asked to confirm their nationality. Participants 2 and 3 said "*South Korean*" whereas their children (Participants 4, 5 and 6) said "*Korean*", though using different words depending on the nationality of the interlocutor. Participant 4, for example, uses "Korean" if the interlocutor is an English-speaker, and the Japanese word *kankoku*, meaning South Korea if they are Japanese, However, to a South Korean, Participant 4 says that her passport is *hanguk* (the Korean word meaning South Korean) and in the same situation, Participant 6 adds that she has spent all her life in Japan and Canada.

The responses to questions about national pride or being proud of Korean heritage were also noteworthy, with both Participants 5 and 6 expressing a preference for South over North Korea.

- *When I think about North or South, I think South is the better country, so it's easier to say my nationality is South Korea[n].* (Participant 5)

The complexity of the issue of identity, at least for some *Zainichi* Koreans, is highlighted by the following comment.

- *I don't feel I have a nation. So I just say my passport is Korea[n].* (Participant 4)

Several categories from the **Macro-Context-related dimension** also highlight the importance of issues of self and identity, particularly when dealing with others. *Contact with L2 Native-Speakers* generally had a positive impact upon the use of Korean, though the proportionate number of positive occurrences for other languages (English and Spanish) was significantly greater. This reinforces the difference in feeling between learning Korean and other languages, as noted above. Occurrences within the subcategories of *Intergroup and Ethnolinguistic Relations* were also worth noting, with the majority being regarded as having a negative or neutral impact upon motivation, and only one positive occurrence. Many of these occurrences relate to the relationship between *Zainichi* Koreans and Japanese nationals. All six participants reported incidents of discrimination in Japanese society, ranging from verbal taunting at school or in the streets, to not being able to rent accommodation or get a job. Responses to such acts included embarrassment and shock, though those feelings seemed to be initial responses, with participants having grown to accept the situation. This supports the argument that motivation to learn is socially and culturally mediated with others (Ushioda, 2003).

On a practical level, five of the participants have used or are continuing to use their Japanese rather than Korean names in order to hide their Korean identity. This concurs with the results of a 1984 survey (Youn, 1992, p.148, cited in Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, p.112) which found that over 90% of *Zainichi* Koreans use Japanese names in addition to, and in daily life, in preference to their Korean names. Known as *tsumei* or *tsusho*, Japanese aliases are used to avoid discrimination or even abuse (Maher 1992; Fukuoka 2000, both cited in Noguchi, 2015, p. 68). This also reinforces the belief that identity can be a site of struggle between learners and their communities (Lamb, 2009). In the present study, that struggle has manifested itself differently for different family members. For example, Participant 4 used her Japanese name on only one, uncomfortable occasion when she was a teenager whereas her younger brother, Participant 5, "*always*" hides his Korean name to his customers at work. According to Noguchi, "name use serves as a litmus test for educational background, political awareness, and generation as well as ethnic identity" (2015, p. 68).

With regard to *Ethnolinguistic Relations*, over half of the reported occurrences in a Korean context were analyzed as having a negative impact, with only one occurrence felt to be positive, and the remainder neutral. One cause of such negativity stemmed from the difference between the *Zainichi* Korean language and both native North Korean and South Korean languages, as highlighted by the following extract:

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[11] The alien registration system was abolished in 2012 and replaced with a residency management system under which re-entry permits are no longer required.

- *My Korean is not useful in Korea. It's a zainichi language. It's not [a] South Korean language, not [a] North Korean language, [but] between and we create the language.* (Participant 4)

Such a sentiment is supported by Lie (2008), who notes that students from *Soren* schools speak a form of Korean which distinguishes them from both native North and South Koreans. According to Son (2008), the *Zainichi* Korean language is influenced by various sources including North Korean, dialects from the south of the peninsula, particularly Cheju island, and Japanese. She therefore describes it as an emigrant language (2008, p. 43).

As the name would suggest, many of the subcategories from the **Self-Concept-related dimension** relate to issues of self, though more in terms of personality traits. Like motivation, self-confidence has also been recognized as having a significant impact on SLA (Dörnyei, 2005), and it was therefore unsurprising to see 26 occurrences relating to *Confidence*, half of which related to learning Korean. There were also approximately twice as many positive as negative occurrences, suggesting that the negativity associated with intergroup and ethnolinguistic relations is not a barrier to confidence as an HL speaker of Korean. That was reflected by the large proportion of positive occurrences relating to *Achievement/Satisfaction*. In contrast, in the subcategory of *Acceptance of Limits* none of the Korean-related occurrences were regarded as positive.

Self-Determination was another notable factor in this study, with an equal number of examples in both the Korean and English learning contexts. All of the occurrences fell within the band of intrinsic motivation identified by Deci and Ryan (1985), as expanded upon by Noels (2003), in that the activities were driven by the desire for enjoyment or knowledge. Participant 6, for example, reported having fun trying to guess what her Spanish-speaking Mexican co-workers were talking about, and various other participants mentioned their desire to undertake further study (a subcategory that was recognized across three dimensions, with one occurrence in the **Instrumental/Pragmatic dimension**, three within the **Goal-related dimension** and seven in the **Educational-Context-related dimension)**. This overlaps with extrinsic motivation, such as that due to the obtaining of a scholarship to attend an American university (Participant 6) or a high TOEIC score (Participant 4), and Noels (2003) suggests that the more self-determined types of extrinsic motivation can, if incorporated into the learner's self-concept, fall within the integrative orientation of Gardner's socio-psychological model (1985). Interestingly, of the eleven occurrences, only two involved Korean, with the other ten spread across three languages, seven of which were English. This again highlights the participants' differing motivation for learning the HL (Korean) and other languages, notably English.

In contrast to the findings of Shoaib and Dornyei (2005), the lack of occurrences, positive or otherwise, recorded against the *Goal Specificity* category shows that the setting of goals per se was not a significant factor in the motivation of these learners.

- I never thought whether [Korean] would be good for my future. I didn't have a goal or motive. (Participant 5)

The lack of a future-orientated outlook or at least reported images of future selves as Korean speakers, also suggests that for these participants at least, the L2MSS is not a helpful framework for examining HL motivation.

Other factors that may be relevant but which were not specifically coded within the analysis include gender and age. Studies have shown a difference between the motivational disposition of male and female L2 learners (Dornyei & Clément, 2001). In the focal family, four females and two males were interviewed. Unlike their female relatives, Participants 3 and 5 both showed a negative *Attitude towards Language Learning* at school, though in the case of Participant 3, there was a change of attitude once he began to discover his Korean identity. This highlights the impact that the internalization of social identity into one's self-concept can have upon motivation (Noels, 2009). It also supports constructs such as the integrative orientation proposed by Gardner & Lambert (1972) and the concept of investment in an L2 (Norton Peirce, 1995).

With regards to age, both Participants 2 and 3 exhibited an increased desire to learn Korean during early adulthood (aged 17), congruent with a recognition and internalization of their Korean identity. In the case of Participant 2, who voluntarily decided to change from Japanese to Korean high school when she was 17 years old, the following extract captures her spirit of self-determination:

- *…at high school, still I couldn't have a conversation. However, I studied hard at college and became a student leader of the Korean language class.* (Participant 2)

Kang and Kim (2012) note that some HL learners desire to connect or be reconnected to their roots later in their educational careers, such as at college. Increased maturity may also be a factor, with Participant 5 showing an increasingly serious attitude towards language learning later in life. This mirrors the motivational transformation episode identified by Shoaib and Dornyei (2005).

Environmental Influences

In addition to aspects of self and identity, the language learning setting was expected to be influential in this study. A distinction can be made between influences from a micro- and macro-context perspective. On a micro-contextual level, many of the subcategories within the **Instrumental/Pragmatic dimension** were relevant, particularly the impact of past, current and future employment, with a significant number of occurrences having a positive effect.

- *…foreign customers are coming to my company so I want to keep my Korean and English skills and study more.* (Participant 5)

Other factors found to have an influence included *Daily Life* and *Travel*, the latter being behind the family's decision to apply for South Korean passports and thereby change their nationality and status within Japan.

As expected, the **Educational-Context-related dimension** also contained a number of subcategories of relevance. In the HL context, the negative influence of *Institution*, in the form of North Korean schooling, was bound up with the negativity associated with Korean as a compulsory subject and the strictness of the Korean teachers.

- *From 4th grade, teachers were very strict about talking only in Korean. If we spoke Japanese the teacher got angry and told us off.* (Participant 5)
- *The teacher forced me to speak Korean with friends on the way home after school.* (Participant 5)

That situation was in contrast to the learning of other languages, particularly in other institutions, where different pedagogical approaches, such as the teaching of English in English rather than in Korean, smaller class sizes and native English-speaking teachers, all combined to have a positive impact on motivation. The influence of *Other Students* was also noted, both from positive and negative perspectives, highlighting the importance of peers upon motivational disposition. For example,

- *…a lot of kids like us, especially as they got older at school, like we often speak Japanese…when the teachers are not around or whatever, and then in classes we speak Korean.* (Participant 6)

The dimension of **Significant Others** is closely related. The influence of parents was significant, though unlike the findings of Shoaib and Dörnyei (2005), the impact was a negative one, perhaps as a consequence of schooling and thus language learning being dictated by parents. In the North American context, research has shown that Korean parents have a strong desire for their children to retain cultural traits and thus maintain their HL (Kim, Sawdey & Meihoefer, 1980, cited in Cho, 2000, p. 370). Other family members were also influential in this instance, albeit in differing ways. Some Korean was spoken by Participants 2 to 6 in the family home, particularly with the paternal grandfather, though Japanese remained the main language of communication. However, a far greater and more positive influence upon motivational dispositions surrounded the marriage of Participant 6 to a Canadian and subsequent emigration to Canada, with her parents (Participants 2 and 3) and siblings (Participants 4 and 5) alike, confirming this to be a strong motivation for learning English.

In addition to partners, friends were also found to be an influential factor. This ranged from the choice of language when speaking to school friends, as noted above, to adult experiences. For example, Participant 4 felt that her Korean improved due to her friendship with a South Korean national.

- *If I made mistakes, she told me. And I did the same for her Japanese.* (Participant 4)

It can therefore be concluded that the language learning disposition of these *Zainichi* Koreans is, like other learners, shaped by motivational influences within various environments including the family, home, school and work.

Viewing matters from a wider perspective, *Contact with the L2 Community* was a very influential factor, with different language communities being recognized. The main community in the study is the *Zainichi* Korean community, which itself has historically been divided along political lines, with community members being more affiliated to either North Korean ideology, as represented by *Soren*, or to South Korean ideology, represented by *Mindan*. Having an integrative orientation, that is, a positive interest in the L2 community, is one of the cornerstones of the socio-psychological theory of L2 motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). In the present case, the degree of positive interest and therefore integration in the *Zainichi* Korean community increased with the participants' increasing involvement with *Soren*. At that time, the amount of Korean spoken by the participants was at its highest level, which gives validity to the integrative concept, a conclusion gaining further support by the family's decreasing use of Korean, congruent with a decreased involvement with *Soren*. This change in circumstances is discussed below.

In addition to the *Zainichi* Korean community, other communities were also of relevance. The *Zainichi* Korean community is itself situated within a Japanese environment, which had implications for intergroup and ethnolinguistic relations, as mentioned above. However, for Participant 1, who emigrated from Korea, Japan is her L2 community. Although a limited amount of data was obtained from Participant 1, it was clear that she remains a proud Korean, referring to herself as "*chosenjin*" when discussing identity issues. This suggests that for her, an instrumental rather than integrative orientation was more prominent in her motivational disposition to learn Japanese, which she needed for her daily life. Such a disposition was also evidenced by her choice to study Japanese at home, when she still lived in Japanese-colonised Korea. Coming from a small, countryside village, she attended a school held in the village temple, known as a *seodang*, though only for one year. She then left school and continued to learn Japanese at home.

The environmental influence of living within a Japanese community is also significant for Participant 5, who is married to a Japanese national. In his household, Japanese is the family's L1, though unlike his own childhood experience, his two children attend Japanese rather than North Korean schools and therefore do not learn Korean at school. As such, the only time that Korean is used at home is during contact with the other participants, with Korean kinship terms being used for other family members and basic greetings and polite expressions spoken in Korean. Of all the family members, Participant 5 shows the greatest level of assimilation into Japanese society, and perhaps indicative of that is the fact that he also has the lowest level of Korean language ability. Such a finding is supported by the research of Kang and Kim (2012). In an L2 context, this reaffirms the importance of integrative motivation, particularly where the language is being learnt within a second rather than foreign language setting, as is the case of Participant 6, who resides in Western Canada with her Canadian husband and Canadian-born children. Her L2 community is therefore an English-speaking one, rather than Korean. However, in contrast to her brother, Participant 6 has a high level of L2 proficiency, albeit English proficiency, perhaps reflecting both her degree of integration into the Canadian community, and her investment in the English language (Norton Peirce, 1995).

Another relevant concept is Lave and Wenger's situated learning theory (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Applied to this family's involvement with the *Zainichi* Korean community, the participants moved from a peripheral to a more central position of engagement within the *Soren* community as a result of increased participation in community activities and interaction with more experienced community members (see Lamb, 2009, p. 230). This resulted in increased use of the Korean language, with the opposite being true once that level of participation decreased. This is expanded upon further in the following section.

Changes Over Time

The interview data revealed motivational changes, some of which are consistent with changes recognized in other contexts, and others which are specific to the *Zainichi* Korean setting. The former comprises some of the "motivation transformation episodes" recognized by Shoaib and Dornyei (2005, p.31), including maturation, stand-still periods, moving into a new life phase and relationships with significant others, all of which reflect the fluctuating nature of language learning motivation.

However, it is the *Zainichi* Korean-specific changes that are most revealing. Although occurring separately and for different reasons, Participants 2 and 3 both became involved with the activities of *Soren*. That involvement continued on into the lives of their children (Participants 4, 5 and 6) who attended *Soren*-affiliated North Korean schools and *Soren*-organized social events. During those periods, the amount of Korean spoken by those participants, particularly as a family unit, was at its highest level, with Korean both being maintained across the generations (Fishman,

1972, cited in Sevinç & Dewaele, 2016, p. 4) and used as a social tool to build ties with the Korean community (Ogoshi, 2005). However, that level of integration decreased and with it, for many of the participants, the motivation to learn, or even speak Korean.

General factors that have driven this change are noted above. Additional factors specific to the participants include their change of nationality to South Korean, the death of the paternal grandfather (who remained actively involved in the *Soren* community until he died in 2012), disillusionment with the politics of the North Korean regime, and in the case of Participant 6, emigration to Canada. For this family at least, the passage of time has seen a decreasing interest in the *Zainichi* Korean community. That is not to say that the family has been assimilated into Japanese society, since none of them hold Japanese citizenship, but the extent to which they have retained and use the Korean language has on the whole decreased over time. Such a language shift is supported by the findings of Cho and Krashen (1998, cited in Cho, 2000, p. 370) and Lynch (2008, cited in Sevinç & Dewaele, 2016, p. 4).

Another generational change has been the emergence of English as a global language which, coupled with the decreasing use of Korean, has seen English challenging Korean as the L2 of *Zainichi* Koreans. This raises issues of ethnolinguistic vitality, though a fuller discussion is beyond the scope of this paper.

Conclusion

Summary of Findings

Looking at the first of the research questions, there was a distinct lack of future self-imagery. Whilst self-identification processes were evident, particularly with regard to issues surrounding *Zainichi* Korean identity, the participants' motivational disposition did not seem to be determined by images of ideal or ought-to selves, at least in an HL context. That may be partly explained by the participants' attitudes towards the Korean language, which was clearly viewed differently from other languages. The motivational factors for learning Korean were therefore linked with mixed and often complicated feelings of identity and nationality rather than future self-guides. Thus the L2MSS was not a particularly helpful framework within which to examine such motivation. Issues of Korean identity also had implications for intergroup and ethnolingusitic relations with both native Korean-speakers from both North and South Korea, and Japanese nationals. These findings correspond with the view that "at any given time, *zainichi* identity is multiple and dynamic and constantly being negotiated and renegotiated at multiple intersections on numerous axes" (Chapman, 2008, p. 144).

Researchers should not be "in thrall" to any one theory (Noels, 2009, p. 310) and while the L2MSS provides a useful standpoint from which to consider L2 motivation, exploring other motivational models and theories is still worthwhile. Although called into question in many modern-day settings, the social-psychological concept of integrativeness may still be relevant in some contexts. This study suggests that the *Zainichi* Korean community in Japan is one such setting. In relation to the second question, the data confirmed that the degree to which participants had a positive interest in the *Zainichi* Korean community did have an impact upon their motivation to learn and use Korean, supporting the views of Gardner and Lambert (1972), Gatbonton and Trofimovich (2008), and specifically in an HL context, Feuerverger (1991, cited in Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 222) and Tse (2000).

Support for the concepts of communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and investment in an L2 (Norton Peirce, 1995) was also evident. Motivational disposition was also shown to be significantly influenced by participants' employment, their educational environment including, to varying degrees, the institution, teachers, methodology and peers, and their relationships with significant others, notably parents, perhaps reflecting the Asian setting of this study.

Addressing the third question, the findings suggest that the language learning motivation of *Zainichi* Koreans has indeed changed over time. With regard to the motivation for learning the HL of Korean, such change has occurred in tandem with changes within the *Zainichi* Korean community per se, with changing demographics and increasing political apathy. The decline in use of Korean has been matched by the increasing influence of English as a global language. English has challenged, if not replaced Korean, as the L2 of choice for many learners.

In conclusion, the study confirms well-documented assumptions and theories about L2 motivation in general, rather than one particular model, thus underlying the complexity of the field. However, the study has also revealed some noteworthy features of the motivational disposition of *Zainichi* Korean language learners in the HL setting of Japan, a context that would

benefit from further research. However, before the idea of such research can be considered, the limitations of this study need to be addressed.

Limitations of Research

Although care was taken to ensure the appropriacy of the methods adopted and the reliability of data collected, inevitably there are limitations upon the study. The study relies only on qualitative methodology, but a mixed-methods approach may have produced more rounded results. Furthermore, the interviews were conducted at a particular point in time rather than over different periods of time. Adopting a more longitudinal approach may therefore be advantageous when researching long-term motivational experiences, as in the present case.

The study would also have benefitted from the collection of data obtained from other sources. Whilst the participants were of different ages and generations, thereby offering a variety of experiences even though drawn from a small sample, they may therefore not be fully representative of *Zainichi* Koreans as a whole, so caution needs to be taken when generalizing from the research results.

While attempts were made to maintain impartiality and reduce the risks of data contamination, the potential for bias should not be overlooked when looking at the reliability of these findings, since the participants already knew the researcher. Interviewer bias takes on another perspective by virtue of the fact that the researcher is also in a sense *Zainichi*, being a foreign resident in Japan, albeit British rather than Korean. The researcher's nationality also had implications for the language focus of the research, with limited Japanese and Korean language ability hindering access to the body of research conducted in those languages.

The field of L2 motivational research is also evolving, with an increasing focus upon vision and mental imagery, and investigations into the phenomena of DMC. Incorporation of such developments into future research of the *Zainichi* Korean context could add further validation to such theories, as well as provide more insight into the motivational disposition of these HL learners. With these caveats in mind, it is hoped that this paper provides the impetus for future research in this area.

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Appendices – Research Data

Key to Dimensions
1. Affective/Integrative   5. Goal-Oriented
2. Instrumental/Pragmatic   6. Educational-Context
3. Macro-Context   7. Significant Others
4. Self-Concept

Appendix A
Data for Korean Language

Motivational Category (Dimension)	Frequency of Positive Occurrences	Frequency of Negative Occurrences	Frequency of Neutral Occurrences	Total Number of Occurrences
Attitudes towards the Target Language (1)	4	3	8	15
Attitudes towards the Target Community (1)	1	7	6	14
Attitudes towards Language Learning (1)	1	2	0	3
National Identity (1)	11	4	4	19
Enjoyment (1)	3	2	0	5
Interest (1)	1	0	0	1
Mood (1)	0	0	1	1
Previous Employment(2)	7	0	0	7
Current Employment (2)	2	2	0	4
Future Job/Career Prospects (2)	3	1	0	4
Daily Life (2)	1	1	0	2
English as a Global Language (2)	0	0	0	0
Travelling (2)	3	0	0	3
Further study (2)	0	0	0	0
Contact with L2 Native-Speakers (3)	7	3	2	12
Contact with the L2 community (3)	5	1	5	11
Intergroup Relations (3)	0	8	5	13
Ethnolinguistic Relations (3)	1	4	2	7
Achievement/Satisfaction (4)	10	7	2	19
Confidence (4)	8	4	1	13
Acceptance of Limits (4)	0	4	6	10
Self-Determination (4)	8	0	0	8
Debilitating Factors (4)	0	4	0	4
Goal-Specificity (5)	0	0	1	1
Travel (5)	0	0	0	0
Communication (5)	0	0	0	0
Study (5)	1	0	1	2
Institution (6)	3	1	4	8
Compulsory Study (6)	0	2	3	5
Teachers (6)	0	1	1	2
Methodology (6)	0	0	3	3
Class Size (6)	0	1	0	1
Other Students (6)	0	1	0	1
Other Study (6)	0	0	0	0
Self-Study (6)	0	0	0	0
Parents (7)	3	4	2	9
Other Family Members (7)	0	1	5	6
Friends (7)	3	1	0	4
Partner (7)	0	0	0	0

Appendix B
Data for Other Languages [English ("E"), Chinese ("C"), Spanish ("S"), Japanese ("J")]

Motivational Category (Dimension)	Frequency of Positive Occurrences	Frequency of Negative Occurrences	Frequency of Neutral Occurrences	Total Number of Occurrences
Attitudes towards the Target Language (1)	8 (4E; 2C; 2S)	4E	3 (2E; 1C)	15
Attitudes towards the Target Community (1)	2C	0	0	2
Attitudes towards Language Learning (1)	1E	0	1E	2
National Identity (1)	1E	0	0	1
Enjoyment (1)	5 (4E; 1S)	2 (1E; 1J)	1E	8
Interest (1)	3 (2E; 1S)	1C	0	4
Mood (1)	0	0	0	0
Previous Employment(2)	6 (5E; 1S)	0	1E	7
Current Employment (2)	4 (2E; 2C)	0	0	4
Future Job/Career Prospects (2)	3 (2E; 1C)	0	0	3
Daily Life (2)	1J	0	1J	2
English as a Global Language (2)	1	0	0	1
Travelling (2)	0	0	0	0
Further study (2)	1E	0	0	1
Contact with L2 Native-Speakers (3)	14 (9E; 5S)	0	3 (2E; 1C)	17
Contact with the L2 community (3)	13 (10E; 2S; 1J)	1E	1E	15
Intergroup Relations (3)	0	0	0	0
Ethnolinguistic Relations (3)	0	0	1E	1
Achievement/Satisfaction (4)	10 (9E; 1S)	6E	0	16
Confidence (4)	4 (2E; 2S)	8 (7E, 1J)	1E	13
Acceptance of Limits (4)	2 (1E; 1S)	3 (1E; 2C)	3E	8
Self-Determination (4)	13 (8E; 1S; 3C; 1J)	0	0	13
Debilitating Factors (4)	0	3E	0	3
Goal-Specificity (5)	0	0	2E	2
Travel (5)	3E	0	0	3
Communication (5)	4 (3E; 1C)	0	0	4
Study (5)	1E	0	0	1
Institution (6)	11 (7E; 4C)	2 (1E; 1J)	0	13
Compulsory Study (6)	1E	1E	0	2
Teachers (6)	5 (4E; 1C)	0	2E	7
Methodology (6)	9 (7E; 2C)	2E	3E	14
Class Size (6)	2E	0	0	2
Other Students (6)	2 (1E; 1C)	0	1E	3
Other Study (6)	2E	0	0	2
Self-Study (6)	4 (2E; 1C; 1S)	0	1	5
Parents (7)	3E	0	0	3
Other Family Members (7)	10E	0	1E	11
Friends (7)	3 (2E; 1S)	0	0	3
Partner (7)	3E	0	0	3