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Abstract: The current study examined the perspectives of seven immigrant adolescents on aspects of their lives that informed their determined and autonomous motivations to learn Korean as a heritage language (HL) in the United States. Constant comparative analyses of interview data showed that, although all of the students experienced determined motivations in their lived experience, their motivational experiences to learn Korean varied across contexts (e.g., home, American school, and Korean HL school) and showed at least three meaningfully distinct patterns. The students' determined motivations to learn Korean were informed by their negotiated HL learner identities within their immediate and imagined communities. The various forms of social, cultural, and symbolic capital within those communities seemed to fulfill the students' psychological needs, such as relatedness and competence, allowing them to experience determined motivations.

Keywords: bilingual, investment, Korean heritage language, language learner identities, motivation

Résumé : L'étude rapportée ici examine le point de vue de sept adolescents immigrants sur les aspects de leur vie qui ont nourri la motivation autodéterminée à étudier le coréen langue d'origine aux États-Unis. À partir de données d'entrevues, l'analyse comparative des constantes montre que, si tous les étudiants ont fait l'expérience de la motivation autodéterminée à apprendre le coréen, les expériences motivationnelles varient selon les contextes (maison, écoles étatsuniennes, cours de coréen langue d'origine), et se répartissent selon trois modèles distincts et significatifs. La motivation autodéterminée de chaque étudiant à apprendre le coréen est nourrie par son identité d'apprenant de la langue d'origine, négociée au sein de sa communauté immédiate ou imaginée. Les diverses formes de capital social, culturel et symbolique qui circulent dans ces communautés semblent combler les besoins psychologiques des étudiants, tels que l'appartenance sociale et la compétence, ce qui leur a permis de vivre la motivation autodéterminée.

Mots clés : bilinguisme, investissement [psychologique], coréen langue d'origine, identités des apprenants d'une langue, motivation

Many children of immigrants are raised in families in which a non-dominant heritage language (HL) is spoken, and these children acquire the HL at home and learn the dominant language outside of the home. These children display a variety of HL competencies, particularly as they experience attrition of their HL upon entering kindergarten (Shin & Milroy, 1999). According to Crawford (1992), assimilation of these immigrant children has been accomplished by devaluing their native languages by limiting their use and drawing a parallel between English language proficiency and being American. Their early adolescence is typically marked by rejection of the HL, embarrassment about their ethnic group, and increased cultural gaps and communication problems with their parents (e.g., Tse, 2001). These children's HL learning and maintenance have been the responsibility of families and community-based weekend schools and have received little institutional support in US K–12 public education (Wiley, 2005).

Although some of these children are not devoted to learning and maintaining their HLs, others demonstrate strong determination, pride, and persistence in learning these languages. The current study examined the experiences of seven adolescents from a Korean Saturday HL school in the United States, who all reported strongly determined or autonomous motivation in their HL learning (represented by various motivational reasons; see, e.g., Deci & Ryan, 2002; Noels, 2005). The seven adolescents, however, differed from one another in their determined motivations for learning Korean, showing at least three meaningfully distinct patterns. These different patterns were accounted for by their identities as Korean heritage language learners (HLLs) engaging in different contextual sources (e.g., from home, American school, and heritage school). Through analyses of interviews supplemented by classroom observations, this study investigated the complexities of the motivation of children of immigrants in HL learning by exploring their shifting identities as HLLs and the various forms of capital that they acquired. In the section that follows, I review the major approaches to investigating students' motivation to learn their HL (Noels, 2005; Norton Peirce, 1995), arguing for the necessity of an integrated investigation of motivation in HL learning.

Adaptive motivation to learn an HL

Researchers have examined various motivational reasons constructed by students in learning contexts as one of the major approaches to investigating achievement motivation. In the context of HL learning, immigrant students have been reported to construct various reasons for learning an HL: to reconnect with their family heritage, understand

their culture, build a cultural identity (i.e., heritage motivation: Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003), or build other language skills. Importantly, researchers have also sought to identify adaptive forms of motivational reasons (e.g., determined or autonomous motivations) to learn HLs that typically connect to language learners' higher engagement, persistence, and well-being. For example, Comanaru and Noels (2009) and Noels (2005) found that HLLs' adoption of determined motivations to learn an HL (e.g., because they find the activity interesting, because the activity is congruent to them, or because they understand the underlying value in the activity), as opposed to controlled motivations (e.g., because they want to please their parents or not be punished), fostered engagement in learning German or Chinese as an HL. The authors examined HLLs' motivations from a self-determination theory perspective (Deci & Ryan, 2002), which posits that students experience determined motivations in a context where their basic psychological human needs, such as relatedness (belongingness and connectedness to others), competence (knowledge and ability), and autonomy (choice and volition), are supported. Aligned with this theory, the authors reported that HLLs' contacts and connections with the heritage community were associated with their determined motivational experiences.

Kim, Kim, and Schallert (2010) further highlighted how HLLs' determined motivation to learn Korean was constructed particularly in connection to their identities as Korean HLLs, reflecting the "multiple, fluid, and unstable relationships that make up a person" (i.e., subjectivities: Rogers, 2004, p. 276). Attending to the learners' narratives, these authors reported that the students' motivational reasons and identities as Korean HLLs were manifested in their discourse markers (e.g., positioning, action, and affect) that originated from different contextual sources. The HLLs' strong identities and associated determined motivational reasons to learn Korean were supported through their relationships in the discourse communities in which their sense of relatedness and competence was supported, aligning with self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2002).

Investment, capital, and identities of HLLs

Instead of using the term "motivation," which came from psychological approaches and at the time was assumed to be a fixed and ahistorical trait of the individual language learner, Norton Peirce (1995) proposed the post-structural notion of the argument that language learning is an investment that people make with the hope of gaining access to a wider range of capital in a target language. Borrowed from Bourdieu (1986), the concept of capital refers to accumulated resources

and the potential to produce profits and reproduce itself in an identical or expanded form. It can include economic capital (e.g., financial wealth), cultural capital (e.g., objectified cultural capital, as in socially valued cultural objects such as books or instruments; embodied cultural capital, as in knowledge, behaviour, and modes of thought; and institutional cultural capital, such as institutionalized educational credentials), social capital (e.g., durable networks of acquaintances and recognition), and symbolic capital (i.e., "a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honorability" [Bourdieu, 1986, p. 291]).

Importantly, Norton (2001) considered an investment in the target language an investment in the current and future identities of the learner. According to Norton (2001), speaking and acquiring a second language enable language learners not only to exchange information but also to reorganize their complex identities in, and relationships with, the social world. Norton (2001) argued that our language-learner identities are produced not only through participating (or not participating) in immediate communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) but also by envisioning a sense of belonging to an imagined community of practices (e.g., a nation or ethnic group) that lies beyond our immediate contact (Wenger, 1998). In particular, Norton (2001) argued that language learners' investment should be considered within the context of the imagined community (e.g., how they envision themselves in the respective society).

Adopting the concept of investment, Wong and Xiao (2010) reported that as a return on the investment in Chinese, Chinese HLLs imagined themselves to be members of a Chinese community and expected to gain access to their imagined future and acquire a range of capital (e.g., a favourable position in the global markets and/or connections with Chinese-speaking communities). The Chinese HLLs' investment was also reported to change and shift across time and place; that is, although learning Chinese was previously reported as an unpleasant activity that their parents forced upon them, they later reported that learning Chinese was a worthwhile investment (Wong & Xiao, 2010). Although these studies have examined HLLs' investment in various forms of capital associated with their identified imagined communities, few studies have examined how HLLs invest in different forms of capital, which are often devalued due to English hegemony. Among such studies, Lo-Philip (2010) argued that although HLLs have frequent access to family cultural resources and community social resources as they relate to their HLs as their inheritance (see, e.g., Wang, 2004), those resources are often negatively positioned with respect to

English, and Norton Peirce (1995) claimed to examine language learners' desire to learn a language during their negotiation of frequently inequitable relations of power in different contexts.

The current study

These two approaches to motivation and investment have been examined in separate areas with different assumptions in the field of second language and HL learning (He, 2010). In this study, however, the aim is to investigate more holistically the complexities of the adaptive motivations (e.g., determined motivations) to engage in an HL through simultaneously attending to HLLs' shifting identities and the different resources available to them (e.g., resources from home, American schools, and Korean HL schools). In other words, the current study aims to examine how the seven HLLs differ from each other in their determined motivation for learning Korean, as associated with their identities available through engaging in different resources available to them. The current study particularly examined the HLLs' determined motivation to learn Korean in their early adolescence – which is typically marked by rejection of the HL, embarrassment about their ethnic group, and increased communication problems with their parents (e.g., Tse, 2001) – by attending to their negotiation with and confrontation of the inequitable relations of power (e.g., Norton Peirce, 1995).

It is essential to note that the current study examines HL speakers' determination, persistence, and pride in engaging in HLs less as static and individual personality traits than as part of their relationship with society (e.g., Norton Peirce, 1995). Unlike the individual and static views of motivation that were more prevalent before the 1990s, current views of motivation increasingly support contextual or situated perspectives (Turner & Patrick, 2008). Kim et al. further state, "Although SDT [self-determination theory] was not originally developed from a sociocultural approach, the theory acknowledges the importance of family, peers, teachers, and society's values and of their support of an individual's basic human needs for optimal motivational experiences" (2010, p. 249).

Note that in my earlier report (Kim, 2015), in which two different Korean school teachers' motivational practices were examined, one of the two teachers (i.e., Ms. Song) was the Korean school teacher of the present study's participants (i.e., the seven HLLs) and was found to adopt various motivational practices in her classroom. As "a teacher who is like a friend," Ms. Song exerted effort to understand the students whom she considered to be generally uninterested in learning

Korean and aimed to provide her students with fun and enjoyable learning experiences (e.g., through providing choices for students, less authority through teacher discourse, diversified practices; Kim, 2015). The current study examines her students' narrated motivations and identities in the shared space of the Korean school classroom as well as their reported experiences at home and at the American school. The following questions guided the study: How did immigrant adolescents experience different types of determined motivations in learning Korean as an HL? How were these different types of determined motivations intertwined with the adolescents' identities as Korean HLLs and their forms of capital?

Methods

Participants and setting

The data collection took place during one semester in a class in a community-based, Saturday Korean school, which was held at a local Korean church in a mid-sized city in the US Midwest. During the semester, the Korean school held 15 classes every Saturday. In addition to the teacher of the class, Ms. Song (female, late 20s, Korean descent), in her tenth year at the Korean school, seven of the eleven students in the class participated in this study with parental permission. Parents of the students were ethnically Korean and born in Korea. The students had been born either in Korea or in the United States and were middle and high school students attending American schools with no experience in Korean elementary or secondary education. Participants were solicited from the oldest class in the school; it was felt that these adolescents would experience a rich exploration of their cultural identity associated with HL learning (e.g., Tse, 2001) and would thus be better able to articulate their identity and motivation processes. The participants were from the highest-level class in the school and were studying *Korean 8* (한국어 8), the highest-level textbook produced by the Educational Foundation for Koreans Abroad. As shown in Table 1, the students in the class had a wide range of ages because they were assigned to the class primarily based on their language-proficiency level, which is reported as a common grouping practice in weekend HL schools.

Founded approximately 10 years ago, the Korean school was developed to help immigrant children learn Korean; it is funded by student tuition and the Korean education ministry. As one of approximately 10 smaller and larger Korean schools in the state, the school has approximately 100 students and 10 teachers. The Korean school typically focuses on vocabulary, reading, writing, and speaking Korean (two hours in the morning session), followed by lunch in the cafeteria.

Table 1. Demographics of participants

Name	Sex	Age	Grade	Immigration generation	Age of arrival in the United States	Pattern
Jina	Female	16	10th	First	5	Pattern 1
Mina	Female	15	9th	First	4	
Katie	Female	14	8th	Second		
Carrie	Female	17	11th	Second		
Hannah	Female	15	9th	First	4	Pattern 2
Taewon	Male	13	7th	Second		Pattern 3
Teresa	Female	16	10th	Second		

Note. Pseudonyms were chosen for the students.

A shorter afternoon session is devoted to games, activities, and arts and crafts related to Korean culture or language (90 minutes). Students are encouraged to speak Korean during classes, although they frequently use English during and between the sessions. The students are more comfortable and fluent in English than in Korean and are better at listening to Korean than speaking, reading, or writing it. In general, the teachers at the school take an encouraging approach, with warmth and care, and they often adopt cultural activities to encourage the use of Korean (e.g., Korean singing contest, Korean poem writing).

Data sources and collection

The primary data sources included two semi-structured interviews with the individual students conducted at the school during lunch breaks on Saturdays. Early in the semester, I introduced and positioned myself as a Korean educator who had relatively recently moved to the United States and was interested in understanding and supporting the students' Korean language learning. During the first interviews, I asked semi-structured questions (approximately 30–40 minutes) about the students' background, interactions with their families, learning experiences in American and Korean schools, and motivational experiences with respect to learning Korean. During the second interviews, which occurred later in the semester (approximately 30–40 minutes), the students freely responded to and elaborated on 13 selected motivational reasons for learning Korean (Chen, 2006; Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000; Yang, 2003), ranging from more autonomous forms of motivational reasons (e.g., Do you learn Korean . . . "because it is interesting," "to maintain your heritage language," "to communicate better with your family and relatives," "to learn more about the Korean culture," "because Korean is an important world language") to more controlled motivational reasons (e.g., "because your parents feel that you should learn Korean") based on the perspective of self-determination

theory (Deci & Ryan, 2002). Additional interview questions were also developed based on the first interviews and classroom observations. The students chose to respond to the interviewer – me, a Korean/ English bilingual – in English, possibly because they felt more comfortable speaking English than Korean.

In addition, classroom observations (two hours in the morning, and 90 minutes in the afternoon) were conducted five times, once every two to three weeks during the semester, to explore students' HLL identities and motivations when situated in the classroom. In the small classroom, all 11 students sat in a circle around a large table at the centre, and I sat in the corner of the classroom observing the students' general interactions with the teacher and/or other students (e.g., Patrick et al., 1997), from which several classroom-context-specific questions were also developed for use in later student interviews. Importantly, the classroom observations and engagement in frequent casual conversations with the students allowed me to build a rapport with the students, who were interviewed individually. In addition, the teacher asked me to substitute for her one time when she had to be absent due to an emergency. Note that for the purpose of triangulation, semi-structured teacher interviews regarding classroom perceptions and interactions with the students were used as secondary data (four times; 25–30 minutes) in this study and as the primary data sources in an earlier report (Kim, 2015).

Data analysis

The data were analyzed using constant comparative analyses guided by Charmaz (2006). The primary data analyses of the students' transcribed interviews focused on their identities (Norton, 2001; Wenger, 1998), various forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986), and their constructed motivational reasons (Deci & Ryan, 2002). First, open coding of the data was performed, after which axial coding was used to identify major categories and subcategories (e.g., each student's own narrated motivational reasons for learning Korean, identity experiences as HLLs, and capital). The codes and categories were compared within each student case and across the seven students. Each student's first-interview responses were also compared with his/her second-interview responses. For the purpose of peer debriefing, three students' individually developed initial codes were shared with a research assistant, and any discrepancies found were resolved through discussion. For example, in figuring out Hannah's reserved identity at school, which was determined to be associated with either a lack of perceived promotion of multiculturalism by the school or learned reserved discourse from her

parents, we negotiated and eventually agreed that both features contributed to her identity at the school.

The trustworthiness of the data analysis was supported by persistent observation, including the number of hours spent observing, meeting, and talking with participants, during which rapport was nurtured with them. In addition, data from multiple sources were gathered for triangulation (e.g., multiple interviews with students; several classroom observations), and the teacher interviews supplemented the students' perspectives. The students and teacher were asked to review summaries of their earlier interviews during their later interviews, a process that constituted an informal member-checking strategy.

Findings

At some point during each interview, all seven students narrated a determination to learn Korean (e.g., for fun, to show respect for their Korean ethnic background, or because they understood the importance of communication), but *not* controlled motivations (e.g., to show off, to please their parents, or to prevent their parents' anger). The seven students, however, differed from one another in their motivations for learning Korean, showing at least three meaningfully distinct patterns. The findings show that the students' immediate or imagined identities were constructed differently from different available sources. Interestingly, when they entered the shared space of the Korean school, the students' HLL identities and motivations shifted and became more homogeneous.

Presented below are these students' negotiated identities and motivational reasons, which are associated with resources in the family and American school contexts, in three distinct patterns: (a) Jina, Mina, Katie, and Carrie (pattern 1), (b) Hannah (pattern 2), and (c) Taewon and Teresa (pattern 3). Next, (d) I present these students' negotiated identities as HLLs and their motivational reasons in the shared Korean school classroom context. Please see Table 2 for a summary of the findings.

Jina, Mina, Katie, and Carrie in the family and American school (pattern 1)

Identities as HLLs. In their families, the students in the first group seemed to be fully participating using Korean through varied culturally enriching experiences, which were associated with their strongly supported identities as Korean learners. First, Jina (16; 10th grade) and her younger sister Mina (15; 9th grade) reported:

> My parents try to tell us [about] Korean culture . . . and what they did when they were younger. . . we sometimes sit and watch dramas together

Table 2. Patterns of identities and motivational reasons

	In family and the American school	In the Korean School
Pattern 1: Jina Mina Katie Carrie	***Identities as HLLs*** Fully participating in family practices using Korean Actively participating in Korean-American student communities using Korean Fully participating in a multilingual high school community *Associated motivational reasons to learn Korean* High Korean-integrated value (to maintain their heritage; to learn Korean history) Strong resistance to English language hegemony Strong communication with parents and Korean people	***Identities as HLLs*** Students felt a relatively strong collective identity with their peers and/ or with their teacher, with whom they shared various cultural experiences.
Pattern 2: Hannah	***Identity as HLL*** Habitually participating in family practices using Korean Fully and actively participating in Korean-American student communities using Korean Feeling marginalized in an English monolingual high school community *Associated motivational reasons to learn Korean* Weak Korean-integrated value Low resistance to English language hegemony Strong communication with Korean-American friends, particularly about Korean pop culture (developed in middle/high school years)	Students felt more competent as they experienced feelings of inward movement in the school community by moving through the higher-level classes/ positions (accumulated forms of capital).
Pattern 3: Taewon Teresa	***Identities as HLLs*** Less meaningful participation in family practices using Korean (at times feeling marginalized, for Taewon) Not participating in practices using Korean with friends of Korean descent Fully participating in an English monolingual middle/high school community ***Associated motivational reasons to learn Korean*** Weak Korean-integrated value Low resistance to English language hegemony Strong communication with identified communities to which they want to fully belong (developed in middle/high school years)	***Associated motivational reasons to learn Korean*** Learning Korean was fun, with a focus on mastery

just to learn Korean. . . when we watched 사극 [sageuk], the history dramas that have really weird language in [them], they explained the old usages of Korean to us.

According to Jina, the sisters seemed to experience frequent opportunities to acquire both objectified and embodied cultural capital (e.g., Korean history dramas and understanding the "weird language" in the dramas, respectively; see Bourdieu, 1986). Carrie (17; 11th grade)

similarly reported that she read the Korean newspapers that her parents brought home every week to improve her vocabulary and help her learn history.

Second, these students also fully engaged in the community of students of Korean descent by speaking Korean. Although they had only "around ten-ish" Korean students in their high school, both Jina and Mina were part of a social network of Korean students in which Korean was used as a secret language. Mina said:

> [We use Korean] when we're talking about the teacher [*laughter*] . . . we don't want them to know what we're saying, so we'll speak in Korean [*laughter*] . . . we [also] talk about Kasu [pop singers] and dramas. Sometimes we talk about problems at school 'cause we don't want other people to know about them.

Through these practices, the students' own collective identity was defined, which Katie (14; 8th grade) also reported "felt pretty good." Jina particularly noted how students commonly define their group identities through engaging in their "own" languages: "Spanish-speaking students, they do that a lot . . . they only speak their language, although they know English a lot."

Third, these students seemed to be participating in a school community in which both multilingualism and multiculturalism were informally and formally supported. The students' engagement in Korean did not interfere with their feelings of belongingness to the school community (e.g., Lo-Philip, 2010). Jina was deeply involved in clubs at her school:

> We have a lot of diversity in our school. People take pride in that. . . . our school thinks it's very important. At the beginning of the school year, we have a diversity week kickoff. . . . a lot of people [came] to me and ask[ed], how do you say this? I'm kind of happy that they are taking [an] interest in Korean. I think that's interesting.

Jina felt proud of her use of Korean in her high school that promoted linguistic and cultural diversity. Korean competency often had symbolic value, which supported Jina as a legitimate member of the multilingual and multicultural school community. Similarly, Carrie reported:

> I have [shown to friends of non-Korean descent], especially the [Korean] writing and the words. They thought it was really interesting and fascinating because they get Chinese and Japanese confused, but they have never seen Korean before, like handwriting. . . .

[In addition,] when I started speaking Korean at my elementary school, my friend was like, "Wow, that is so cool," and I realized that I am proud of that.

Through these instances of appreciation, Korean competency became symbolic capital in terms of the appreciation of specific cultural forms (Bourdieu, 1986), supporting Carrie's sense of pride in "who she is and what she speaks" (i.e., Korean descent, speaking Korean) and her feeling little marginalization through engaging in Korean. Moreover, Ms. Song noted that Carrie's high school, unlike other high schools, gave her credit for completing classes at the Korean school, which serves as a form of "institutionalized cultural capital" in Bourdieu's words, "a certificate of cultural competence . . . confer[ring] . . . a conventional, constant, and legally guaranteed value with respect to" Korean language competence (1986, p. 50). Ms. Song said that she provided a report to the high school each semester discussing how Carrie's Korean language competence had improved during the semester.

Associated motivational reasons to learn Korean.   Through these identity experiences as legitimate members of their communities (e.g., family, friends of Korean descent, friends of non-Korean descent), these students held rich arrays of autonomous/determined motivations with respect to learning Korean. One major difference from the other two groups was that these students developed an integrated value of learning Korean as people of Korean descent:

Carrie: It's part of my culture; that's who I am. I need to learn Korean . . . I want to keep my culture. I want to keep my language . . . for the rest of my life . . . so I can, like, teach it to my children one day.

Similarly, Mina indicated that learning Korean is integral to her, saying, "If a Korean person doesn't know their own language, it's kind of weird and stupid I guess? [*Laughter*]." Jina also emphasized her valuation of the Korean language over Spanish because it was her home language. Learning Korean was also important to better understand Korean culture, such as "the conflict between North and South Korea" and "the buildings they have there and . . . what they represent" (Jina).

A second major difference from the other two groups was that these students highly appreciated the status of the Korean language in resisting the hegemony of English. Carrie in particular noted, "it's best to, like, teach them [non-Korean friends] Korean, how that's different from other languages." Furthermore, Jina argued that Korean

competency should be afforded institutionalized and symbolic power through course credit in high schools in the state:

> . . . here, we have teachers [only] for Chinese, Spanish, French, and German, but . . . I think it's California . . . in which they teach Korean [in high schools for course credit].

The students noted frequent positive emotions of pride and enjoyment associated with speaking and learning Korean. They considered learning Korean to be a way of being "interested in their talent . . . and embracing their own home language," and said that her parents "are able to speak Korean, so it's just natural that I speak Korean" (Jina).

Third, somewhat similarly to the other two groups of students who are described below, these students stated that they learned Korean to communicate better with their family and relatives. (Jina: "I have family in Korea, so I need to be able to communicate with them"; Mina: "only way to communicate with them").

Hannah in the family and American school (pattern 2)

Identities as HLL. As the sole member of the second group, Hannah (15; 9th grade) reported her "habitual" participation in her family context, saying, "My parents talk about the news and stuff going on in Korea. . . . my parents encourage me to learn Korean . . . even though they don't specifically say, like, learn Korean and put all this pressure on me."

However, Hannah became serious about learning Korean after entering middle school and started to eagerly participate in Korean with her friends of Korean descent:

> In elementary school, I didn't have that feeling, like, I should know that much Korean, but once I got into middle school, I felt that I should start learning . . . 'cause that's when I got interested in Korean [pop] music and dramas. Also, there [were] people in school that talk[ed] about things that interested me.

She strongly desired to belong to the immediate community of the many friends of Korean and Asian descent in her high school and at her Korean church. At lunchtime, Hannah actively participated in her community by sitting and speaking in Korean, and they shared and reproduced cultural capital, such as knowledge about Korean pop culture. Hannah also reported learning about Korean pop culture by engaging with various resources such as newspapers through "Naver," a popular Korean web engine, and through websites about Korean pop

songs and singers, thus seeking to enter her imagined community – a community in Korea and worldwide that shares similar interests in Korean pop culture (Norton, 2001; Wenger, 1998).

In contrast to her active participation, however, Hannah experienced limited chances to express herself as a Korean speaker in her interactions with non-Korean high school students:

> I guess they might think, "You're weird 'cause you are speaking a different language other than English". . . . American people might see you kind of isolated and far away. . . . sometimes they may have a thought [that] you're talking about them, so it hurts their feelings. . . .

Hannah perceived her school-wide community as monolingual, with English as the dominant language. Hannah's perception mirrors what Kanno and Norton (2003, p. 257) referred to as "portray[ing] standard English as the only legitimate form of the language and monolingual native speakers. . . as its only legitimate speakers." In turn, Hannah felt marginalized and illegitimate when introducing Korean into the linguistic community. Her suppressed identity seemed to be associated with a lack of perceived promotion of multiculturalism by the school and a lack of symbolic value (e.g., appreciation from peers) of Korean competency that the first group of students frequently experienced. Simultaneously, her reserved identity regarding speaking Korean at school seemed to be derived from learned discourse from her parents, who often told her "not to really speak in Korean and only hang out with Korean people" and "to speak with others [peers of non-Korean descent] also," not to isolate herself in the school community.

Associated motivational reasons to learn Korean.   Unlike the students in the first group, who were fully participatory in various communities through a variety of cultural and social resources that allowed rich arrays of autonomous motivations, Hannah did not really learn Korean to maintain her heritage and learn Korean history. Furthermore, she noted:

> I don't think, just because you live in a different country, you should forget about where you're from . . . [but here in the United States,] I don't think Korean is that important. . . . If you're Korean, it is nice to know it, but I don't think you have to 'cause it's America so everyone speaks English.

Her acceptance of English hegemony seems to be connected to her identity experiences in her high school in relation to her peers of non-Korean descent and the discourse from her parents.

However, Hannah's most important reason to learn Korean was communication. Hannah identified a current and imagined community to which she might belong (e.g., her many friends who spoke Korean in her American school; an online community that shares similar interests), and she identified cultural knowledge that she is interested in developing (e.g., Korean pop culture): "I watch Korean dramas and listen to Korean music, and it's easier to understand what's happening in them if I know Korean." Ms. Song also noted in her interview that Hannah in particular had been interested in and knowledgeable about Korean pop culture since she entered middle school.

> Taewon and Teresa in the family and American school
> (pattern 3)

Identities as HLLs. Taewon (13; 7th grade) and Teresa (16; 10th grade), in the last grouping, seemed to have less enriching experiences engaging in Korean in the family context. For example, Taewon seemed to be struggling to communicate and connect with his parents:

> . . . when they [his parents] are in a fast conversation, and I can't follow it, and they are talking about me . . . [and] my parents always watch Korean drama, and they tell me to watch it with them, and I don't understand. . . . So when they are laughing, I'm just like, what happened? And they are still laughing.

From this excerpt, in which Taewon expressed a lack of ability to understand his parents in daily practices, we could assume that he was marginally situated in his family's practices involving Korean. Furthermore, when Taewon asked his mother a question about what a Korean drama meant when they were watching together, he reported that "she just makes a hand motion for me to go away and stop talking" because she did not want to be distracted from watching the drama.

Unlike the students from the first group, his daily practices rarely involved the meaningful transmission of embodied cultural capital in Korean or of objectified cultural capital, such as Korean dramas or books in Korean. Similarly, Teresa also noted that her family did not place high value on engaging in daily practices in Korean, and she was rarely involved in Korean unless she wanted to do so: "They [my parents] want me to learn it, but it's not that I have to. So they're not like pressuring me to learn it. It's just that they think it would be better if I do."

In the context of their middle and high schools, both Taewon and Teresa seemed to be fully participating in the dominant monolingual (English) community of friends of Korean and non-Korean descent. With relatively limited forms of Korean capital, their identities as Korean language learners were not strongly supported. For example, with only approximately three Asians in his middle school, Taewon did not have a Korean social network and seemed to have limited opportunities to speak Korean. Furthermore, during one classroom observation in the Korean school, Taewon shared with his Korean friends and teacher – in a somewhat frustrated voice – that his social science teacher in middle school continued to ask him whether he was Japanese or Chinese, even when he had previously told her that he was from California. Instead, Taewon said that he was more cognitively and socially active in his middle school, which is "totally" different than he was in Korean school: "I'm, like, so outgoing in middle school. (Is there any reason for that?) I know more." Taewon (and Teresa) identified with listening to more American pop songs than Korean songs, with only "two Korean songs in his iPod" and emphasizing that the rest of the songs are American hip hop and rap.

For Teresa, although her school had "a lot of Koreans," she did not use Korean as a secret language, and she did not necessarily feel proud about having once spoken in Korean to help a cousin transfer and adjust to her school after coming from Korea. Teresa chose not to participate in or belong to the community of students of Korean descent through speaking Korean.

Associated motivational reasons to learn Korean.   Possibly in line with Taewon's and Teresa's lack of full participation using Korean, their motivations to learn Korean did not involve integrated values involving the language. For them, learning Korean was not to maintain their heritage (Taewon: "it's not really heritage"; Teresa: "I am more used to American stuff, and I never thought of it like learning it like that [to maintain heritage]") or to learn about Korean culture (e.g., Korean history, music). Furthermore, they also assumed the minority status of Korean as a language (Taewon: "not many people in the world, like, in America, would try to learn Korean. They are more into Spanish"; Teresa: "I don't think it's as important as Spanish and Chinese"). Taewon did not really feel proud about speaking Korean because "a lot of people know it [Korean]."

Instead, their motivational reasons were more connected to the eventually identified direct or imagined communities of practice to which they wanted to belong, where the Korean language was considered to

be a valued resource (Norton, 2001; Wenger, 1998). For example, Taewon emphasized learning Korean as "a more personal thing" (versus to please his parents), noting a determined reason to learn Korean instead of a controlled reason:

> . . . like, more myself, like, what I want to achieve, what I want to do. . . . It's more like understanding . . . more focused on language and how to speak it and write and stuff.

Taewon was deeply committed to understanding, communicating, and connecting with his parents so that, for example, they could watch television together and bring meaning to his daily practices – in which he wanted to fully participate ("cause my parents always watch Korean dramas and tell me to watch it with them . . . and I don't understand").

Similarly, Teresa noted that it was she who wanted to learn Korean (i.e., determined motivation), not her mother (i.e., controlled motivation), as she aimed to better communicate with people whom she might encounter if she eventually attends college in Korea or California:

> They [my mom's friend and her son] talk about how good, cool it is . . . just the fact that I want to go to Korea and I just want to, like, learn more. . . . Well, it's one of my choices. I want to go to [college] in either California or Korea.

Notably, both Taewon and Teresa reported that they began to appreciate the possibilities of learning Korean relatively recently (e.g., "a few months earlier," for Teresa) possibly when they realized an immediate or imagined community of practice to which they wanted to belong (Norton, 2001).

All students in the shared Korean school classroom context

Identities as HLLs. In contrast to the diversity of their experiences in the family and American school contexts, the students' learner identities were more similarly constructed in the shared space of the Korean school. As described above (Kim, 2015), the teacher of the class, Ms. Song, exerted effort to create a "fun" learning environment. First, most of the students were fully participatory in the Korean school community, expressing a relatively strong collective identity of "we-ness" with their Korean peers and/or teachers. For Jina and Mina, the best aspect of the Korean school was "being with Korean friends. We're all Korean," and they enjoyed rich cultural experiences with their peers:

Mina: I don't really listen to American music. I just know Justin Bieber, those really popular ones. . . when I come here [Korean school], I can talk about Korean music with friends.

Jina: Coming to Korean school is different than going to regular school 'cause the friends here, we can relate to each other more. We know each other more, so we talk to each other about what we like, which is the same. In regular school, it's mainly American stuff. . . the food that we eat, when we bring it to regular school, it's not normal, but here it is normal.

According to Jina, these specific forms of capital are reproduced in the Korean school context and have higher symbolic power, being "normal" and legitimate, unlike in regular school. In the Korean school, both Jina and Mina seemed to safely express their shared identification of "we-ness" and feelings of relatedness and autonomy (Deci & Ryan, 2002), to which their shared cultural experiences seemed to contribute.

Similarly, Hannah frequently engaged in conversations about Korean pop culture with her peers in the classroom, and Hannah and Carrie checked each other's social network of friends of Korean descent (e.g., "Do you know Stephanie Park?"), thus building their own social network. Hannah reported "feel[ing] more comfortable at Korean school, just because everyone is more similar to me." Although Taewon and Teresa expressed a weaker sense of "we-ness" at the Korean school compared with the other students (e.g., Teresa: "did not come here for friends; I just met them here"), both Taewon and Teresa enjoyed the classroom interactions, particularly with their "nice" and "not too strict" teacher, which would eventually help them enter their aimed communities.

Second, the students moved through the higher-level classes since entering the Korean school, thus acquiring institutional credentials as a form of symbolic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986) as well as experiencing inward movement in the school community (Wenger, 1998), which contributed to their feelings of competence (Deci & Ryan, 2002). For example, Jina was selected as a teacher's assistant upon completing the highest-level class, which made her proud and happy. Even Taewon, who reported marginal experiences using Korean with his family, noted:

I mean, I'm pretty good because I'm in, like, the highest class. . . . I can understand a lot of things . . . more words, and I speak a little faster.

He seemed to feel more competent moving inward with institutional credentials in the school community, which contrasted with his feelings of incompetence and frustration from not being able to understand or connect with his parents during daily practice. Ms. Song also indicated that Taewon's mother told her that he felt proud and was committed to coming to Korean school after advancing to the highest class and experiencing enabling peripheral participation (Wenger, 1998).

Associated motivational reasons to learn Korean.   All of the students experienced intrinsic motivations with a focus on mastery, possibly together with the various forms of capital that supported their relatedness, autonomy, and competence (Deci & Ryan, 2002) in HL learning. Jina and Mina, who liked learning Korean even before coming to the Korean school, noted that their strong sense of "we-ness" and "being with Korean friends" made learning Korean more fun in the Korean school:

> Jina: *We know a lot about each other; . . . the food, just what we have [for] interests, [they're] pretty much all the same, pretty much, so that's why it's more fun.*

Jina further reported being happy and proud that she could teach the younger children as a teacher's assistant. Hannah also reported that she became more interested in learning Korean in Korean school "[as] my friends here showed me Korean music and stuff," and classroom observations supported Hannah's actively sharing Korean pop culture in the Korean school.

Although Taewon seldom seemed to enjoy or take pride in learning Korean in contexts other than the Korean school (as noted above), he experienced positive motivational and emotional experiences specifically in the Korean school context through feeling pride in his accomplishments (e.g., in reaching the highest-level class) and through positive interactions with the teacher:

> (Is it interesting to study Korean?) ZERO [*laughs*] . . . it's not so much interesting as a kind of good feeling when you learn something new. . . . [However] yeah, it's pretty fun here. . . . The teacher makes it fun and interesting . . . like, games and stuff.

Similarly, Teresa, who once thought that "the language itself is just a language," reported:

> Before I came, all I thought was I just wanted to come and learn. . . . once I came here, I just noticed it was fun and there were a lot of people here. . . . Here, it's interesting.

Discussion and implications

Different patterns of adolescents' motivations to learn an HL

The current study examined teens' perspectives on aspects of their lives that interacted in complex ways and that informed their determined and autonomous motivations as HLLs. All seven adolescents experienced heritage motivation (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003) and expressed determined and autonomous motivations (Deci & Ryan, 2002) for learning the HL; however, the students' motivations to learn Korean varied through three identified patterns that were closely associated with their negotiated HLL identities within immediate and imagined communities and the various forms of capital that they acquired.

Some students reported that they began to build a rich array of determined reasons to learn Korean as an HL from a young age (e.g., Jina and Mina). In learning Korean, they pursued high Korean-integrated values (e.g., to maintain their heritage; to learn Korean history). These students considered their parents' and their own embodied cultural and linguistic capital to be desirable, and they resisted the idea that English is the only sign of "American" membership (Lo-Philip, 2010). For these students, the HL was also a symbol of "American" membership.

Their determined reasons for learning Korean were associated with their full participation in immediate and imagined communities of practice in which varied and enriched social and cultural resources were available to them. For these students, Korean was frequently perceived to be valued and recognized as symbolic capital inherited from the family milieu, which was manifested in the American and Korean school contexts. By experiencing further support that was unique to each context (e.g., recognition from peers, diversity support in the American school, social network formation), they had greater opportunities to construct their learner identities to resist English hegemony (e.g., using Korean as a secret language, stating that non-Korean students should learn about the Korean language). Although HLLs' family-based linguistic capital would be often converted to negative value (e.g., "un-American"; Lo-Philip, 2010), these students' family-based linguistic capital converted to symbolic capital merely through encouragement by their parents, who did not necessarily prioritize English proficiency; their Korean-American peers, with whom their cultural and social capital was shared; their non-Korean-American dominant group peers and teachers, who valued and accepted their use of their linguistic capital; and symbolic Korean pop culture, which was available via various types of media and gained increased popularity among the students. Aligned with Lo-Philip (2010), these HLLs

developed their voices both through their claiming membership in their ethnic community and through resistance to mainstream identities.

Not all of the students felt that learning Korean was a meaningful part of their daily lives. Hannah, Taewon, and Teresa did not seem to have fully or meaningfully participated in Korean-based practices in their families and among students of non-Korean descent in their American schools, where Korean was not necessarily considered to be symbolic. Their Korean-language-learner identities were not strongly supported in their various communities of practice, and there was limited evidence that they have resisted the idea that English is the major sign of "American" membership (Lo-Philip, 2010).

Instead, these students' determined motivations grew as they identified specific immediate or imagined communities to which they wanted to fully belong through learning Korean (e.g., Norton, 2001), particularly as they grow older and enter adolescence (Tse, 2001). These communities of practice constituted a Korean peer group to share Korean pop culture (for Hannah), a family with whom to share meaningful daily life experiences (for Taewon), and future communities, such as college in Korea or California (for Teresa). These students began to pursue their HL for strongly determined, but specific, motivational reasons that were to some extent grounded in their own choices because of an increased need to "communicate and connect" with their immediate or imagined communities. Although HL has been often considered one's parents' or ancestors' language, for these adolescents the concern was more about current and future participation and belongingness.

Supporting determined motivation in learning an HL

According to researchers (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 2002; Noels, 2005; Kim et al., 2010), determined and autonomous motivations for HL learning are supported by basic psychological need fulfillment (e.g., relatedness, competence, or autonomy) during the students' interactions with others across contexts and over time. Importantly, these Korean HLLs' psychological needs seemed to be accounted for by various forms of enriched social and cultural experiences that have symbolic value. For example, relatedness was experienced through the students connecting with their parents through Korean television dramas at home, sharing similar interests in Korean pop music with friends of Korean descent and through imagined communities via media, feeling appreciated by peers of non-Korean descent for using and knowing a unique-sounding and unique-looking language that is "cool" at an American school, and feeling a sense of collective identity – a "we-ness" – at the Korean school.

In particular, the Korean school in the current study provided a space in which the students had frequent opportunities to acquire cultural, social, and symbolic capital and to feel competent and related through their engagement in Korean (e.g., teacher's assistant or higher class level as institutional credentials; the transfer of credits earned at the Korean school to the American school; legitimate and collective identity of "we-ness"). Note that such opportunities were less available to some of the students in other contexts (e.g., Taewon's family context). Although Tse (2001, p. 702) reported that students often reported "largely negative impressions left by formal HL instruction," the current class and school seem to provide a space in which students experienced a sense of relatedness, competence, and autonomy, through frequent opportunities to acquire various types of capital.

Limitations and future studies

This study could have been benefited more from prolonged interviews and additional observational data outside of the Korean school, which would have improved the researcher's ability to discern changes in the students' identities. In addition, interviews with the students' parents could have provided insightful data in a similar vein as those with the teacher. Moreover, all of the students attended one school in one region of the country; future studies might examine students from different social, cultural, and political backgrounds. Future studies could also investigate the (lack of) motivations and identities of students who choose not to pursue their HL. Furthermore, a more complex consideration of the students' "contexts" might be developed by conducting a more emic investigation of their significant spaces (e.g., social networking contexts). Finally, further studies could investigate the complexities of the motivation to learn HL, connecting the poststructuralist view on motivation (i.e., investment) with students' context-specific or situated psychological experiences.

Conclusion

Maguire et al. (2005, p. 166) have argued that "space can be a place through which multilingual children speak and can be." The current study is much aligned with this notion, as multiple spaces – whether immediate or imagined and available locally or transnationally – and the wide range of symbolic resources across the spaces allowed the seven children of immigrants to construct determined motivations and identities as HLLs. Throughout their childhood and adolescence, it would be important to attend carefully to the spaces that the children of immigrants desire to belong to in order to support the investment in HL (see, e.g., Norton, 2001). Furthermore, it seems to be

critical for the children of immigrants to have enriching organized cultural and linguistic experiences that can be recognized and appreciated as symbolic resources. Not only would this support their investment but it would also legitimate their "right to speak" and "right to be" (Lo-Philip, 2010; Norton Peirce, 1995).

Acknowledgements

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