

INTRODUCTION

Through participation in language-mediated interactions, novices in society acquire sociocultural information and further modify their social skills to fit in with the language and cultural system of the host society. The socialization of linguistic identities, ideologies, and discourse practices is a complex and multifaceted process. In the early stages of language socialization (LS) research, what has been consistently studied is young language learners' acquisition of socially appropriate norms of behavior in homes and educational settings. In recent years, intense globalization and the diversification of society have left societies in general and their educational institutions facing learners who need to learn to work with, and work in, many languages (Block & Cameron, 2002). The importance of second language socialization (SLS) is becoming apparent in the global interdependence period now. The growing trend had led LS research area into a broadened scope. The paradigm of SLS takes into account the movement of immigrants and sojourners as individuals and in groups, into new educational, vocational, professional, and other contexts, and into culture, language, literacy practices, as well as identities (Duff, 2008). The formation of the global village served further to underscore the necessity of inter-cultural interaction and communication. Besides social and cultural factors, other factors such as economical, political, technological, educational, environmental, industrial and commercial factors, also play a major role in the deepening interest in LS situated in multicultural communities because of the flourishing international trade in the latter half of the twentieth century. In this light, many nations provided opportunities for their citizens to study or work abroad in an attempt to gain competitive advantage across international boundaries. At the same time, most of the countries also welcome international students or workers to contribute their ideas and talents in the society in order to create a diverse and advanced environment which accommodates to the modern situations in the world.

Due to this growing attention to inter-cultural interaction in the world, myriad research has been conducted during the last few decades to explore how language is used as a medium or tool in the development of inter-cultural relationship, that is, SLS. Earlier research has focused on the theoretical frameworks which were established to investigate enculturation and language

acquisition carried out by language learners. The emphasis in this field has been more on individuals' perceptions of their experiences of staying in a foreign country. This can be taken to be the first step in understanding LS across cultures.

Language socialization is a concept that refers to how children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems of belief through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interactions (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p.2). Many previous LS studies have focused on novices' acquisition of discrete linguistic forms, language skills, or sociocultural norms in the field of children's first language (L1) socialization (Clancy, 1999; Cook, 1997; Fukuda, 2005), and in the field of SLS (Currie, 2004; Huth, 2006; Lei, 2008; Poole, 2008). Despite the fact that these studies have contributed to our understanding of LS, a much-needed comprehensive view of language learners' socialization has received insufficient attention. Therefore, our study intended to address the lacuna in the academic literature by reporting on a group of sojourners' experiences and perceptions of SLS along with cross-cultural adjustment.

The present study investigated the adjustment, identity, and language socialization among four female Korean sojourners in Taiwan by closely examining the interactions between the participants and the host nationals, as well as those between the participants and their co-nationals. Adopting Berry's (2005) framework of acculturation orientations, the current study discusses the participants' choices of acculturation strategies and their construction of new identities in the second language (L2) society. By exploring and documenting the process of the participants' language socialization in the host country, the present study aimed to find out what acculturation strategies the sojourners apply in the L2 linguistic community, and what underlies the sojourners' attitudes toward the acculturation strategies.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the last few decades, numerous studies have been conducted to explore how children and novices in society become linguistically and socially competent within their communities such as homes, schools, and other discourse contexts. Through this language socialization process, children and novices in society acquire

knowledge which is essential for making themselves intelligible and accepted socially while interacting with other members of their community. Language socialization, as argued by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), involves both the use of the target language to achieve socialization and the use of the socialization process to achieve gains in the target language and culture. Furthermore, in second language socialization, the fact that the learners already established a set of norms from their first language adds to the complexity of their L2 socialization (Duff, 2007).

Second language socialization and adaptation

Previous research on cross-cultural socialization has investigated the adjustment patterns of newcomers in a certain cultural group and has focused on some prominent factors and variables which contributed to L2 socialization. Navara and James (2002) compared the levels of coping and adjustment between missionaries and other sojourners who were members of non-religious aid organizations, embassy staff and business corporations residing in Nepal. Their study measured the levels of coping and adjustment, stress, as well as satisfaction with life and social support. The results indicated that missionaries expressed less satisfaction than other sojourners. Most of them lived alone in small, remote villages without any compatriots around during their stay in Nepal and thus had more direct contact with host nationals. It was found that the direct contact with locals and isolation from co-nationals resulted in higher level of stress in the missionaries than in non-missionary sojourners.

A similar study conducted by James, Hunsley, Navara, and Alles (2004) examined Ward and Searle's (1991) model of cross-cultural adaptation and expanded to include sojourners' marital factors such as relationship satisfaction. A questionnaire package was designed to measure marital, psychological, and sociocultural adjustment of sixty-four sojourner couples stationed in Nepal. Relational and spousal factors, specifically the posting satisfaction of one's spouse as well as marital communication, were found to be significant predictors of sojourner adjustment. James and her colleagues thus suggested that the sojourners' marital factors be included in the model.

Vedder and Virta (2005) investigated the relationships between immigrant adolescents' ethnic identity, their L1 and L2 proficiency and their psychological and sociocultural adaptation. In their study, three models were applied to analyze adaptation processes of the Turkish participants in the Netherland and in Sweden: the ethnic identity model, the language assimilation model, and the language integration model. The results showed different findings in the two settings in terms of possibilities for optimizing adaptation outcomes and choices of acculturation strategies. First, the ethnic identity model assumes that immigrant adolescent is growing up with cultures which lead to identity confusion as well as adaptation problems. Vedder and Virta found support for this model in the Swedish sample, but not in the other group. Secondly, the language assimilation model refers to the notion that immigrant adolescents' L2 proficiency is a better predictor of academic performance as well as social interaction than either L1 proficiency or measures of ethnic identity. The researchers found convincing support in the Dutch sample as they had expected, but only weak support in the Swedish group. Finally, the language integration model postulates that immigrant children who are proficient in both L1 and L2 have higher scores for psychological and sociocultural adaptation than those who are less balanced in their L1 and L2 proficiency. Convincing support for this model was found in the Swedish sample, but not in the Dutch group. It was concluded that these different findings may be due to the differences in immigrant language policies and the corresponding experiences as relating to L1 maintenance and L2 acquisition.

Pitts (2009) examined U.S. students' process of sojourner adjustment across the course of a short-term sojourn. The research suggests that the students' expectation gaps are one contributor to adjustment stress. The results revealed that co-national support, i.e., networks of students from the same country, is essential for short-term sojourners because it helps to reduce expectation gaps for study abroad.

Sojourners' socialization in Taiwan

A number of studies have investigated sojourners' adjustment patterns in L2 socialization in Taiwan. One such study was undertaken by Shih (2006) to explore

international students' experiences of life adjustment and their social support systems in Taiwan. It was found that the factors causing variations of their life adjustment include the diverse conditions of external environment, such as environmental sanitation, public security, and housing conditions, and individual differences of each student, such as language proficiency, motivation to study abroad, and pressure from school work. Chang (2007) investigated international students' cross-cultural adaptation process and the cross-cultural training for them. The results showed that receiving social support is indispensable for every participant in the study. Positive influence of cross-cultural training was also reported. Chiang's (2008) study confirmed a variety of contributive factors for sojourner students' adaptation in the L2 culture in earlier research, such as sojourner students' personality and life experiences, social support, classroom experiences in the host countries, and language competence.

Berry's framework of acculturation strategies

As noted, studies of L2 socialization during the last few decades have obtained fruitful results. L2 socialization is not simply about learning foreign languages and cultures. In general, it is shaped in relationships with both co-nationals and larger society and affected by sojourners' attitudes toward their heritage culture and cultural characteristics. Berry (1997) notes that "individuals begin the acculturation process with a number of personal characteristics of both a demographic and social nature"(p.477). Among the influential perspectives on the dimensions of acculturation strategies is Berry's framework of acculturation strategies (1997, 2005). He first assessed attitudes towards acculturation in his early work (Berry, 1970). His later work (Berry, 1980) further incorporated psychological traits to acculturation, such as identity, language, personality and acculturative stress, establishing the more exhaustive concept of varieties of acculturation. Four acculturation strategies, namely, *assimilation*, *separation*, *integration*, and *marginalization*, were illustrated with a conceptual framework (Berry, 1997), with respect to the two major issues of acculturation, i.e. *cultural maintenance* and *contact and participation*. In his more recent work (Berry, 2003, 2005, 2009), the strategies were posited in an extended framework based upon the

point of view of ethnocultural groups as well as that of larger society. The four strategies in ethnocultural groups, as elaborated below, are used in data analysis of the present study:

- **Assimilation** is a process in which a non-dominant group or an individual gradually gives up its own language, culture, and system of values and takes on those of larger society with a different language, culture, and system of values, through a period of interaction (Schumann, 1978). As stated in Berry (2005), “when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the assimilation strategy is defined” (p.705).
- **Separation** can be described in two perspectives. From a dominant group’s point of view, **Separation** refers to the attitude of reluctance to interact with ethnic minorities, such as in this example found in Liu (2007), in which a subject from the dominant group was quoted as saying, “I don’t like being on a bus or a train in which there are ethnic minorities” (p. 766). On the other hand, “when minorities place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the separation alternative is defined” (Berry, 2005, p.705).
- **Integration** refers to the attempt to “maintain one’s original culture, while at the same time seeking to participate as an integral part of the larger social network” (Berry, 1997, p.9). Pfafferott and Brown (2006) confirmed the connection between the integration strategy and the optimal psychological adjustment of immigrants. Also, Zegefka and Brown (2002) suggested that supporters of integration have more favorable intergroup attitudes.
- **Marginalization** is characterized by a disaffirmation of, and/or a lack of participation in, one’s own original culture, as well as the culture of the dominant society (Berry, 2005). Earlier findings correlated a marginalization strategy with maladjustment and reduced level of well-being (Berry, Phinney, Kwak, & Sam, 2006; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006).

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative case study approach was adopted to get detailed information for in-depth understanding of the questions being researched.

Participants

A criterion-based sampling was used to select the participants. The primary criterion for selection was that the participants had to live in Taiwan for at least three years. Sojourners who have longer duration of stay were preferentially recruited because the case study highly claimed their retrospection of sojourning experiences for sufficient information. Second, they also had to devote an ample amount of time interacting with both local people and co-nationals. The reason is that their frequent contact with other would allow the researchers to observe their social life in a variety of contexts. According to their response, all of them communicated with locals for over two hours per day and with co-nationals for over three hours a day. Third, they all expected to stay in Taiwan for the period of data collection.

The participants in this study were four Korean female sojourners, pseudonamed Gina, Hannah, Sandy, and Tina, who had lived in Taiwan for a variety of duration ranging from three to five years. Aged between 27 and 28, they have studied Chinese for 1.5 to 7 years and were all able to carry conversations in Mandarin. All of them have the same dual purpose for their sojourn, i.e. to study Mandarin and to share their Christian religion in the host country. All participants were volunteers and were given no compensation. The background information of the participants is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Background Information of Participants

Name	Age	Mandarin learning experience		Duration of Stay in Taiwan (by the beginning of data collection)
		in Taiwan	in Korea	
Gina	28	5 years & 8 months	2 years	5 years & 8 months

Hannah	27	3 years	None	3 years
Sandy	27	3 years & 1 month	None	3 years & 1 month
Tina	27	1 year & 6 months	None	3 years

As can be seen in Table 1, only one participant, Gina, had the experience of learning Mandarin prior to her sojourn in Taiwan. She took Mandarin classes in a college in Korea for two years. After arriving in Taiwan, she studied in a Mandarin language center for one and a half years before becoming a Chinese major in a national university in Taipei. All the other participants began their Mandarin learning in Taiwan. They took classes in Mandarin language centers in various universities in Taipei.

Data collection

Prior to the identification of sites for data collection, the researchers had candid discussions with all participants to acquaint them with the aims and methods of the research and to gain their permission for it to take place. With the participants' suggestions, the church and streets were selected as the main sites because the participants had most opportunities to interact with the host nationals there. Afterwards, the researchers were able to spend considerable amount of time establishing rapport with the participants and observing their communication activities.

The researchers served as participant-observers for a period of six months, following closely the social and preaching activities of the participants. The gospel-sharing activities took place both in church and in the streets. All verbal communication activities between the researchers and participants were in Mandarin Chinese, which was spoken relatively fluently by all of the participants. Data were collected through questionnaire, field observations including audio

recordings, and face-to-face individual structured and semi-structured interviews. A questionnaire was given to the participants to collect background information such as age and duration of stay. Field observations were carried out at least twice a week to provide a description of intercultural communication between the sojourners and the host nationals. At the beginning of each interview and social event, the researchers attained permission for the conversation to be audio-recorded and transcribed for use in the research. Each interview lasted between 30 minutes and 2 hours, and were either held at the church or the participants' home as decided by the participants.

Data analysis

The audio data were transcribed into Mandarin texts. Contents which indicated the use of acculturation strategies and attitude toward acculturation were further translated into English. A thematic analysis was employed to analyze transcripts and field notes. Coding scheme of acculturation strategies refers to Berry's (2005) framework of acculturation orientations in the non-dominant groups, which includes assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The data were analyzed using Berry's (2005) framework of acculturation strategies from the non-dominant groups' point of view, identified to respond to attitudinal dimensions of individuals or cultural groups. It is divided into different themes prescribed by the four orientations.

Assimilation

In various instances, the participants have shown a strong motivation to assimilate to the local language and culture. Brown (2000) stated that native-like pronunciation is not the only or the most important criterion for language acquisition (LA). Studies on the connections between acculturation and pronunciation are far from conclusive (e.g. Jiang, Green, Henley, and Masten,

2009). However, non-native-like pronunciation is widely associated with identity and thus deserves attention in language socialization. Pronunciation is also an important part of how language “shapes and reflects social identity” (Morgan, 1997, p. 432). Some of the participants in the study expressed their opinions in favor of the variety of Mandarin pronunciation spoken in Taiwan, rather than that which is spoken in mainland China. The two participants who indicated this preference seemed to strive for it more than the other participants. For instance, they often asked their Taiwanese teachers or friends for opinions in an attempt to improve their accent in their desired direction, as described by Gina in one of the interviews:

I’ve stayed here for 5 years, but still have funny accent.
It’s annoying. Before I came to Taiwan, I watched lots of Chinese films. I used to be fond of Chinese accent. But now, I think Taiwanese accent sounds more pleasant. I want to speak like you, yet I’m not confident with the Mandarin tones. Do you think watching local soap operas on TV will help? I also want to subscribe to Mandarin Daily News, then, I don’t have to consult a dictionary all the time to check the phonetic notations.

The excerpt shows that Gina views herself as having the undesirable Mandarin accent which deviated from the local norms and she feels a strong need to improve it. Also, it indicates her varying attitude towards regional accents, and shows her preference for an assimilation strategy.

It can be inferred from the results that environments and conditions of LA can lead to participants’ varying attitudes toward the acculturation orientations. As their Mandarin learning context shifted from foreign language acquisition (FLA) in Korea, to second language acquisition (SLA) in Taiwan, the increase of contact and participation in the target language (TL) community prompted their need for assimilating to NSs. Within that context, they gained new perspectives on Mandarin learning. And, these perspectives consequently contributed to the development of new language identities.

When considering language identities in a sociocultural group, we might note the differences in pronunciations produced by members of other groups. It is important to point out that although the participants knew how to produce the variety of Mandarin pronunciation spoken in Mainland China, they showed a strong awareness of the variety spoken in Taiwan. The following excerpt from the field notes shows that Hannah noticed the absence of retroflexion as a feature of the variety of Mandarin spoken in Taiwan. She shared the knowledge with a Korean Christian friend, Mark, who had stayed in Taiwan for only one month. As the excerpt indicates, Mark was trying to figure out whether the onset consonant in the Mandarin word for “pluck” should be a retroflex.

Mark: What’s the pronunciation of this word (摘 ‘pluck’)?

[tʂ ai 1] or [tsai 1] ?

Hannah: [tʂ ai 1]. But you don’t have to differentiate them in Taiwan.

On other occasions, the participants tried to remind Mark when they noticed that his pronunciation was very different from that of the locals. This is evident in the following quotation from the field notes, in which Sandy was commenting on Mark’s pronunciation of Mandarin:

Sandy: Too much retroflexion! I can barely understand!

Sandy’s comments indicated that she shared with Hannah a strong awareness of, and probably identification with, the characteristic of the usual absence of retroflex in Taiwanese variety of Mandarin.

Undesirable pressure from the participants’ home culture is another noteworthy inducement to assimilate to the host society. The following comments from Tina in an interview show her positions on Korean traditional views on marriage and how she perceived Taiwanese culture as less conservative and more

desirable.

I usually don't go back to Korea during New Year vacation. I felt the pressure when I met with my relatives. They always ask, 'When are you going to get married? You're almost 30.' ... I love to stay in Taiwan because Taiwanese views on marriage are not so conservative.

Based on the subsequent field notes, all participants in the current study were unanimous on this point of view. Surprisingly, the participants took the foreign land as a harbor and consequently identified more strongly with the host society than with the home society. Their perception of Taiwanese culture being less conservative than Korean culture may have to do with the fact that they all live in the metropolitan area of the biggest city in Taiwan.

Separation

The strategy of separation implies an avoidance or refusal to adapt to the host culture. Although for most participants, some positive adaptation of L2 and inter-cultural interaction took place after a period of time, nevertheless, adaptation is not achieved in every aspect of their life in the host country. In the current study, despite indications of adaptive efforts by the participants in various aspects, the use of separation strategy was identified in several incidents reported. The strategy was used when the participants had to cope with local values and attitudes they strongly disagree, or when they faced local folk religious practices which violate their own religious teachings. This can be seen in that most of the participants expressed their misgivings of participating in folk activities due to religious reasons. Sandy mentioned one of the examples in an interview:

Sometimes, local friends invite me to their homes to celebrate traditional festivals like Chinese New Year and

Moon Festival. I can't go because of my religion. I know lots of Taiwanese hold a worship ceremony for spirits and ancestors on certain occasions. Christians are not supposed to do that and not supposed to eat food sacrificed to idols. Of course they wouldn't force me to do so, but that kind of situations make me feel kind of awkward and uneasy. So I'd rather go shopping with Tina or other friends on those holidays.

The data indicate that the participants may have experienced moderate difficulties during acculturation. In the cases when they realized that they were facing acculturative problems which cannot be dealt with simply by accommodating to the new contexts, the separation strategy was applied to avoid intercultural contact where conflicts may exist. Accordingly, they tried to reject the dominant culture and maintain their original identities such as religious identity.

Revealing cross-cultural differences in national consciousness and different level of identification with foreign cultures is among the findings of this study. The participants' reactions on Taiwanese identification with Japanese culture demonstrate a huge gap in the degree of acceptance of Japanese culture between Koreans and Taiwanese. The participants tended to put emphasis on their national identity and characteristics when they felt antipathy towards locals' preference on Japanese culture. In an interview, Sandy gave an example of her negative impression on Taiwanese:

Taiwanese are very into Japanese people and their stuff. They like everything from Japan, such as artists, products, drama, food. ... I had enough of it! ... I tried to promote Korean stuff on purpose and kept telling them how good Korea is.

The view was shared by Tina, who explained in another interview why most

Koreans have an aversion to Japanese:

Once, a bus driver mistook me for a Japanese tourist and spoke in Japanese to me. I said ‘I’m Korean (with a rise volume),’ but he kept speaking in Japanese passionately. I gave up! ... Most Koreans dislike Japanese because Korea was once a colony of Japan. I heard that many Taiwanese, especially the elderly, like Japanese because Taiwan was also once under Japan’s occupation. That sounds weird to me.”

When the participants disagreed with the prevalent values and attitudes in the target society, they tried to manifest their national identity and share their original culture. This indicates that separation strategy was applied in those situations.

Integration

The influence of larger society and personal experiences of cross-cultural interaction play a very important role in sojourners’ second language socialization. Their social lives included interactions in a wide range of settings in diverse social networks requiring constant and extensive use of the L2. Much of the data indicates that the participants wish to have various forms of intercultural communication such as exchange of language, manners, pop culture, and diet culture. Some of the communication took place in formal educational contexts, while so many instances of small-talk occurred in the participants’ daily lives. Our data throw some light on how intercultural communication promotes integration.

With a desire to act like a Taiwanese, the participants consumed Taiwanese mainstream media, learned Southern Min and Mandarin slang, went to night markets, and rode scooters—basically doing the things typical Taiwanese would do. Gina stated in one of the interviews that she made a conscious effort to learn and practice the culture and customs in the host country.

Korean cuisine is very different from the one here. We have different sense of taste from Taiwanese. A lot of Koreans can't get used to it. For example, my mom visited me last month. She had very little when we dined out. She had instant noodles instead when she went back to the hotel. But I really love to try local food. If I dare not to eat something which is considered delicious by Taiwanese people, it will hurt my pride. Like stinky tofu, when I first tried it, I thought it was so awful. However, all my Taiwanese friends told me it tastes really good. Then, I kept on trying. Now, I do love it. I even recommend it to my Korean friends.'

Judging from the excerpt, Gina seemed to be highly motivated to accommodate to the food culture in the host country. However, she did not turn away from her original food culture. Instead, she sought to share it with host nationals. As she indicated,

I like to invite local friends to dine at my home. Food tastes better with company. I can share Korean food with them. My mom brought me so much Korean food, such as Kimchi, perilla, miso, and laver.

The study has shown that when the participants had the intention to learn and practice the local culture and custom, they tended to actively seek opportunities to interact with host nationals. They not only identified themselves with the host culture, but also actively share original culture to develop friendships with local friends. One example is that they would offer to tutor Korean language for free, and they enjoyed the opportunity for socialization during the tutoring. The integration strategy promotes cross-cultural friendships. Such friendships were

credited by the participants as very beneficial to the improvement of their proficiency in the local language and culture.

Marginalization

In cases where culture conflict exists, the participants tend to seek marginalization approach to ride out a crisis in certain contexts of cultural intolerance. The following excerpt presents a noticeable cultural issue in the modern world. It can be seen that societal attitudes such as prejudice and discrimination are certainly influential during acculturation. Societal attitudes gave rise to the participants' feelings of insecurity. They thus rejected participation and used culture shedding as a protective strategy in those contexts, as illustrated by this example from Gina, who was one of the only three foreign students in class.

Once in one of my classes of general education, the teacher referred to the consumption of dog meat in Korean culture. From the reaction of the class, I can see that dog eating is viewed as taboo here. Fortunately, no one knew that I'm Korean, perhaps. At that time, I only hoped to get out of class. I got no interest to participate in the discussion at all. ... It's okay for me to talk about it with my local friends in the church. I even told one of them that my dad and uncle ate my pet.

Interestingly, it shows that Gina's selection of acculturation strategies varied based on the closeness between herself and host national(s) she interacted with. It also suggests that cultural distance, such as language and religion, is surely a key feature in L2 socialization research. People who share the same religious background or even the same missions were found to socialize each other during their work or off-work activities (e.g. Wilson, 2001).

It is important to point out that marginalization approach was also applied in order to overcome limitations in speaking L2, especially in academic settings. Such

situations seem to be quite common among the participants' experiences. They rarely provided personal commentary actively in school settings. They found it difficult either to simply express opinions or to negotiate with others. For example, Gina perceived that college students in Taiwan are very confident in expressing themselves during classroom discussions. On the other hand, according to Gina, she hardly ever participated in those discussions due to her self-conscious limitations in Mandarin:

I often feel that my Mandarin proficiency is so limited. My classmates (in the university) can ask questions and even discuss with teachers directly during class. I dare not do that. I always hesitate to ask teachers questions, even in private.”

As we have seen, Gina attributed her inactive participation in class to limitations in her L2 proficiency. However, this statement leaves a question open: why did the participants encounter greater difficulties in expressing themselves in class than in informal social contexts? As Hyun (2001) pointed out, Confucianism defines traditional Korean cultural values. Although recent sociocultural changes in Korea, such as increased contact with Western cultures and rapid industrialization, may have an impact on Koreans' traditional values to some degree, Koreans' ideologies which are dominated by Confucian thoughts are still evident in their social behaviors. In this view, their behavior patterns in academic settings can be analyzed as follows.

First, to ensure harmony and order in society, Koreans place great importance on stratified social structure that is based on vertical configuration of superiors and subordinates (Hyun, 2001). In light of this, the participants may perceive the social structure in a class as hierarchical configuration and may suppose that teachers should have higher status than students. They thus showed obedience and respect to teachers and prevented challenging teachers' authority.

Second, collectivism in Korea is characterized as a social pattern in which

individuals are closely linked with a collective, such as family, clan, and nation (Triandis, 1995). In this view, Koreans may feel guilty when individuality is revealed (Lee, 1979). From the participants' standpoint, expressing personal opinions in class may indicate that they depart from their traditional values.

It should be noted that although traditional Korean cultural values deeply influence the participants' social behaviors, especially in academic settings, they actually wished to make a breakthrough in order to have more intercultural communication. The following example shows Gina's attitude toward classroom discussions.

When my teachers and classmates mentioned things about Korea, I have the desire to tell them the facts. For example, once the class talked about cosmetic surgery, most of them thought all Koreans have undergone cosmetic surgery. Cosmetic surgery is commonly accepted in Korea, but the prevalence is not as high as they thought. I want to tell them the truth, but I didn't... I wish I could be more like Taiwanese college students. They're confident in expressing themselves. Students in Korea are too shy.

As mentioned earlier, marginalization is characterized by little interest in cultural maintenance and a lack of participation in the dominant society. It is shown in this example that marginalization approach was practiced when the participants desired to free themselves from the influence of their original culture and at the same time could not achieve efficient participation in a sociocultural group on account of not having knowledge of, or involvement in, those contexts.

Social Support

In addition to the four strategies used, a theme which emerges from analyzing the field notes and interview transcriptions is all the participants' repeated recognition of social support as a vital part of their sojourn experience and

socialization. The support came from their local friends, acquaintances and even strangers, as well as from their compatriots. It also came from the sojourner-friendly local cities and towns where they lived and visited as a foreigner. Among the numerous examples mentioned by the participants, Hannah received much help with her Chinese writing from local Taiwanese friends who edited her Chinese autobiography and statement of purpose for school application; Gina had a great landlady who made her felt like a family; Tina received warm welcome and lots of help from local hosts when she visited Taichung for the first time to share gospel there, which made her mission much easier and reduced her stress. These various forms of social support and hospitality contributed to their identification with the host culture and minimized adaptation challenges they faced. In addition, the participants identified cross-cultural friendships as being considerably beneficial in improving their L2 proficiency.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study make new contribution to the field of sojourner socialization studies in the discussion of how the sojourners' choice of acculturation strategies can be influenced by various factors. The study found ample evidence for the use of the four acculturation strategies by the participants. Language identity, ethnic attitudes, and social support were found to have contributed to their language socialization during their sojourn. A major parameter for the degree of LS is how much the novices perceive themselves as a member of the target language community. The participants in this study have demonstrated both cross-subject and intra-subject variation in such self-perception in different situations. Based on the analysis, we reached the conclusion that the sojourners hold varying attitudes toward the four acculturation strategies. Their choices of these strategies were mainly influenced by the social contexts of language development, and by how the relationships develop between participants in the interactions. Their identification of Taiwan as a sojourner-friendly environment should be seen as important recognition of the host nationals and the host society as supportive elements in their socialization experience. For government organizations and universities who serve the international workers/students/visitors,

these findings can contribute to better preparation before the sojourn for the future expatriates in work/study/travel abroad programs in Taiwan. For the dominant group, i.e., the local society, the findings can help to promote the intercultural awareness in the host nationals so that they may better facilitate the language socialization of their guest sojourners. This is especially true for cross-cultural researchers and educators, and for government agencies providing service to foreigners in Taiwan. The major limitation of the study was the difficulty to access additional sources for data triangulation due to the constraints of time, distance, and resources. For instance, it would have helped to provide more support or confirmation for the data if the participants' family and friends in their home country could be accessed for in-depth interviews. Another constraint is the limited opportunity to observe the participants' in-class interactions with local students. Except for one participant, who was a matriculated student in a local university, the other three were taking Mandarin lessons and thus did not have local Taiwanese as their fellow students in classes. For future research, in addition to the non-dominant group's perspectives, further exploration of the dominant groups' point of view and longitudinal studies will help to show a fuller picture of sojourners' L2 socialization.

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