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A PERCEPTUAL STUDY: DISCOURSE VARIATION IN THE USAGE OF THE KOREAN
INFORMAL PERSONAL AND COMMUNAL POSSESSIVES

by

Anlu Zhu

A thesis submitted to the faculty of The University of Mississippi in partial fulfillment of
the requirements of the Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College.

University, Mississippi

May 2020

Approved by:

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Abstract

The purpose of the current research was to identify possible variables that could affect native Korean population's perception and use of the Korean informal personal possessive, 나(으)내 [na (ui)/nae], and informal communal possessive, 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)]. While 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)] and 나(으)내 [na (ui)/nae] are translated to English as "our" and "my/mine," the actual definition of the words are not direct equivalents of those translations. Korean further allows the communal possessive, 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)], to be used in lieu of the personal possessive, 나(으)내 [na (ui)/nae], depending on certain pragmatic situations. To investigate how native Korean speakers differentiate the usage of the two, three surveys were conducted utilizing words independent from context. The surveys inquired about foreign experience, demographic factors, situational definitions, rankings, and ranking justifications to identify individuals' inclination to pick one over the other. This research hypothesizes that age, with the conservation of older peoples and innovation of younger peoples in language, and foreign experience are the key factors that motivate the variation in the usage of 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)] and 나(으)내 [na (ui)/nae]. Furthermore, the definition and perception of 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)] and 나(으)내 [na (ui)/nae] were hypothesized to generally be the same. However, because the surveys used a convenience sample resulting in most of the respondents being in their 20s, there was no conclusive judgement on age's influence on the perception and usage of 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)] and 나(으)내 [na (ui)/nae]. Foreign experience proved to be negligible. The data revealed that one's personal

values and one's concept of inclusivity and/or independence had the most influence on the respondents' rankings.

Background

As a non-native speaker of Korean, one of my first interactions with Korean was taking a Korean language class. While I had other forms of input, like watching K-dramas or listening to K-pop, the first time that I learned Korean was in a classroom setting. In the first year I was learning, I distinctly remember one of the most confusing concepts to me was 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)] and 나(의)/내 [na (ui)/nae], which are Korean's communal and personal possessive. I remember being so utterly frustrated thinking to myself, "Why would you say '우리 집' [our house] when you don't live together?" and, "Why would you say '우리 가족'[our family] if you aren't related by blood?". It just seemed unnatural. Trying to make sense of it all, I tried to compare this to every language that I had known, Chinese, English, and Spanish, but none of them had a similar phenomenon. However, my Korean teacher was insistent that this was just the way Korean worked, so I accepted it.

Then one day while I was on exchange in Korea on a packed subway, I heard a young girl, around age eight or nine, say to a middle aged man, who presumably was her relative, say "내 집" [my house] and I could not help but be taken aback because in that one phrase she had broken a fundamental block in my learning of Korean that I had simply accepted as a matter of fact. I thought to myself, "Maybe, she's just wrong. She's just a kid, so it might just be a mistake," but when I asked my native Korean friend who was sitting beside me, after thinking about it for a few minutes, he just calmly answered, "Both are correct.". I continued to question him, but his answer never changed. I was left once again frustrated and confused, and from that point on, I began to question why.

At first, I questioned if it were a simple difference in what is taught and what reality is, like when I learned that many Korean children do not speak to their parents in the highest form of respect in Korean, but then I began to wonder if it were not that simple. Because my Korean teacher was in her late 40s, my friend was in his early 20s, and the little girl was around eight or nine, I began to wonder if perhaps this was a linguistic variable based on discourse which is why I began my research on this topic.

The purpose of this present research is to analyze the discourse variation of the Korean first person possessive 우리 [our] in relation to 나(의) [my].

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Chapter I: Thesis Overview

1.1 Introduction

Aside from the glamorous exterior that South Korea seems to offer with K-pop music and K-drama productions as well as highly developed electronic goods and medical facilities, a unique feature of Korean culture that stands out from a Western perspective is the strong collectivist nature within its society. While this may be a misconstrued and perhaps even exoticised idea of East Asian culture at times, this is not a concept held purely by outside Western counterparts but also internally by native Koreans. The strict structure of hierarchy by age groups, seniority, and work position in every social stratum emphasizes the conceptual necessitation of particular communities within the overall social network, which is often linked to remnants of Confucianist ideology in Korea. (Na, 2005. p. 2-4) Indeed, this concept can be witnessed in the common, simple statement of an older person to a younger person with even one years age difference saying, “우리(가) 친구 아니야,” [u.ri(ga) chin.gu. a.ni.ya] literally translating to “We are not friends” meaning “We are not equal or on the same level.” Even the calling of people who are not related to oneself by blood 언니/누나 [un.ni/ nu.na] (‘sister’), 오빠/형 [o.ppa/ hyung] (‘brother’), 동생 [dong.saeng] (‘younger sibling’), 이모 [i.mo] (‘aunt’), etc. as common terms of endearment and respect shows a strong sense of collectivism within the society as a whole.

However, one of the most unique linguistically marked features that displays Korean’s collectivist nature is the use of 우리(의) [u. ri. (ui)] (we/our) and 나(의)/내 [na.(ui)/ nae] (me/my), which are respectively the collective and personal possessive in the informal form of

Korean. Korean allows for the communal possessive to be used in lieu of the personal possessive while remaining grammatically correct. (Na, 2005. p.1-2)

1.2 Possessives in Korean

Although broadly labeled as the communal and personal possessive, 우리(의) (we/ our) and 나(의)/내 (me/my) are not one to one equivalents of English's communal and personal possessives, "our" and "my", while they are often translated as such. In English, "our" and "my" are respectively defined as "of or relating to us or ourselves or ourself especially as possessors or possessor, agents or agent, or objects or object of an action" and "of or relating to me or myself especially as possessor, agent, object of an action, or familiar person" as defined by Merriam-Webster. Therefore, only in situations where an object, organization, or entity is shared between two or more people can "our" be used. For instance, the difference between "let's go back to my place," versus, "let's go back to our place," is whether or not the speaker is living with the listener and/or a third party. However, this is not necessarily the case for Korean's 우리(의) (we/ our) and 나(의)/내 (me/my).

According to The National Institute of the Korean Language, NIKL (국립국어원)¹, there are three total definitions of 우리 as a pronoun.

¹ The NIKL (국립국어원) is a government ordained, national department in Korea built to regulate the Korean language, determining what is and is not officially a Korean word.

1. “우리 「대명사」 말하는 이가 자기와 듣는 이, 또는 자기와 듣는 이를 포함한 여러 사람을 가리키는 일인칭 대명사.” [“A first-person pronoun in which the speaker refers to himself and the listener, or many people including himself and multiple listeners”]
2. “우리 「대명사」 말하는 이가 자기보다 높지 아니한 사람을 상대하여 자기를 포함한 여러 사람을 가리키는 일인칭 대명사.” [“A first-person pronoun in which the speaker refers to many people including himself to a person of an equal lower standing”]
3. “우리 「대명사」 말하는 이가 자기보다 높지 아니한 사람을 상대하여 어떤 대상이 자기와 친밀한 관계임을 나타낼 때 쓰는 말.” [“A word used to indicate an intimate relationship between the speaker and listener, when the speaker is talking to a person/people of an equal or lower standing”]

Looking at the last definition, NIKL clearly expresses that 우리(의) (we/ our) is not something that is only used when regarding the ownership of one thing by multiple people but is also something that can be used as a term indicating intimacy between people. Therefore, 우리(의) (we/our) can also be used in lieu of 나(의)/내 (me/my) depending on the situation. However, because of that there lies some ambiguity of when 우리(의) (we/our) is used over 나(의)/내 (me/my) and vice versa. While in situations in which there is joint or clear individual possession

of an object or entity where there is a clear answer, there are more ambiguous phrases in which the usage is solely dependent on the speaker's discretion of which is more appropriate.

For instance, when it comes to the term “country,” “나라” [na.ra], based on NIKL, the grammatically correct form is “우리나라” [u.ri na.ra]. While this literally means “our country,” this form can be used even if expressing “my country” (which is typically assumed to be Korea). The form “우리나라” [u.ri na.ra] is considered the grammatically correct form while “나(으)내나라” is not even recognized by NIKL. While “our country” could be appropriate in certain situations, this phrasing is used even when differentiating between two countries with a second party who is not a part of the Korean social community. However, this prescription by NIKL in itself becomes problematic, as with all natural languages, the speech community will continue to change and adapt the language as they see fit regardless of what an institute may deem to be correct. (Lyons, 1968. p.43) In contrast, although the language will continue to change, the existence of an institute like NIKL outlining what is standard, affects the population as a whole, in that this “standard” will be widely acknowledged and taught to Korean learners from a young age. (Lyons, 1968. p.44)

1.3 Discourse

Linguistic discourse is largely defined by Hanks (1996) as language-in-action, which “requires attention to both language and to action” to investigate. (Blommaert, 2004. p.2) Therefore, discourse includes all meaningful communication between one or more parties, and as a result is innately social and intertwined with culture and history. (Blommaert, 2004. p.4)

Blommaert notes that “discourse can become a site of meaningful social differences, of conflict and ... results in all kinds of social-structural effects... [and] is what transforms our environment into a socially and culturally meaningful one,” which is what we are investigating in this study.
(p.4)

In this study we are exploring what situations native Korean speakers find it more appropriate to use the communal possessive 우리 [u.ri] over the personal possessive 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/nae], and why would they think so.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Given that discourse is specific to social situations and communities and that this topic is unique to Korean, few references exist regarding this topic as a whole. Even in searching for papers in Korean, most papers showed an inclination to describe the formation or how the usage of 우리[u.ri] and 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/nae] is different under 국어학 [Korean language studies] which tend to focus more on prescription rather than description.

2.2 It Depends on Cultural Orientation- Jinkyung Na (2005)

One of the only papers in relation to this topic was a study written by Jinkyung Na [나진경]. While this paper's focus is the psychological influence of those who identify more so as individualists or communalists production and view of 우리(으) (we/our) and 나(으)/내 (me/my), it implicitly makes the claim that the use of 우리(으) (we/our) and 나(으)/내 (me/my) is one of choice. In her investigation, Na conducts four studies in total.

In the first study, Na conducts a preliminary survey to evaluate if each respondent's personal values are more individualist or communalist, and then the respondents had to translate 우리 [u.ri] from Korean to English in conjunction with words "family," "father," "mother," and "brother." In this study those who were more individualist typically translated 우리 [u.ri] as "my" more than those who were more communalist as shown in the table below.

Table 1: ‘My’와 ‘Our’의 비율: 가족, 부모, 형의 경우 (Na 2005)

[The ratio of ‘My’ and ‘Our’: in relation to “family,” “parents,” and “brother”]

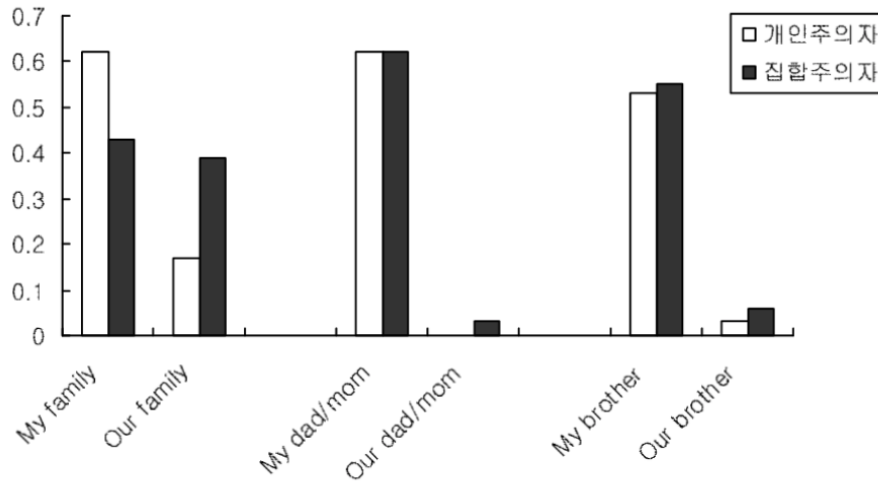


그림 2. 'My'와 'Our'의 비율: 가족, 부모, 형의 경우

In the second study, Na again had the participants take a survey to evaluate if they were more communalist or individualist. She further had the participants split into two groups translating two separate passages from English to Korean, one about family and one about someone’s room. Na anticipated that the participants would have a tendency to translate “my family” with 우리 [u.ri] as opposed to the passage about the room. The results from this study showed that those who were more individualist translated “my family” significantly more to 나 [na] than and those who were more communalist translated “my family” significantly more as 우리 [u.ri]. However, when translating the passage about the room, not one participant translated “my room” with 우리 [u.ri].

In the third study, Na once again split the participants into two groups but did not give a test to evaluate how individualist or communalist the participants were. The two groups were split into two for priming: one group asked to write the differences between them and their family or friends and the other asked to write similarities. After priming the participants, they were asked to translate the family passage from the second study. The results showed that those who were primed in one direction were more likely to translate “my family,” “my parents,” and “my brother” in the same direction.

In the final study, Na again gave the participants a survey to evaluate if the participant was more individualist or communalist. This time Na used a passage about family in Korean and asked the participants to rate how well the passage was written, with half of the participants getting a passage with “my family” written as “나의 가족” [na.ui ka.jok] and the other half getting “우리 가족” [u.ri ka.jok]. Those who were more individualist evaluated the passage with “나의 가족” [na.ui ka.jok] higher than “우리 가족” [u.ri ka.jok] and vice versa for those who were more communalist. Notably, those who were evaluated to be more communalist thought the paper using “우리 가족” [u.ri ka.jok] was significantly more well written than “나의 가족” [na.(ui) ka.jok], while the difference for those who were evaluated as individualist did not show as much of a difference.

Na’s paper proves that one’s personal values, being more individualist or communalist, affects not only the way that one translates and thinks of 우리 [u.ri] and 나 [na], but those values also affect their expectations of others.

Chapter 3: Research Question

The overarching questions that this study aims to answer are:

1. Is there a clear distinction that native Korean people have between the possessives 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)] and 나의/내 [na(ui)/ nae]?
 - a. If so, where do they draw the line for each, respectively?
2. What most influences the distinction of these two in their usage?
 - a. Is it foreign language exposure, is it foreign culture exposure, is it age, or something else, or a combination of factors?

3.1 Hypothesis

I hypothesize that younger Korean people who have will have a tendency to favor the personal possessive 나의(의)/내 [na(ui)/ nae] over 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)], and anticipate that those with extended experiences abroad will be more partial to the personal possessive 나의(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae] since I believe that these groups of people will tend to have values more aligned with individualism. Furthermore, I expect that Korean people overall will not have a clear distinction between 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)] and 나의(의)/내 [na(ui)/ nae] despite having similar definitions differentiating the two.

Chapter 4: General Design

4.1 Study Design

This study focuses on the informal form 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)] (we/our) and 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/ nae] (me/my) rather than the formal equivalents 저희 [jeo.hui] and 저의[jeo.ui] because speakers are innately less conscious of their production in informal speech, while in formal speech speakers are more careful with word choice because of the situations that demand it (ie: interview, talking an elder, talking to a higher-up, talking to a stranger, etc.). (Connor-Linton and Fasold, 2014. p.326-328) In order to measure this variation, I decided to use a perceptual study as many linguistic changes happen “below a level of conscious awareness” (Connor-Linton and Fasold, 2014. p.338).

4.1.1 *What is a Perceptual Study*

A perceptual study is much like what it sounds like it would be, a study of how people, specifically non-specialists, perceive a phenomenon. One might question where the validity behind such would exist as the data is based on the responses of non-specialists; however, as stated by Long and Preston (1999),

“We choose our words according to how we perceive them or how we believe that others will perceive them. Every conversation is to some extent an exercise in such psychological brinkmanship. And to understand more fully the words that people actually produce, we therefore need to understand how people perceive those words.”

(p.xvii)

Not only is there validity in that facet, but, as noted before, since linguistic change also often happens below a level conscious awareness, people's perception of linguistic phenomena often reflects the patterns of change occurring.

4.2 Survey design

The survey is divided into the following sections: demographic questions, experience(s) abroad and language experience, definition questions, rating questions and rating reasoning questions (see Appendix A). All demographic questions and questions about experience(s) abroad and language experience were included as factors that could affect one's response; however, the questions that test for variation in one's discourse are mainly noted in the rating questions. In the category of rating questions there are two types of questions, multiple choice, where the respondents choose if 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)], 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/ nae], or 둘다 (both) is more appropriate with a given word without context, and a spectrum question, where the respondents rank on a linear scale how strongly the same words used in the multiple choice question would be associated or used most often with either 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)] or 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/ nae] with the smallest number being heavily associated with 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)] and the largest number being associated with 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/ nae]. Based on the answers given, the respondents also had to justify/give reasoning for their choice indicating why such variation might exist.

Furthermore, as this study is directed towards a native Korean population and not having been in Korea for some of the following studies, the survey was conducted digitally for ease of dispersal and access for the target sample population. Furthermore, distributing the survey

through online means hides the foreignness of my Korean language skills and the bias that respondents may have. Being non-native, I could have provoked many respondents to give more textbook-like answers with the belief that, as a non-native speaker, that there was a lack of understanding of how 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)] and 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/ nae] function rather than naturally responding to the question gauging their genuine perception. To further mask any foreignness that may be perceived in the survey on my part, all questions were checked by and reworked as needed by multiple native speakers of Korean (who did not participate in the study).

However, not having a large network of native Korean speakers, this survey is based on a convenience sample in which the survey was distributed by word of mouth, social media, and from respondents to others.

Chapter 5: Study 1

5.1 Participants

In total, there were 62 respondents, with 35 males and 27 females. Many of the respondents from this survey were affiliated with Korea University, indicating a highly educated sample. The respondents' ages ranged from 19-60, with the majority being those in their 20s with a mean age of 27.2, from different parts of the world. Notably, many of the respondents were people who have immigrated from Korea and/or extensively stayed in another country. For the purpose of this study, extensive time abroad will be defined as over two years and foreign experience between six months and two years while less than six months staying in a foreign country will be considered negligible.

5.2 Method

The survey consists of the following sections: demographic questions, experience(s) abroad and language experience, definition questions, rating questions and rating reasoning questions (see Appendix A). For language experience, the respondents were asked to self-assess their levels and how they learned the language. The demographic questions asked for basic information: age, sex, place of birth, and current place of residence, while experience(s) living abroad and language experience were included to see if extensive exposure would change one's personal boundaries of when 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)] or 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/ nae] is more appropriate. However, the focus of the study, the discourse variation of 우리(으) [u.ri (ui)], is most notable from the rating questions, where words are being evaluated independently away of context.

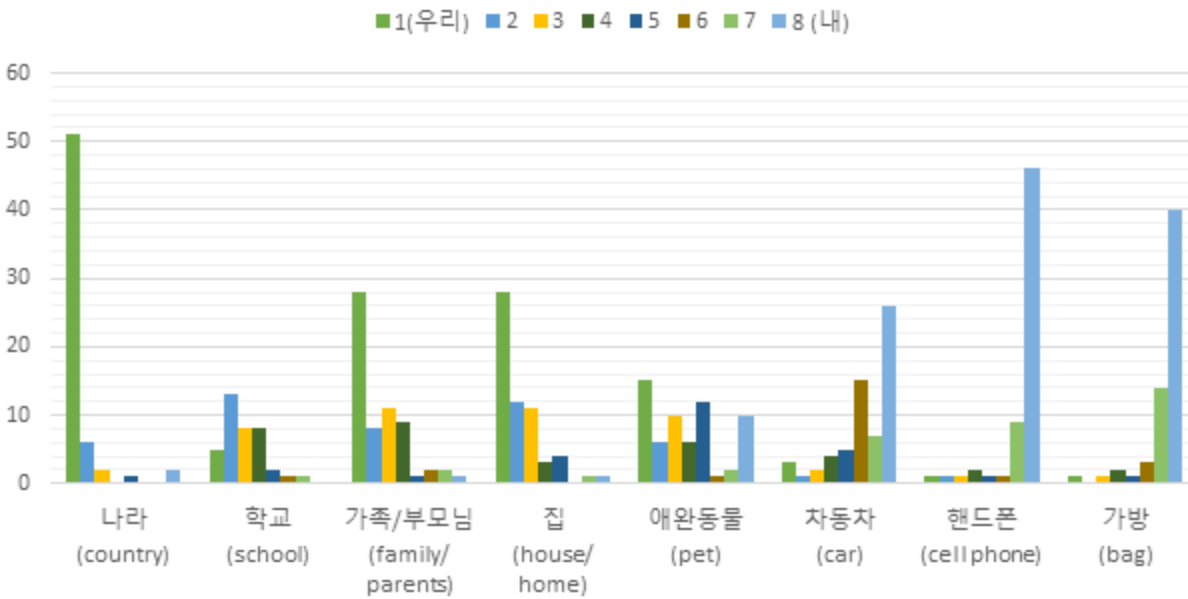
Before answering the rating questions, the respondents were asked to define situations where 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)] would be used rather than 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/ nae] and vice versa so that the respondents would give a general definition of what they believe the difference to be. Then, based on the following words the respondents were asked to choose between 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)] (we/our), 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/ nae] (me/my), or 둘다 (both): 나라 ('nation'), 집 ('house/home'), 가족/부모님 ('family/parents'), 학교 ('school'), 애완동물 ('pet'), 핸드폰 ('cell phone'), 자동차 ('car'), and 가방 ('bag'). If they chose both the personal and the communal possessive, the respondents were then asked to justify why. Then, the respondents were asked to rank the same words on a scalar level based on how closely they associated the words with 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)] or 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/ nae]. The scale was determined by the number of words (in this case a scale from 1 to 8), so that if the respondents felt as if each word were distinctly so close or so far from 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)] or 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/ nae] the respondent could choose different numbers correlating to each word. However, if they believed that the words were similarly distanced in association with 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)] or 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/ nae], they could choose the same number for multiple words, one being closest associated with the communal possessive 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)] and eight being closest associated with the personal possessive 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae].

The words 나라 ('nation') and 집 ('house/home') were chosen as control words that would be heavily associated with 우리(의) [u.ri (ui)] as well as 핸드폰 ('cell phone') and 가방 ('bag') as words heavily associated with 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae]. While the words 차 ('car'), 학교 ('school'), 가족/부모님 ('family/parents'), 애완동물 ('pet') were chosen to be more ambiguous words that were expected to have either form associated. All of which were chosen based on personal experience and exposure with native speakers.

5.3 Results and Discussion

Table 2: '우리' and '나(의)/내' Spectrum 1: with 나라 ('country'), 학교 ('school'), 가족/부모님 ('family/parents'), 집 ('house/home'), 애완동물 ('pet'), 자동차 ('car'), 핸드폰 ('cell phone'), 가방 ('bag')

Association of 우리 and 나(의)/내



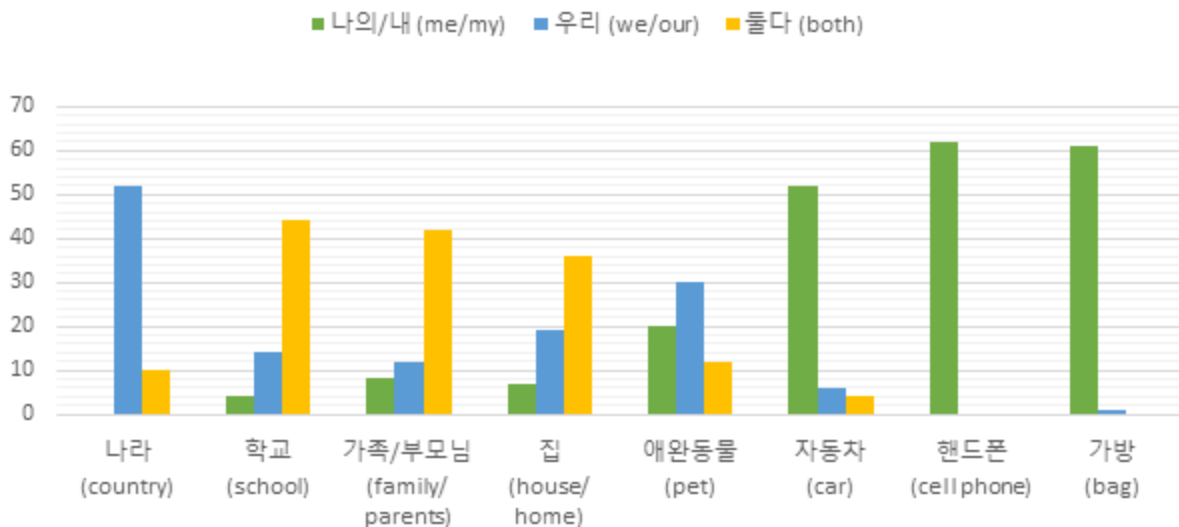
As expected, most respondents had similar feelings as to how closely related each respective word was to the communal 우리 and the personal 나(의)/내. However, interestingly, the control words that were anticipated to be fully associated with one or the other showed variation in this question. While arguably this could be the result of respondents not wanting to pick extremes, for each word, there were at least two or more respondents who believed that the word was more associated with the less popular association and/or with more neutral opinions, 4 and 5. Even with the words 나라 ('country') and 핸드폰 ('cell phone') which show the most similarity amongst all respondents to be respectively more associated with 우리 [u.ri] and 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/ nae], 나라 ('country') has two people claiming that it is heavily associated

with 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/ nae] rating it an eight, while 핸드폰 ('cell phone') has two respondents ranking it heavily associated with 우리 [u.ri] at a one and a two.

Furthermore, when looking at the distribution of numbers among the following age groups: 10-20s, 30-40s, and 50-60s, those in the 30-40s (66%) and 50-60s (83%) bracket proportionately showed more extremes typically picking ones or eights (typical meaning with only one word that was not ranked a one or eight) compared to those in their 10-20s (22%). Notably, those in the 30-40s bracket and 50-60s bracket who did not typically pick only ones and eights rated all words with separate numbers while no respondent in the 10-20s bracket did.

Table 3: Study 1: ‘나의/내,’ ‘우리,’ or ‘둘다’ (‘both’) in relation to 나라 (‘country’), 학교 (‘school’), 가족/부모님 (‘family/parents’), 집 (‘house/home’), 애완동물 (‘pet’), 자동차 (‘car’), 핸드폰 (‘cell phone’), 가방 (‘bag’)

Appropriateness of Respective Possessives



Interestingly, when comparing to the answers for the other multiple-choice question, the answers of the spectrum question do not seem to align. While 학교 ('school'), 가족/부모님 ('family/parents'), and 집 ('house/home') had a majority of ones in the spectrum question indicating a strong association with 우리 [u.ri], here we can see that respondents largely believed that both the communal 우리 [u.ri] and the personal 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae] would be appropriate in conjunction with 학교 ('school'), 가족/부모님 ('family/parents'), and 집 ('house/home'). Furthermore, with 자동차 ('car'), 핸드폰 ('cell phone'), and 가방 ('bag') although the majority associates these with 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae] in both questions, the spectrum question shows more moderate rankings of the respondents. Notably, for the word 핸드폰 ('cell phone') when choosing between 우리 [u.ri], 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae], or 둘다 (both), 100% of the respondents claimed that it should be used with 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae] while in the spectrum question there was not as definitive of an answer with answers ranging from 1 to 8.

When those who responded “both” at least once (being half of the sample population) were asked to justify why they chose such, many struggled to answer the question responding stating “둘 다 어색하지 않아서” (Because neither are awkward/strange), “어릴 때부터 써왔기 때문에 편함” (Because I used (both) from a young age, it is comfortable/natural), “쓰는 상황이 다르니까” (Because it depends on the situation), “‘부모님’ 앞에는 둘 다 사용하지만 특별한

이유없이 랜덤하게 사용함” (In front of ‘parents’ I use both, but there is not a special reason. I use (them both) randomly), etc. However, those that gave clear reasoning often linked it to their previously stated general definition or to the other person that would be in the conversation. In multiple responses, when the other party was specifically named to be foreigners, the respondents would use 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae] over 우리 [u.ri].

In response to the general definition question, most respondents gave similar answers with no clear difference based on gender, age, or even foreign experience. Most claimed that the difference between the usage 우리 [u.ri] and 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae] was of one’s personal ownership versus group ownership of an item and/or if one was part of a group or wanted to create the feeling of a group, which can be seen in the following representative example.

“‘나’를 포함한 여럿일 때 ‘우리’를 사용한다. We와 I, Me의 차이이다...? 혼자라는 것 또는 여럿이라는 것을 강조하고싶을 때 구별하여 사용한다. 예를 들면 모임에서 함께라는 느낌을 갖고싶을 때 ‘우리의~’를 사용한다.” [“When ‘I’ am part of the many ‘우리’ is used. It is the difference between we and I, me...? When you want to emphasize the difference between things that are one’s alone and things that are of the many (you use 나(의)/내). For example, in a gathering when you want to create the feeling of togetherness ‘우리의~’ is used”]

Looking at this definition of when 우리 [u.ri] is used over 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/nae] and vice versa, like the other definitions given, it is very similar to what NIKL defines. However, despite the similarity and seemingly unified concept that the respondents gave, when looking at the rating questions, it becomes quite apparent that the boundary between the two is not as clear it seems.

Chapter 6: Study 2

6.1 Participants

In total, there were 13 respondents, with 8 males and 5 females. The respondents' ages ranged from 20-52, with the majority being in their 20s with a mean age of 26.6. Many respondents in this study were Dongguk University students or alumni. Because the last study included people who have various backgrounds including those who have immigrated which could greatly affect their answers, this study limited the participants to those who have not immigrated from Korea. Likewise, in this study, extensive time abroad will be defined as over two years and foreign experience between six months and two years while less than six months staying in a foreign country will be considered negligible. Only two people in this study have had foreign experience while the others experiences abroad were negligible.

6.2 Method

The method for this study replicated the previous one. However, because of feedback from some respondents from the previous study stating that 가족 ('family') and 부모님 ('parents') were treated differently, as shown in the following representative sample response, in this study 가족 ('family') and 부모님 ('parents') were separated.

“말하는 상황에 따라 달라지는데 우리 가족의 경우 가족은 서로가 서로에게

가족이므로 "우리 가족"이란 말을 쓰지만 '부모님'의 경우 아버지 어머니는

나한테만 부모님이고 반대 경우는 아니므로 "내 부모님"이라고 씁니다. 하지만

만약 형제자매가 있다면 "우리 부모님"이라고 쓸 것 같습니다.” [It depends on the

situation in which it is used. When it comes to my family, when we talk to each other because we are a family, we say “our family,” but in the case of ‘parents’ because they are my parents and not the other way around I say “my parents”. However, if one has siblings, I think “our parents” would be used]

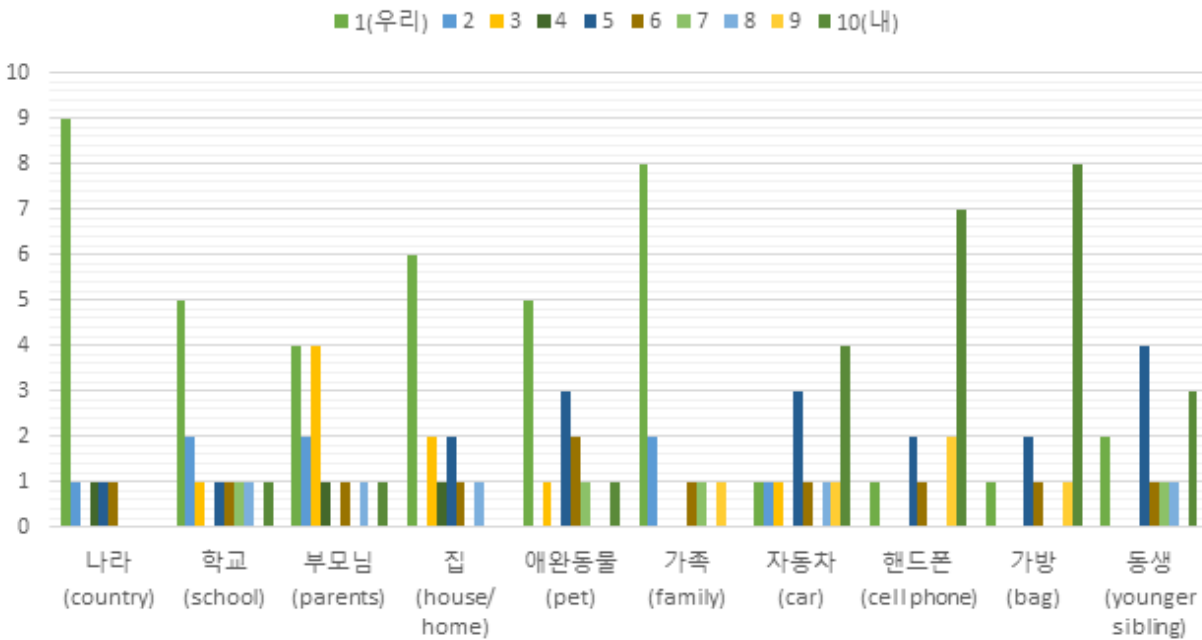
Based on further feedback, the word 동생 (‘younger sibling’) was also added to this study.

Additionally, for the multiple choice questions, respondents were asked to justify their answers per word with any given answer as opposed to the previous study where respondents only answered at the very end of the section if they had answered 둘다 (‘both’) at least once.

6.3 Results and Discussion

Table 4: ‘우리’ and ‘나(의)/내’ Spectrum 2: with 나라 (‘country’), 학교 (‘school’), 부모님 (‘parents’), 집 (‘house/home’), 애완동물 (‘pet’), 자동차 (‘car’), 가족 (‘family’), 핸드폰 (‘cell phone’), 가방 (‘bag’), 동생 (‘younger sibling’)

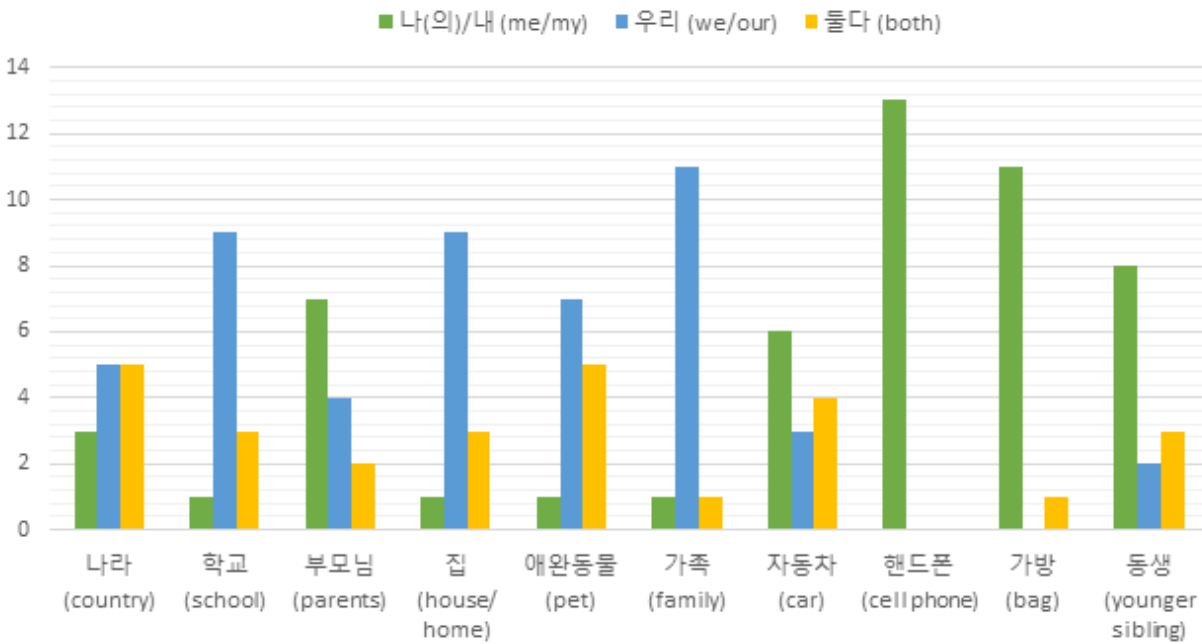
Association of 우리 and 나(의)/내 (2)



The results in the spectrum question from this study are similar to the first in that despite having a clear majority for most words, many marked intermediary numbers in rating the words' scalar relation to either 우리 [u.ri] or 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae]. When looking at the words in every instance, there are at least one or two people who picked the most neutral numbers being 5 and 6. Notably, while almost all of the words that fall into the set of what could be assumed to be the realm of the family, 집 ('house/home'), 가족 ('family'), 동생 ('younger sibling'), and 부모님 ('parents'), show a tendency to be associated with 우리 [u.ri], the most designated number for 동생 ('younger sibling') was 5 indicating that this word was assessed to be heavily neutral with the second most popular being 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae].

Table 5: Study 2: ‘나의/내,’ ‘우리,’ or ‘둘다’ (‘both’) in relation to 나라 (‘country’), 학교 (‘school’), 부모님 (‘parents’), 집 (‘house/home’), 애완동물 (‘pet’), 자동차 (‘car’), 가족 (‘family’), 핸드폰 (‘cell phone’), 가방 (‘bag’), 동생 (‘younger sibling’)

Appropriateness of Respective Possessives (2)



However, when comparing the responses of the spectrum questions to the multiple choice questions, while 부모님 (‘parents’) show a strong association (1-2) or strong tendency (3-4) to be associated with 우리 in the spectrum question, in the multiple choice question the respondents most commonly responded with 나의(의)/내 in the multiple choice. In the respondents’ justifications, often times the response was simply “제 부모님이라서” (“because they are my parents”) while others further justified that they did not share their parents with others with some

respondents indicating that they were only children. However, those who responded ‘우리’ [u.ri] most regularly justified that it was because of habit. One respondent, claimed she chose 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae] because “가족이라는 공동체의식” (it is due to the sense of community of family), which goes in direct contrast to others reasoning as “공동체의식” (sense of community) was used as a justification for picking the communal 우리 [u.ri] over the personal 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae]. For instance, in response to 자동차 (‘car’) another respondent specifically stated “우리라고 표현하기에는 공동 소유를 하지 않고 있으며, 개별적으로 소유하고 있음” (“As to not express the communal possession of 우리 [u.ri], it is an item which is personally possessed”) which is in line with what NIKL prescribes. Even within the answers of the respondent who chose 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae] because a sense of community in a family, in her justification for choosing 우리 [u.ri] in association with 애완동물 (‘pet’), she claimed “가족구성원으로써 공동체이므로” (“Because I think of it as a member of the family, as part of the community”), and chose 우리 [u.ri] over 나(의)/내 because of a sense of community which would also be mirrored in her response to 집 [house/home]. This seems counteractive as the respondent showed the same reasoning for choosing two distinctly different answers.

Furthermore, when comparing the responses from the two questions unlike the clear majority favoring 우리 [u.ri] for 나라 (‘country’) in the spectrum question, in the multiple

choice question the respondents are equally partial to the concept of 나라 ('country') being used with only 우리 [u.ri] or with both the communal and personal possessive (see table 5). Amongst those who responded 우리 [u.ri] in the multiple choice section, one respondent specifically claimed that she had learned that '우리나라' [u.ri.na.ra] was the correct form while another respondent alluded to such saying that she has come in contact with the form '우리나라' [u.ri.na.ra] from a young age. Those who responded 나(으)/내 made claims like “제가 우선이라서” (Because I come first) and “나에대한 이야기를 많이 하므로” (Because I talk a lot about myself) which aligns with Na's 2005 study showing that those who are more self-oriented tend to favor 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/nae].

In response to the general definition question of this study, like the first study, some claimed that the difference between 우리 [u.ri] and 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/nae] was a sense of community; however, many respondents also specifically claimed that they would use 우리 [u.ri] when trying to convince or persuade others while 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/nae] was used more frequently in relation to one's own opinions or feelings. In one of the responses, a respondent noted that his choice was heavily dependent on the social hierarchy claiming that he would use 우리 [u.ri] when trying to persuade those of a lower position and use 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/nae] when presenting things to higher-ups. This could also be interpreted as, when this respondent is

a lower ranking employee he is trying to separate himself from a group presenting himself as an individual making higher-ups look at him alone with the efforts of whatever is being produced, while to those in a lower position he must try and appear to be a good leader, which implies that social distance is an imperative marker in the choice of when one uses the personal or the communal possessive. Inasmuch, the difference noted here is highly correspondent with one's social identity, which aligns with definition two and three given by NIKL for 우리 [u.ri] as a pronoun which specifically using the phrase “자기보다 높지 아니한 사람을 상대하여” (“when the other party is of an equal or lower position than one's self”).

Chapter 7: Study 3

7.1 Participants

In total, there were 19 respondents, with 11 males and 8 females. The respondents' ages ranged from 19-60, with the majority being in their 20s with a mean age of 27. Many respondents in this study were Korean exchange students at the University of Mississippi. This study also defines extensive time abroad as over two years, foreign experience between six months and two years, and less than six months staying in a foreign country will be considered negligible. Three respondents in this study had extensive foreign experience (notably also family), two other respondents had some foreign experience, and the others had negligible experience.

7.2 Method

The method for this study replicated the last with the addition of a justification question after the spectrum question to try and elicit more information as to why the spectrum and multiple-choice questions' answers showed so much variation.

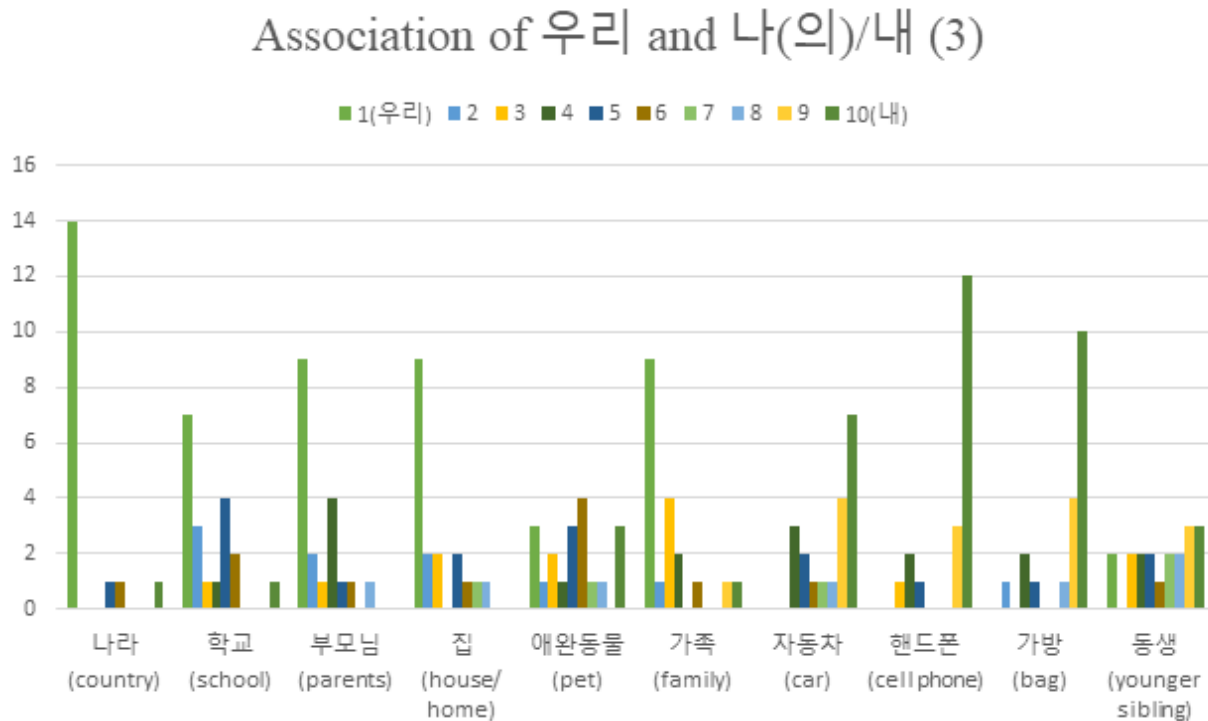
7.3 Results and Discussion

The additional justification question after the spectrum question did not result in eliciting more reasoning, as most restated their first general definition. Also, in this study there seemed to be more respondents who responded to the justification questions simply writing "same" or copy pasting their previous answers.

Like the first study one of the respondents in this study also justified his choice of 나(의)/내 because of a sense of community stating, "'나'의 학교라는 말을 사용함으로써

제가 학교에 속해 있다는 것을 느끼기 때문입니다” (“By stating “나”의 학교 I feel that I am a part of the school.”).

Table 6: ‘우리’ and ‘나(의)/내’ Spectrum 3: with 나라 (‘country’), 학교 (‘school’), 부모님 (‘parents’), 집 (‘house/home’), 애완동물 (‘pet’), 자동차 (‘car’), 가족 (‘family’), 핸드폰 (‘cell phone’), 가방 (‘bag’), 동생 (‘younger sibling’)



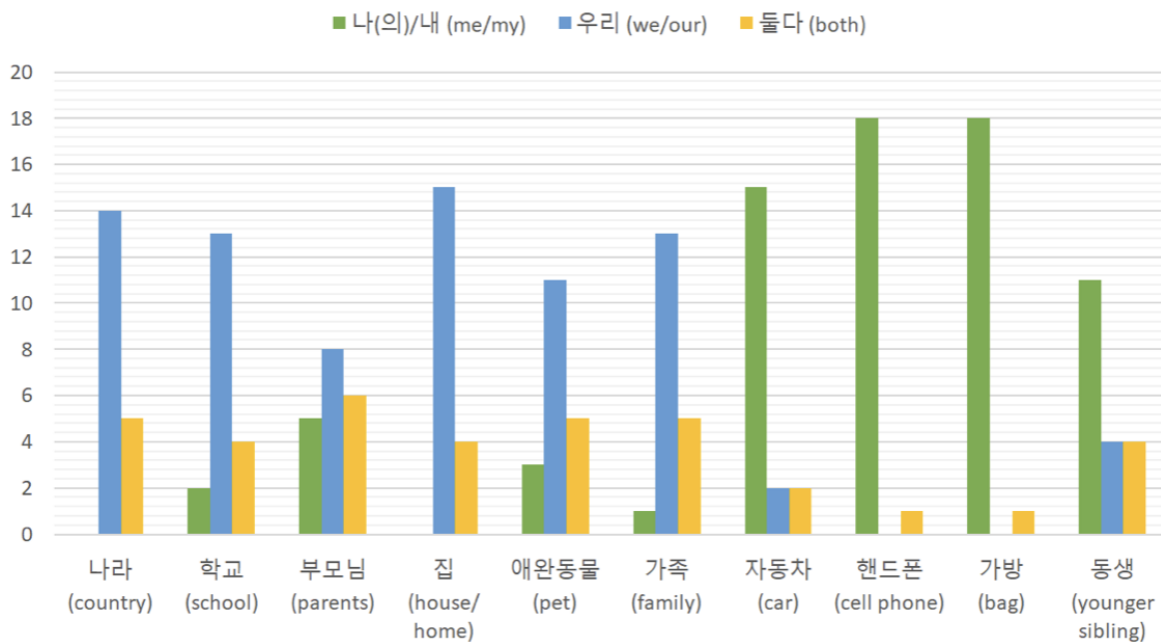
Similar to the previous studies, the spectrum question shows a clear majority, most often being the extreme values, but having many intermediary values attached to each word ranging to the other side of the spectrum. 애완동물(‘pet’) and 동생 (‘younger sibling’) seem to be the most debated as to if it is more used/associated with 우리 [u.ri] or 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae] with most

ratings being intermediate values. When justifying their rating for pets, many respondents pointed out that pets are often shared with the family. However, this was also the reasoning of many for choosing 우리 [u.ri] for 집 (house/home), while in the case of 애완동물(‘pet’) it created more uncertainty. Notably, when justifying for both 부모님 (‘parents’) and for 동생 (‘younger sibling’), many responded based on their own personal situation making comments like that they were only children so they would use the personal possessive 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/nae] for parents (because they are the parents of only that respondent) or because they were only had one sibling they chose 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/nae] (because they are no one else’s younger sibling (by blood)).

While like the other studies some who struggled to justify why they felt as such or vaguely justified the reasoning for their answer like claiming that it was because of “어감” (the feeling that a word gives), uniquely in this study a respondent decided to cite a webpage explaining the difference between the two from a grammatical standpoint, showing how difficult it was to explain the differences between their use of the communal 우리 [u.ri] and personal 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/nae] for the respondent.

Table 7: Study 2: ‘나의/내,’ ‘우리,’ or ‘둘다’ (‘both’) in relation to 나라 (‘country’), 학교 (‘school’), 부모님 (‘parents’), 집 (‘house/home’), 애완동물 (‘pet’), 자동차 (‘car’), 가족 (‘family’), 핸드폰 (‘cell phone’), 가방 (‘bag’), 동생 (‘younger sibling’)

Appropriateness of Respective Possessives (3)



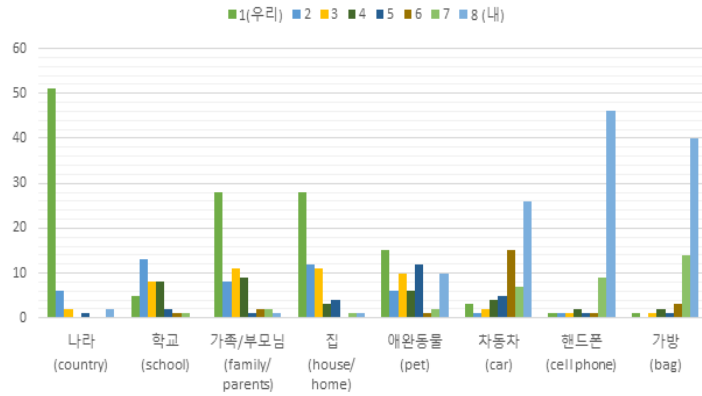
Unlike the previous studies when comparing the multiple-choice question and the spectrum question, in the third study the answers seem to reflect and show a similar pattern to each other. However, this may be a result of many of the respondents in this study personally knowing me, making it impossible to hide my foreignness, while in the other two studies I was able to diminish my foreignness by distributing the survey through a few friends who then helped me distribute the survey to friends they knew.

Chapter 8: Overall Results and Discussion

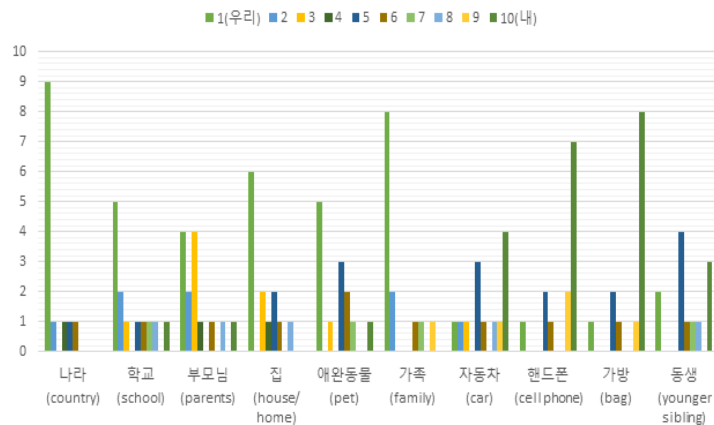
When looking at all of the graphs of the independent studies together, it is clear that native Korean people generally have the same sentiments towards what is more often used or more strongly associated with certain words as the general shape and pattern remains the same. However, although there is a clear majority for all of these words, one can see that there is not a single word where there is a 100% agreement. Often times, despite the majority, there is at least one person who has a tendency to think otherwise, indicating that there is no clear determining factor for when 우리 [u.ri] or 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae] is used.

Looking at the multiple-choice question graphs, while there

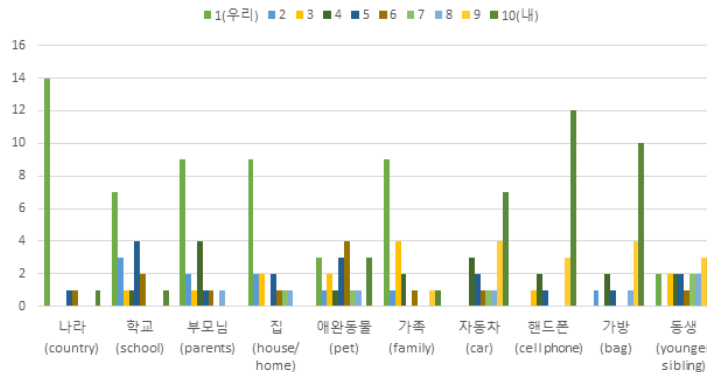
Association of 우리 and 나(의)/내



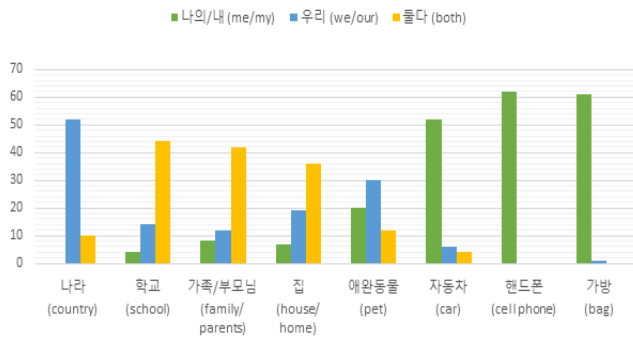
Association of 우리 and 나(의)/내 (2)



Association of 우리 and 나(의)/내 (3)

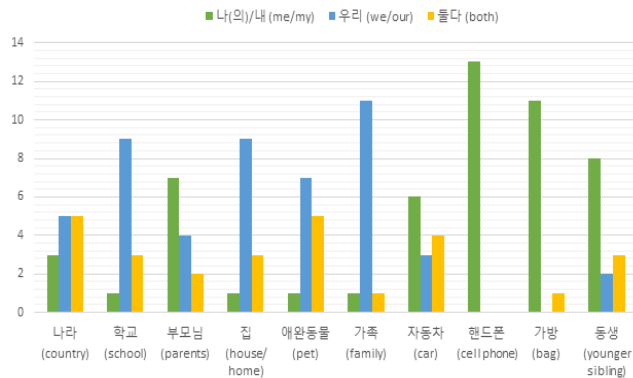


Appropriateness of Respective Possesives



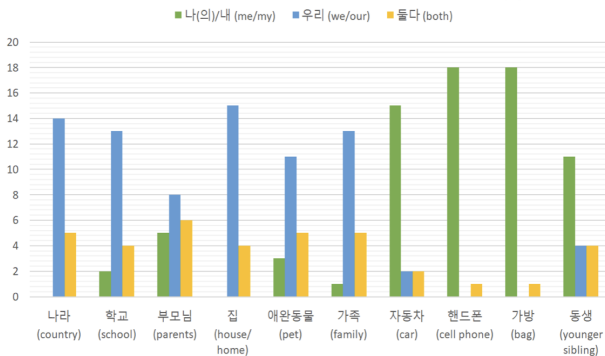
are some similarities between some parts of the graphs, particularly with graphs 2 and 3, when looking at all of the words in each graph, they show no clear overall pattern. However, often 둘다 ('both') was considered the second most popular. The most variable word is 부모님 ('parents').

Appropriateness of Respective Possesives (2)



가방 ('bag') and 핸드폰 ('cell phone') were expected to have no deviation and 자동차 ('car') was expected to lean heavily towards 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae], so it is not surprising that many responded as such.

Appropriateness of Respective Possesives (3)



However, the control words for 우리 [u.ri], 나라 ('country') and 집 ('house/home') show much variation between the studies. While 나라 ('country') shows a similar pattern in study one and three, in study two, there is only marginal differences between

all three answers. With 집 ('house/home'), studies two and three show tendencies favoring 우리

[u.r i], but in study one the most popular answer was that both the communal 우리 [u.ri] and the personal 나(의)/내 [na(ui)/nae] would be appropriate.

Table 8: Study 1-Spectrum Question Answers (30-40s, 50-60s)

나라 (country)	학교 (school)	부모님/가 족 (parents/ family)	집 (house/ home)	애완동물 (pet)	자동차 (car)	핸드폰 (cell phone)	가방 (bag)
1	1	1	1	4	8	8	8
1	1	1	1	1	8	8	8
1	2	3	4	5	6	8	7
1	1	3	1	1	8	8	8
1	1	3	1	8	8	8	8
1	1	1	1	1	8	8	8
1	4	2	3	5	6	8	7
1	1	1	1	8	8	8	8
1	1	1	1	1	1	8	8

Table 9: Study 2 and 3-Spectrum Question Answers (30-40s, 50-60s)

나라 (country)	학교 (school)	부모님 (parents)	집 (house/ home)	애완동물 (pet)	가족 (family)	자동차 (car)	핸드폰 (cell phone)	가방 (bag)	동생 (younger sibling)
4	7	8	8	7	9	9	9	10	10
1	1	1	1	1	1	5	10	10	10
1	1	10	1	1	1	10	10	10	10
1	1	1	1	1	1	10	10	10	6
6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	5

When looking at all the studies together, it seems as if those in the older age brackets, 30-40s (colored in light orange) and 50-60s (colored in light purple), have a tendency to answer more radically answering with ones and eights in study one and ones and tens in the other studies. Those who did not follow that pattern as such text is green. This may be attributed to the tendency of preservation within older groups and innovation with younger groups as shown in research done by Gauchat (1905), Herman (1929), and Labov (1994) among others. (Carruthers and Ayres-Bennett, 2018) Despite having a significantly smaller sample population compared to those in their 10-20s seeing such a pattern in a small sample size allows for the assumption that such will be reflected if the sample population were to grow, however, because of the disparity this is not a conclusive judgement but rather an assumption.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Extended foreign experience did not have much impact on the answers of the respondents, and because of the vast majority of the sample population being in their 20s, age could not be concluded as an important variable in how respondents viewed and marked their answers although the results of the older sample population showed tendencies to favor more extreme answers. Further noting that if the intermediate numbers in the spectrum question were added together that they often would surpass the most commonly chosen answer and that in the multiple choice question that the second most popular answer was almost always both (우리 [u.ri] and 나(으)/내 [na(ui)/nae] would be appropriate), this study hints that the variation may not be so based in any of the major factors measured in this study, but the justifications that people gave show that it largely has to deal with one's ideals and values. While some people focused more on the "correctness" of usage, others focused more on situational use often indicating their personal values (including individualism and communalism) and situations (like being an only child or never having owned a pet personally).

Not knowing a large network in Korea and not having been in Korea for studies two and three, these results are largely based on a convenience sample. As mentioned throughout this paper despite having a larger set of data, those who were in the 10-20s bracket made up the vast majority of the sample population consisting of 85% of the respondents, while those in the 30-40s bracket were 5% and those in the 50-60s bracket were 10%. Moreover, the majority of the respondents were born and currently reside in Seoul, so this study may not be completely representative of the entire Korean population. However, in all studies, place of birth, current place of residency, and language experience showed little to no impact on the respondents'

answers. Most respondents were also highly educated, having gone or were attending college, but the majority of South Koreans attend college with 70% of the population having tertiary level schooling. (OECD, 2019)

Based on responses from this study, something that could be further investigated in the future is if this is linked to individualism (as it seems to be based on some of the responses) of individuals or the overall society changing to favor individualism. Notably, South Korea currently has the lowest birth rate in all OECD countries not even resulting in 1%, which is a breakdown in the fundamental building block of communalism as instilled by Confucianist ideals, the family. (Statistics Korea, 2019) Furthermore, by adding context and/or adding questions that not only make respondents think from a personal perspective but also from a third person perspective more information could be elicited as to why and in what situations there is variation in one's discourse.

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APPENDIX A:

Survey

제목 : 회화체 한국 소유격 사용에 대한 조사 및 연구

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목적

이 연구의 목적은 한국어 모국어 화자들이 공동체 소유의미의 소유격 형태와 개인 소유의미의 소유격 형태에 대한 사용을 어떻게 인식하는지를 알아보는 것입니다.

소요시간

이 설문조사를 완료하는 데 약 10분이 소요될 것입니다.

관련 위험 요소와 혜택

우리는 이 조사와 관련된 어떠한 위험도 없다고 판단합니다. 하지만 이 연구에 참여함으로써 이익을 기대해서는 안 됩니다.

개인정보 보장

모든 정보는 익명으로 남을 것이며, 조사 대상자를 쉽게 식별할 수 있는 방법이 없습니다.

참여 중단권리

이 연구는 본인의 의사에 따라 진행되며, 참여하지 않아도 불이익은 없습니다.
참가자는 언제든지 참여를 중단할 수 있습니다.

IRB 승인

이 연구는 미시시피 대학의 검토 위원회(IRB)에 의해 검토되었습니다. 연구 참여자로서 자신의 권리에 대해 질문, 우려 또는 보고가 있는 경우, IRB (662) 915-7482 또는 irb@olemiss.edu. 으로 연락하십시오.

동의서

본인은 위의 사항을 읽고 모든 것을 이해했습니다. 설문 조사를 완료함으로써 나는 연구에 참여하는 것에 동의합니다.

이 연구에 참여하는 것에 동의하십니까?

- 네
- 아니요

만 나이 18살이나 이상입니까?

- 네
- 아니요

설문조사

1. 만 나이

2. 성별

a. 남자

b. 여자

3. 출생지 (나라와 도시)

4. 현재 거주지

외국어학습경험

1. 본인이 가장 잘 하는 외국어가 무엇인지, 실력이 어떻게 되는지, 그리고 어디서, 어떻게 배웠는지 적어 주시기 바랍니다. (예: 중국어; 중급; 대학교에서 배웠음)
2. 또 가능한 외국어가 있으면 간단히 기술해 주시기 바랍니다. (예: 일본어; 초급; 학원)
3. 또 가능한 외국어 있으면 간단히 기술해 주시기 바랍니다. (예: 베트남어; 초급; 독학)
4. 해외거주 경험이 있으면 간단히 기술해 주시기 바랍니다. (예: 중국, 6개월, 어학연수)
5. 그 외에 언어 경험 관련 사항이 또 있으면 기술해 주시기 바랍니다.

'우리(의)' 보다 '나(의)/내'를 사용하는 경우는 언제입니까? 또는 '나(의)/내' 보다 '우리(의)'를 사용하는 경우는 언제입니까? 그 이유를 가능한 구체적으로 설명해 주시기 바랍니다.

여러분은 다음 단어 앞에 나(의)/내와 우리(의) 둘 중 어느 단어를 사용합니까?

나(의)/내, 우리(의), 둘 다 가능

1. 나라

- a. 나(의)/내
- b. 우리(의)
- c. 둘 다
- d. 나(의)/내, 우리(의), 둘 다 이 세 가지 중 본인의 답을 선택한 이유는

무엇입니까?

2. 학교

- a. 나(의)/내

b. 우리(의)

c. 둘 다

d. 나(의)/내, 우리(의), 둘 다 이 세 가지 중 본인의 답을 선택한 이유는
무엇입니까?

3. 부모님

a. 나(의)/내

b. 우리(의)

c. 둘 다

d. 나(의)/내, 우리(의), 둘 다 이 세 가지 중 본인의 답을 선택한 이유는
무엇입니까?

4. 집

a. 나(의)/내

b. 우리(의)

c. 둘 다

d. 나(의)/내, 우리(의), 둘 다 이 세 가지 중 본인의 답을 선택한 이유는
무엇입니까?

5. 애완동물 (강아지, 고양이 등)

a. 나(의)/내

b. 우리(의)

c. 둘 다

d. 나(의)/내, 우리(의), 둘 다 이 세 가지 중 본인의 답을 선택한 이유는

무엇입니까?

6. 가족

a. 나(의)/내

b. 우리(의)

c. 둘 다

d. 나(의)/내, 우리(의), 둘 다 이 세 가지 중 본인의 답을 선택한 이유는

무엇입니까?

7. 자동차

a. 나(의)/내

b. 우리(의)

c. 둘 다

d. 나(의)/내, 우리(의), 둘 다 이 세 가지 중 본인의 답을 선택한 이유는

무엇입니까?

8. 핸드폰

a. 나(의)/내

b. 우리(의)

c. 둘 다

d. 나(의)/내, 우리(의), 둘 다 이 세 가지 중 본인의 답을 선택한 이유는

무엇입니까?

9. 가방

a. 나(의)/내

b. 우리(의)

c. 둘 다

d. 나(의)/내, 우리(의), 둘 다 이 세 가지 중 본인의 답을 선택한 이유는

무엇입니까?

10. 동생

a. 나(의)/내

b. 우리(의)

c. 둘 다

d. 나(의)/내, 우리(의), 둘 다 이 세 가지 중 본인의 답을 선택한 이유는

무엇입니까?

아래 단어들을 보고 가장 많이 쓰는 단어 순으로 나열해 주시기 바랍니다. 1에

“우리(의)”와 가장 많이 쓰는 단어를, 10에 “나(의)/내”와 가장 많이 쓰는 단어 순으로

나열 주시기 바랍니다.

	1 (우리)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 (내)
나라	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
학교	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
부모님	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
집	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
애완동...	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
가족	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
자동차	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
핸드폰	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
가방	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
동생	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

응답자분의 선택이 이렇게 나누어진 이유는 무엇입니까? 상세하고 구체적으로 그 이유를 적어 주시기 바랍니다.

시간을 내 주셔서 감사합니다.

Appendix B

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1DgrNa7jY_d-WN1X4BIVW0OuEL9N5a1vtIIfm7jo4mM/edit?usp=sharing