인류학석사학위논문

BILINGUAL LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN A KOREAN INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL

- RULES, CODE-SWITCHING, AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES -

한국 국제학교의 이중언어사용:
사용규칙, 코드전환, 언어이데올로기

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Abstract

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This ethnographic study explores Korean students' bilingual language practices and language ideologies in a Korean international school. Under the neoliberal logic of human development, English, as one of the most dominant world languages, comes to be an essential linguistic resource in the educational discourses in Korea. In an attempt to disclose how Korean locals embrace the rapid stream of globalization, I examine a Korean international school, the local center of English education, where interaction-focused regimes grant Korean students' entrance to the world.

I describe diverse social-contextual settings of the school in relation to multiple communicative norms imposed by the school and the teachers. In this English-immersed school, English holds an official status as the language of instruction, whereas Korean is limitedly allowed to use only in informal domains. Therefore, local students construct their own sociolinguistic rules to choose each language in consideration of various social-contextual factors and relative degree of formality in three different school settings: regular classes, Korean classes, and recess. I analyze the social-contextual factors in students' sociolinguistic rules in each setting through a predictive model of language choice.

I further delve into students' interactional practices in terms of intra- and inter-sentential code-switching. I distinguish the practices of code-switching in two ways by looking into the markedness in the acts of switching. I analyze patterns and topics of code-switching as unmarked acts while acknowledging the utilization of implicated social and pragmatic meanings in students' practice of code-switching as marked acts. By exploring unmarked code-switching, I disclose most generally observed patterns and topics of

code-switching that often occur without situational shifts, changing an addressee, or implicated meanings. On the contrary, by examining marked code-switching, I discover various pragmatic and social meanings articulated in the very act of switching from one linguistic resource to another.

Lastly, I examine multiple ideologies of English in the school to discuss how students - as autonomous social agents - understand and explain their bilingual language practices. Teachers and parents stress the necessity and legitimacy of the interactional use of English under ideologies on the basis of double monolingualism, in turn, lead to a subordination of Korean in the school. Although students actively engage in mixed language use and utilize interactional meanings through code-switching to establish and articulate social relations and for efficient and creative communication at the level of interactional practices, they adopt and reformulate the adults' language ideologies at the level of discourses. Such ambivalent attitudes in their own communicative practices are understood as ongoing contestation and negotiations between two situational identities: a solidarity-based local identity as Korean versus an English-mediated prestigious social identity. In other words, students' fluctuation between each identity is their situational strategies to deploy favorable identity in varying situations. It is, in turn, the dynamics of local agency in the local embracement of globalization.

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TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS

Transcription of interactional scenes follows the conventions outlined below based on Atkinson & Heritage (1999) with some modification.

(n.n)   intervals within and between utterances

L   laugh

LL   loud laugh

:   short extension of sound or syllable

::   long extension of sound or syllable

?   rising inflection

!   animated tone

↑   rising in intonation

↓   falling in intonation

Italic   Korean

(( ))   details of interactional scene

[ ]   translation of Korean word or phonetic transcription

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Immersion Programs in Korea

   The process of globalization in this postmodern age granted hypermobility on social entities, cultural values, and relational networks - people, capital, idea, techonology, etc. - traditionally perceived as being stable. The global cultural flows easily surge through the walls of the nation-state, connect many distanced regions under newly established global orders, and to create constantly shifting local 'scapes' (Appadurai 1996). This process is often described as an ideological triumph of neoliberal capitalism over the globe (Sassen 2002). Under the globalized economic system with expanding range of capital and reconstruction of industries and markets, we now recognize language as an essential form of the capital. Languages of erstwhile colonial powers, so called the world languages (Mufwene 2010) continue to hold onto a sociocultural prestige. The world languages (i.e. English, Spanish, and French) are international languages that work as a lingua franca in many countries. The number of speakers of the world languages is extensively increasing throughout the globe as the former colonial powers sustain the dominance over the global politico-economic market. Cosmopolitan individuals living in diverse regional centers of the globe need to acquire the world languages to survive within the economic competitions in the global scale (Blommaert 2010, Heller 2002). To extend Bourdieu(1977)'s notion of linguistic capital in a global context, they are socioculturally legitimate languages or legitimate varieties of the language recognized on a global scale. The power elites living and moving within the 'upper circuits' (Sassen 2002) of the globe empower the languages. Through the hypermobile cultural flows, the prestigious value of world languages expands

into different scales and regions.

English, as one of the most dominant world languages functioning in various global-scale economic and political domains, often comes to be an essential linguistic resource on nation-scale educational discourses in many countries around the world. Images of individuals who are competent in English are often mobilized to index their success under the globalized new economy (Heller 2010: 349). Thus, in many countries, educational discourses underscore the importance of English education. The educational discourses reflect, reproduce, and even strengthen the hegemonic prestige of English. In this context, we could make various approaches on the issue including discourses of English education in government policies, interactional practices of English in local communities, and varying evaluations of English proficiency. Therefore, we can capture an even clearer picture of the dynamics of how language operates as a form of cultural capital (Park 2009: 11).

Multilingual schools are an exhibitive site for the symbolic value of English as linguistic capital in the process of globalization. The schools are the places where evaluations on different linguistic varieties within a society circulate through struggles and debates over issues on language education. The issues on languages and language use in multilingual schools include: the prioritization of certain variety as the language of instruction, varying attitudes on standard variety versus vernacular variety, and compartmentalization of social domains of each language use (Heller 1996, Heller and Martin-Jones 2001). In many multilingual schools, English is often positioned as the language of instruction, and Englishes of the first world countries are valued as the standard variety. In this sense, multilingual schools are a 'site of struggle' (Heller 2003: 477), where local students strive to acquire English, the world language with symbolic values, that is assumed to connect the students to various forms of economic capital and

opportunities in the wider world.

To capture the worldly phenomena on a local scale, this study focuses on the context of South Korea (hereafter, Korea). In Korea, English discourses take various facets in government policies, educational markets, and multimedia. In these discourses, different values are projected on English whether by emphasizing its importance to survive in the globalized world, by criticizing of the overheated education market, or by using English incompetence as a source of humor. The number of tests in English ability keeps increasing (i.e. TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language), TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication), and OPIC (Oral Proficiency Interview-Computer)). High scores on the tests are the requirement for an individual to apply for top-tier universities and to enter white-collar jobs. Under Lee Myung-Bak administration (2008-2013), the officialization of English at schools and government services has even been publically debated. This rather an extreme political promotion of English did not spring up overnight. The discussions on practicing English in public domains appeared as early as 1998, when Bok Geo-il, a novelist and a political commentator, argued the need for English officialization in Korean society in his controversial book *Gukjeeo Sidaeui Minjogeo* 'National Language in the Age of International Language' (1998). Many international corporations, private educational institutions, and government services in Free Economic Zones have promoted policies encouraging English use in workspaces. With an increasing number of public domains and sectors in Korean society where globalization is extensively promoted, there has been a remarkable growth in English educational programs throughout the first decade of the new millennium.

Narrowing the focus on the English education, the English fever became visualized when the Korean Ministry of Education announced the implementation of the "7th National Curriculum" in 1997. It is the current

public educational curriculum that reflects several reforms including an addition of English as a required school subject in the public elementary school curriculum. The year 1997 is a remarkable turning point in the history of English education in Korea. English has always been taught as one of the essential subjects to be tested in upper-level schools as well as in college entrance exams throughout the country's industrializing process in an earlier period. However, it was since 1997, the year of the 7th National Curriculum and IMF crisis, the educational discourses stressing a new paradigm of practical English rose up to the surface with the focus moving onto its communicability, away from the previous educational paradigm that stresses English grammar. The changing paradigm was aligned with discourses on globalization, as Koreans came to conclude that the IMF crisis was a result of their being culturally and linguistically unprepared to encounter the globalized world. It was based on a belief that practical English would increase chances for Korean survival in the global economy (Park 2009).

The widely spreading notion of practicality in English education in Korea interlocks with vigorous parental involvement in children's education, which enhances the value of English in the local education market. There is a socially shared highly-disciplining parenting style that stresses the significance of parent's roles in children's academic success for their brighter future. In the first decade of the 2000s, the government made various changes in education policies under three different administrations. Korean parents had to adapt with alacrity to the changes in educational policies by taking different strategies for children's success through utilizing after-school programs (Park and Abelmann 2004). Such parental avidity for children's academic success is pointed as a strengthening and reproducing ideological force to secure the prestigious status of English in Korean educational system (Shim and Park 2008). Under this sociocultural context,

English immersion programs entered the Korean education market and became a significant social phenomenon along with high demands on practical and communicable English.

In general, the immersion program is an application of a targeted foreign language as a medium of instruction in the school curriculum (Johnson and Swain 1997). It takes the widely recognized notion of 'critical period'[1] (Penfield and Roberts 1959) as a philosophical foothold; younger the age of the learner the higher chance to acquire native-like fluency in a target language (Park1998). Thus, primary subjects of immersion programs in Korea are children at their early stage of life, enrolling in kindergarten or elementary school.

There are four stratified options in the English immersion programs in Korea's primary education in terms of formats, entrance qualifications, and economic costs. Firstly, *jogi yuhak* (early study abroad) would be the most widely recognized option that has been a popular research subject in various academic fields. *Jogi yuhak* is a type of educational migration of Korean families with pre-college aged children with a primary focus on the acquisition of conversational English. *Jogi yuhak* is only for a limited time, often no longer than 2-3 years. According to Korean Educational Development Institute, there have been 186,807 *jogi yuhak* students from 2001 to 2010 (KEDI 2012). Especially, the number of elementary school *jogi yuhak* students sharply increased, from 705 in 2000 to 8,794 in 2010, while the growth rate of middle and high school *jogi yuhak* students slowly diminished (KEDI 2014). One of the primary reasons for parents to send a child *jogi yuhak* is to expose the child in a fully immersed environment with English-dominant living conditions (Ju and Lee 2006). However, it often takes a great sacrifice in a family life. *Jogi yuhak* families experience

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1) "critical period" from critical period hypothesis of Penfield and Roberts (1959) is widely recognized view that points age as the most essential factor for second language learners to acquire native-like fluency in the second language.

segmentation as in most cases, mothers go abroad with their children to look after them for years while fathers stay behind to take care of the family finances. Also, it is the most expensive choice regardless of the destination of *jogi yuhak*. Nearer the English of the *jogi yuhak* destination is to the inner circle varieties[2], more expensive the tuition and the living expenses, while it promises provision of an environment of intensive and extensive contact with English native speakers.

Secondly, there are private schools. Most public schools have implemented English programs with native English-speaking teachers communicating with students in English about 1-2 classes per week. Meanwhile, several private schools, began with Younghoon elementary school in 1995, provided partial immersion programs (50:50 immersion in Korean and English) with two homeroom teachers; one Korean native and the other English native speaker (Yoon 2007). The partial immersion programs are also widely applied in *yeongeo yuchiwon* (English immersed preschool). The yearly tuition for private elementary schools is in the range of KRW 8,500,000 to 13,000,00 0[3]. These private educational institutions became a popular choice over the decade among upper-middle class parents concerned with children's acquisition of practical English even though the tuition is more costly in comparison with public schools or regular preschools.

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2) Kachru's (1986) three concentric model of world Englishes classifies varieties of English over the world into three concentric circles: English as the native language in the USA, Canada, United Kingdom, etc. are the inner circle varieties; English as an official language/lingua franca in several African and South Asian countries are the outer circle varieties; and English with no communicative value in countries like China, Russia, and Brazil are the expanding circle varieties. Park and Wee(2009) revisited Kachru's three circles by pointing out how different valorization of each varieties occur under Bourdieu(1990)'s concept of "multiple linguistic market" (Park and Wee 2009: 390): inner circle varieties having the highest value, outer circle varieties having the intermediate status, and expanding circle varieties having the lowest value.

3) Lim, Kihoon, "Daehak deung-nokgeum ppyamchineun saripchogyo hakbi uchon chogyo yeon 1290manwon 'choego',"Hanguk Gyeongje, 30 Apr 2015, http://www.hankyung.com/ news/app/newsview.php?aid=2015042983451, 24 May 2015.

The third option is foreign schools. A "foreign school" refers to a type of international schools that only accept foreign nationals or locals with 3 or more years of overseas schooling. Foreign schools began to appear as early as 1912 while most of them were founded around the 1980s and mid-1990s. There are 25 schools out of 45 foreign schools operating with English as a primary language of instruction. For them, the curriculum follows the standards of internationally recognized educational associations in a fully immersed environment where Korean is taught as a foreign language. The yearly tuition is in the range of KRW 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 (Shin 2011). Thus, with the entrance qualification and an expensive tuition standing as a barrier, the foreign schools have long been a limited and advantageous option only for a few Korean ethnics who hold foreign passports or young returnees from abroad.

Lastly, there are international schools. In the midst of the 2000s, the Korean government permitted establishing of international schools on the Free Economic Zones at three provincial centers. The government sought not only an opportunity to promote an influx of foreign capital, but also to stop draining of domestic capital by a steeply growing number of *jogi yuhak* population. The international schools are established by private educational institutions with the main campuses located in the U.S., Canada, and the U.K. that provide fully immersed English education. Meanwhile, there were also an explosively growing number of unofficial "international" schools in Seoul, the national capital, and suburbanized areas in Gyeonggi-do province. These schools provide internationally recognized educational curriculum with full immersion program but are not authorized to provide a school diploma recognized by Ministry of Education. The yearly tuition for the government-recognized international schools is around KRW 20,000,000 to 35,000,000 (Shin 2011). The tuition is slightly higher than that of the private schools and is roughly equivalent to the tuition of the foreign

schools. Nonetheless, the international schools rapidly gained recognition as a high valued choice in the domestic education market as they provide fully immersed education programs with a relatively lower barrier for entrance; no qualification such as nationality or overseas experiences other than the entrance exam.

As stated above, the overall number of the schools providing international curriculum in English has drastically increased within a single decade. Also, the after-school programs with English native instructors explosively increased in number with a large variety of formats. Due to constantly changing government policies on English education under the neoliberal capitalist logic of human development, many Korean locals concerned about securing the social success of their children make untiring efforts on keeping up with rapidly shifting education trends. Such a sociocultural atmosphere contributes to English standing firmly as a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977) that strengthens and reproduces the socioeconomic image of the middle-class citizens in Korea.

Previously, anthropological studies on English in Korea often highlighted sociocultural values of English and language ideologies projected onto English education by focusing on how English helps to secure and reproduce social status of upper-middle class citizenship. To begin with Park and Abelmann(2004)'s research, they remark on how English gets commodified in the Korean private education market. Commodified English is an 'ideological vehicle' for the social reproduction of class with highly stratified choices depending on parental economic capacity (Park and Abelmann 2004:646). The after-school education market on English is diversified in a hierarchical order. While *hakseupji* (worksheet lessons) is available at the lowest cost, *hagwons* (privately operating after-school educational institutes) provide a number of different educational services with different foci (i.e. college entrance exams, English tests, immersion

programs, and etc.) that charge students within a wide range of price. Lastly, private tutoring is the most expensive form of after-school English education. The correlation between parents' economic capacity and a child's English fluency also has been statistically examined (Choi 2003): higher the parents' income, earlier the children started learning English, and more educational services they went through. Such a statistical approach helps us to see the social recognition of practical English as a cultural capital. In this sense, English is an institutionalized cultural capital that everyone needs to acquire regardless of one's economic capacity as it indexes not only one's academic capability but the social mobility. However, under the highly stratified education market, only the privileged may pursuit and are living the globalization in reality.

Joseph Sung-yul Park examines the influential power of English as the worldly linguistic capital in Korean society and commonly shared language ideologies on English (cf. Park 2004, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012 and Shim and Park 2008). He proposed three major language ideologies of English in Korea: the ideology of necessitation, the ideology of externalization, and the ideology of self-depreciation (Park 2009). English is recognized as a necessary linguistic resource that everyone needs to attain. However, under the widely shared monolingual ideology of Korean, the Korean national identity locates English as extraneous language to Korea. Furthermore, the ethno-racial heritage becomes a sufficient explanation of why Koreans are incompetent English speakers (Park 2009: 26).

As stated earlier, *jogi yuhak* has been highly debated research issue in various academic fields including linguistic anthropology. Kang Yoonhee(2012, 2014)'s studies on language ideologies of parents and students that went on *jogi yuhak* to Singapore make various important points. Based on metapragmatic data from in-depth interviews with *jogi yuhak* migrants in Singapore, she focused on multi-layered language

ideologies with different valorization on three linguistic resources in local context: English, Singlish, and Chinese. Singapore is then a spatiotemporal site where *jogi yuhak* migrants formulate and alternate the different facets of "global identity" projected on each resource: English, the world language in necessity for one to achieve global success, Singlish, the local English variety that allows one to gain sense of locality at the same time, and Chinese, language with the potential value in future global market (Kang 2012a: 171-173).

There were various interdisciplinary approaches to the application of English immersion programs at international schools in Korea. Previous studies on international schools have mostly taken macro-social approaches. They include a statistical analysis of people's awareness of English educational policies (Min 2008, Bae 2008); a critical examination of limited roles and the lack of class participation among native-speaker teachers (Ju and Lee 2006, Eom 2007, Kim 2013); a survey and interview-based analysis on parental perceptions of the significance of immersion education (Park 2008); and a policy analysis focusing on potentiality and efficiency of English immersion education in acquisition of English (Park 1998, Yoon 2007). However, there has not been an ethnographic account of how Korean locals adopt the immersion education in international schools, where English is being normatively in use as an official language with a limited allowance of Korean usage. We may encounter a 'disjuncture' (Appadurai 1996) on the local language-scape, as English, the global language, is enforced to be in use for schooling with most of the student population being native Korean ethnics. As Park(2009) highlights, Korea is a country with "relatively stable monolingualism and linguistic homogeneity, strong nationalistic attitudes and a rich heritage of nation culture and identity" (ibid: 2). Within these artificially constructed multilingual settings, we may visualize disjunctures emerging from the local embracement of globality at

numerous points: a gap between international schools' language policies and Korean students' actual linguistic practices, and how different language ideologies are projected onto students' discourses of English and its use as opposed to those of Korean and its use. Under this circumstance, there is a need for rather a micro-social approach focusing on the actual communicative practices in depth, specifically on bilingual language use at an international school to uncover the disjuncture in domestic comprehension of globality. Therefore, an ethnographic study in an international school in Korea will be able to provide a descriptive account of the communicative practices of these students who constantly switch between two languages in daily interactions. This study will analyze the communicative rules, social meanings that emerge in the students' language practices, and language ideologies regarding the two languages: English and Korean.

2. Literature Review on Bilingualism

Under the tradition of linguistic anthropology, ethnography of speaking (Hymes 1962) or ethnography of communication (Hymes 1972) has been one of the main theoretical frameworks to analyze language practices and their meanings. The ethnography of communication describes and analyzes sociocultural meanings lying beyond the grammatical rules and lexical meanings of specific language. It examines sociocultural attributes that determine communicative situations, and discovers contextual factors of communicative acts (Hymes 1962, Saville-Troike 1989). The ethnography of communication takes a speech community as an analytic subject, where one or more linguistic varieties are in use. Members share common sociolinguistic rules of speech and interpretation of the speech rules. Each member of a speech community acquires 'communicative competence' (Hymes 1972). It does not only refer to the knowledge of language and its

linguistic structure for a delivery of referential meanings but also includes an embodied notion of sociocultural norms of proper language use (Wang 1996). Thus, the acquisition of communicative competence is a socializing process to internalize the communicative structures and participative roles in communications of everyday lives within the speech community (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986).

In this sense, 'speech' does not simply refer to verbally uttered speech but covers every possibly considerable communicative means involved in communication including linguistic, paralinguistic, and non-verbal features (Hymes 1972). The linguistic repertoire of each speech community is not homogeneously composed as presumed in formal linguistics. It is heterogeneously composed with various languages, dialects, or speech styles within the community (Kang 1993, Wang 1996). A speech community then is not the replication of uniformity but the organization of diversity under the functional diversification of linguistic varieties in the constitution of shared linguistic repertoire of the community (Wang 1996:30).

Hence, bilingual speech communities have long been a subject in the tradition of linguistic anthropology (Kang 1993:2). Bilingualism became a significant academic issue as early as the early 20th century, when Ronjat(1913), then Leopold(1939-49) examined bilingualism of European languages (Milroy and Muysken 1995: 4). Since the 1960s, scholars of sociolinguistics/linguistic anthropology focused on analyzing contextual components and sociocultural meanings of language choice or code-switching. An appropriate language choice or code-alternation occurs when a speaker chooses the language of interaction based on contextual constraints and factors such as speech setting, activity, roles of speech participants, etc. (Blom and Gumperz 1972:421-424).

Meanwhile, code-switching as "an individual's use of two or more language varieties in the same speech event or exchange (Woolard 2004:

73-74)," may occur either inter- or intra-sententially. It was since John J. Gumperz and his colleagues (Gumperz 1964, 1982, Blom and Gumperz 1972) suggested the ethnographic approach with empirical data collected from field researches that code-switching became one of the essential research issues in the academia. Before then, code-switching as Einar Haugen(1956) suggested, was considered simply as a momentary linguistic interference or a borrowing of lexical or grammatical features of one variety over other's linguistic structure (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 12). This notion came from a formal linguistic perspective on bilingualism. It limits use and function of 'speech' under the syntactic construction of referential meaning through an accurate composition of words in an intelligible order rather than seeking it in the cultural context and behaviors (Hymes 1962: 252). Thus, under the formal linguistic perspective, code-switching was rather a temporary phenomenon of two independent code systems being mixed or an on-going process of language shift as one language being replaced by another dominant one. Nonetheless, sociolinguistics/linguistic anthropology premises a heterogeneous composition of linguistic repertoire shared in a speech community. Each variety is selectively in use under different domains and scenes or to deliver sociocultural, non-referential meanings regardless of grammatical correctness (Gumperz 1972:21). Code-switching in this sense is understood by contextual constraints or sociocultural factors, as well as the sociocultural meanings emerge from the interactional practice.

In general, scholars in sociolinguistics/linguistic anthropology take two approaches on the basis; one is a deterministic/ predictive model, and the other is an interpretive/interactional model.

In the study of bilingualism, the deterministic/predictive model recognizes an alternative selection of linguistic variety determined by sociocultural factors. Thus, the analysis is a prediction of the normative choice of linguistic variety by examining what sociocultural factors there are and how

they are inter-react. It is an effective model to explain systematic and regulated patterns of language choice/code-alternation, but not suited to explain practices of code-switching, where irregular language changes occur among sentences and/or within a sentence (Woolard 2004: 73). The SPEAKING model of ethnography of communication[4] is an exemplary analytic framework with deterministic/predictive perspective. Also, the predictive model of alternative language use (Ervin-Tipp 1972), or Rubin(1968: 526)'s analysis of language choices between Guarani and Spanish in Paraguay with four primary factors (setting, formality, intimacy, and seriousness of conversation) are well recognized.

On the other hand, an interpretive/interactional model focuses on discovering connotative social meanings that a speaker may or may not intend to deliver through language switching within an interactional process (Wang 1996: 33). It is a feasible model to analyze the practices of code-switching when it is difficult to predict when or how code-switching occurs as it is a momentary and irregular communicative act. By microscopic examination of interactional scenes and the communicative sequences, we can capture the emerging meanings whether strategically or unconsciously produced. Gumperz(1982), for example, provided six general

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4) SPEAKING model, in analysis of communicative acts, approaches communication is determined by set of sociocultural components that makes up each letter of SPEAKING(Wang 1996: 31-32).
  (1) Setting: setting (time and place of speech act), scene (cultural definition of speech scene)
  (2) Participants: speaker/sender, addressor, hearer/receiver/audience, addresses
  (3) Ends: purposes-outcomes (normatively recognized purpose), purposes-goals (individual strategies)
  (4) Act Sequences: message form, message content
  (5) Keys: tone, manner, attitude of speech
  (6) Instrumentalities: channels(medium of transmission of speech), forms of speech (linguistically defined form of speech like language, dialect, variety)
  (7) Norms: norms of interaction(certain behaviors and properties that attach to speaking), norms of interpretation (participants' understanding of interactional norms)
  (8) Genres: categories such as poem, myth, tale, proverb, curse, and so on.

sociocultural functions of code-switching by analyzing speech behaviors from multiple multilingual speech communities as following: quotation, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, personification versus objectification (Gumperz 1982: 75-81).

The deterministic/predictive and the interpretive/interactional approaches are not incompatible but are complementary tools for a sociolinguistic analysis (Kang 1993: 8). To capture the complete picture of bilingual language use both approaches should be applied. The deterministic/predictive approach may help us to discover situational and contextual constraints on language choice. The interpretive/interactional analysis may allow us to explain the emerging sociocultural meanings that occur in interactions.

For example, Blom and Gumperz(1972) analyzed bilingual language use at a small Norwegian village in two different theoretical models: situational switching and metaphorical switching. While the analysis of situational switching follows the deterministic/predictive framework, the analysis of metaphorical switching takes interpretive/interactional framework. Different sociocultural values projected in Bokmål, the standard variety, and in Ranamål, the regional dialect, are connected to the regional and social identity of speakers in the village. Gumperz(1982) further casts the situational switching through exploring Fishman(1972)'s notion of diglossia, as a practice to index changing topic or situation of conversation (Gumperz 1982: 60-61). Diglossia is a social state where two linguistic varieties coexist in a complementary relationship (Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1967). The social domains are compartmentalized for each language as one being the high language (H) used in public domains, and as the other being the low language (L) used in private domains. Often, two language varieties associate with cultural identities in a stable relationship (Eckert 1980). In Blom and Gumperz's Norwegian village, villagers recognize H, Bokmål, as 'they-code,' used in official or formal domains to indicate the public status

or occupation, while acknowledging L, Ranamål, as 'we-code,' used in personal or informal domains, and to indicate local identity. Situational code-switching often occurs inter-sententially and follows by changes in the communicative situation, thus is often referred as a language choice/code-alternation rather than code-switching.

Meanwhile, metaphorical code-switching or conversational code-switching (Gumperz 1982) is a speech behavior to deliver non-referential, connotative sociocultural meanings that emerge from the act of switching with or without a change in the speech situation. It also demonstrates participants' valorization of each variety with consideration of communicative factors such as participant roles in communication, social identity, social distance, etc.

Many scholars of bilingualism were under the direct influence of Gumperz and applied the interpretive/interactional approach aligns with the Gumperz tradition. For example, Jane H. Hill(1985) examined on how linguistic features of Spanish being recognized as a power code within a Nahuatl speech community (Woolard 1999: 5) under Gumperz tradition. Ben Rampton(1995)'s study of language crossing, a linguistic practice of British Anglo youth who apply linguistic features of Panjabi and Creole in inter-group conversational code-switching (Park 2012: 216) may also be extended versions of Gumperz's approach as it provides interactional analysis to bilingualism with the primary concern in the sociocultural contexts. However, there also are scholars whose primary focus is on interactions but contradicts to Gumperz tradition. Amongst them, Peter Auer(1984)'s classification of the discourse-related and participant-related code-switching is one of the most well recognized.

Auer(1984) criticizes Gumperz's notion of metaphorical code-switching. He explains that although Gumperz's framework holds an interpretive/ interactional view, the analysis relies heavily on macro-sociological contexts (Woolard 2004: 78) rather than the meanings build upon the 'sequential

environment' (Auer 1995) of the interactional scene. Auer describes his notion of discourse-related code-switching as "the use of code-switching to organize the conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance" (Auer 1998: 4). On the other hand, participant-related code-switching is "oriented to the specific membership and competence of the co-participants and thus to issues such as identities and social relations" (Mondada 2007: 298). It is a microscopic approach with minimal concern about the sociocultural contexts, but to focus on the interactional situation and structure, and also to highlight the interactional meanings that sequentially develop through the interactional process (Auer 1998:12). Auer's approach in this sense resembles Erving Goffman' interactional approach focusing on the shifts of participants' interactional roles and stances explained by his notion of 'footing' (Goffman 1981).

Goffman describes code-switching in line with changes in footing (Goffman 1981: 126). For him, changes in footing refer shifts in the conversational situation, conversational structure, and participants' role as each participant take different stance and strategy in every interactional move (Goffman 1981: 128). Participants shift not only linguistic features but also paralinguistic and non-verbal means. As participants frequently change their role around as a speaker, a hearer, and a bystander throughout an interaction, the changes in footing can serve various interactional functions depending on the topics of conversation, designated hearer of conversation, and speaker's role in his narrative (ibid: 131-137). As we apply such notion on the interactional meanings of code-switching, it does not only indexes sociocultural context behind the interaction but also includes various non-referential meanings of code-switching such as signaling of a topic change, frame shift, shifting of participants' roles, etc.

Lastly, to explain bilingual language uses in interactional level in connection with macro-level social issues, a theoretical framework of

'language ideology' can mark notable points. The definition of language ideology has been expanding over the years. It is essentially a metapragmatic, metalinguistic discourse of how members of a speech community explain and justify specific forms of language structure and practices (Silverstein 1979: 193). More specifically, language ideology may address "cultural conceptions of language, in the guise of metalinguistic, attitudes, prestige, standards, aesthetics, and so on" (Woolard 1998: 4). Kroskrity(2000) suggests four dimensions, and then adds one more to make five essential dimensions (Kroskrity 2004) that constitute the concept of language ideology as following: 1) "Language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group" (Kroskrity 2000: 8). 2) "Language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership" (ibid: 12). 3) "Members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies" (ibid: 18). 4) "Members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk" (ibid: 21). 5) "Language ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g. nationality, ethnicity)" (Kroskrity 2004: 509). As Kroskrity remarks, each member of a speech community may hold different language ideologies that may or may not contradict each other. Also, there are multiple layers of language ideologies that each member is aware in varying degrees; thus we need to focus on the complex construction of language ideologies.

Language ideology is discussed on a wide range of research fields. It provides a multilayered approach to cultural phenomena projected in a language and its use. It is particularly useful to connect structural and

pragmatic analysis of language to a social structure and relevant cultural issues (Kroskrity 2000). The research questions on language ideology may include the unveiling of socio-political tensions among different groups through examination of language uses and evaluations in language standardization process (Lippi-Green 1997), efforts on language maintenance and revival movements align with a sociocultural identity of ethnic minority groups (Kroskrity 1998), and so on. Language changes, language shifts, or language differentiation are not simply matters of a government led politico-economic enforcement. Rather, they occur through multilayered ideological processes of mediation between members' language use and perception of languages within a speech community or among communities (Kang 2004:24-25).

Language ideology also can disentangle the complex valorization on various language resources of the multilingual communities where language hybridity is exploited or celebrated through "mixing" (Kroskrity 2004: 510). Especially, language ideology is often the primary theoretical tool used by 'critical'[5] studies at the multilingual schools. It is often the case that the language of instruction is the government-regulated official language of the society, whereas students come from diverse local backgrounds where they are socialized in different languages. The studies often discuss two different facets of the language ideologies implicated in students' multilingual communicative practices in the school settings. One is students' adaptation to the education system under the state-organized ideological reproduction of the legitimate language (Bourdieu 1991). The other is students' ideological challenges against the school regulated communicative norms by bringing their local linguistic features into the school activities. Monica Heller (1996,

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5) Here, the term 'critical' is accredited to Marilyn Martin-Jones who applied it in order to "reveal links between local discourse practices, the everyday talk and interactional routines of classrooms and the wider social and ideological order." (Martin-Jones 2007: 171)

2002, 2003, and 2010) worked on how students respond to the school promoted standard monolingual ideology in the French language schools in Canada. Angel Lin (1999) also focuses on the ideological collusion and contestation in the in-class practices at the postcolonial Hong Kong English-mediated classrooms with Cantonese-speaking students.

Based on the above theoretical background, my ethnographic research will examine the bilingual language practice and ideological constructions of English and Korean at a Korean international school, a multilingual speech community in an educational setting. As noted in the last section, in contrast to the "foreign schools," which refer to the international school for alien residents, the "international schools" in Korea limitedly refer to the private educational institutions promoting English acquisition of local students through full immersion education by native English teaching staffs. This study focuses on the sociocultural meanings of English/Korean bilingual language uses. The international schools are an arena where a linguistic competition between two languages takes place: English, the global and legitimate language in the school, and Korean, the language of local ethnic identity acquired through socialization in Korea. To understand the bilingual language practices at an international school, this study applies a deterministic/predictive model based on the ethnography of communication to discover sociocultural factors and contextual constraints on language use in various school settings. Secondly, an interpretive/interactional analysis is applied to interactional scenes in attempt to examine social meanings emerging from code-switching practices. Lastly, it focuses on language ideologies that mediate between the bilingual language usage at school and its global and social contexts.

3. Research Questions

At a Korean international school, the ultimate goal imposed on local students is to grow as a bilingual who is proficient in both Korean and English. For Korean being mother tongue already acquired and English being a target language, using English in every possible situation is highly recommended. Thus, English is enforced to be in use at the school. However, in various scenes, students utilize Korean in forms of code-alternation and code-switching in the interactions among themselves. Students build topic-specific bilingual competence through the bilingual language socialization process due to the differences in the linguistic environment at home and the school and casual usage of Korean in friendly interactions.

In this study, my goal is to understand and interpret the bilingual language practice of local students in the globalized school. Therefore, it is an essential task to reveal the sociolinguistic rules for language choices, interactional meanings of code-switching, and language ideologies projected in the bilingual language practices in everyday communication at an international school through an ethnographic description and analysis.

I analyze the bilingual language practices in an international school in three dimensions. Firstly, I will discuss sociocultural factors and contexts of the students' language choice/code-alternation. Secondly, this study will examine various pragmatic and social functions of code-switching in interactional levels. Lastly, I explore the language ideologies that mediate communicative practices with the discourses of wider social contexts.

More specifically, the research questions are;

1) What are the sociolinguistic rules of language choices at an international school? How do students distinguish each speech scenes in their language choice? Through examining the social-contextual factors and constraints of language choices, I will build a predictive model of language choice/code-alternation under three different scenes: the

English-mediated classes, the Korean-mediated classes, and the recess/lunch.

2) The predictive model sought to the first question is only to predict the appropriate language choice, and this cannot explain actual interactional practices where two languages are in interchangeable use within a single conversational scene or a single utterance. Without examining the actual interactions, it is also difficult to reveal the patterns of code-switching or the pragmatic and sociocultural meanings delivered through the very acts of code-switching. Thus, I firstly describe the topic-specific patterns of inter- and intra-sentential code-switching. Then I take an interpretive/ interactional approach to reveal the pragmatic and sociocultural meanings emerging from the practices of code-switching.

3) Lastly, how can we place communicative practices in an international school within the broader social contexts and the dominant educational discourses? Specifically, how do students, parents, and teachers construe the bilingual language practice of the students? To answer this question, I will examine language ideologies of the community members that reflect and shape the social recognition of English and Korean.

To answer these research questions, I conducted my ethnographic research in an international school where bilingual communicative practices are observable on a daily basis. The research methods include participant-observation on daily communicative practices of students at the school, and formal/informal interviews with the members of the community including students, parents, and teachers mainly about how they construe the students' communicative practices.

4. Research Method

This study is conducted at Morning Calm International[6] where English is used as a medium of education, with a large number of the student population being Korean ethnics. The primary research participants were 5th-grade teachers, students, and parents. Out of 58 students, 52 are Korean ethnics who speak Korean as mother tongue, and the research was conducted with 45 of them participating. The empirical data analyzed in this study are collected in voice recordings of speech events through my regular participant-observation of school activities at various sites that include classrooms, playfield, theater, gymnasium, and cafeteria. I also conducted formal/informal interviews with students, parents, and teachers during the five months research from August to December 2014.

I mainly conducted the participant-observation during the class hours, and the structured/unstructured interviews were conducted during recesses or after school. The primary focus of participant-observation was to capture the language uses in naturally occurring communications that include teacher-student and student-student interactions ranging from formal instructions to informal conversations. To collect the qualitative data from the natural settings, I participated in the classes as a teacher's aid and tried to get along with students in a process of building intimacy with them. Methodologically, the research adopts a framework of the ethnography of communication in linguistic anthropology. The speech events I primarily focused were classroom interactions that occur during lectures, group works, and individual tasks. I also observed and recorded friend groups interactions during the recess. The modes and rules of communication were analyzed based on the SPEAKING model by Dell Hymes (Saville-Troike 1989: 138) and a predictive model of Ervin-Tripp(1972).

I frequently conducted informal interviews during the recesses, especially

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6) All personal, business, and regional names are pseudonym.

with students, due to the difficulties with students at a young age to focus more than 10 to 15 minutes on interview setting. I also asked questions about students' intentions and thoughts whenever I heard comments that implicate social values or attitudes on their languages in casual settings.

The speech events were recorded only with agreed participants in every sector of the school during classes, recesses, and lunches. The transcription of Korean follows the Revised Romanization of Korean(2000) by the National Institute of the Korean Language. In examples with interactional scenes, utterances are first written in italicized Romanized Korean and with English in regular font, followed by English translation in a bracket [   ]. Phonetic transcription is not applied unless certain phonetic features indicate significant non-referential meaning. For the cases, only the significant features are typed in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). I applied conversational analysis to analyze the examples with interactional scenes, utilizing the transcript notation by Atkinson and Heritage(1999) to present changes in intonation, tone, and inflection, intervals, extensions of sound. However, simultaneous utterances, overlapping utterances, and contiguous utterances are unmarked due to unnecessity in the precise analysis.

Formal interviews were conducted with 15 students, 10 teachers, and 8 parents mostly after school hours. With students, I conducted individual interviews with 9 participants and conducted two group interviews with 3 participants for each. With teachers, interviews were conducted in their classroom when students were away for specialist classes. The participants include 3 homeroom teachers, 2 interns, 2 ESOL teachers, and 3 Korean teachers. Each interview lasted about an hour or an hour and a half. Particularly, 3 homeroom teachers and 2 Korean teachers were the key informants. Thus, I had formal interviews twice with them and made countless informal conversations during recess and lunch. Lastly, the formal interviews with parents lasted about an hour or an hour and a half. All the

interviews were conducted after school with or without a presence of their children. The interview questions include how they perceive the English education given at the school in comparison to the ones given in public schools, how they value each language, and what they think of students' communicative practice at the school.

II. THE COMMUNITY AND THE LANGUAGES

1. Morning Calm International

  (1) Overview: International Schools in Korea and the Sociolinguistic
      Demographics

As briefly discussed in the last chapter, unlike the "foreign schools" where most of the student population is composed of alien residents or foreign born Korean ethnics, "international schools" in Korea rather refers to the private educational institutions promoting English acquisition of local students through full immersion education by native English teaching staffs. The research site, Morning Calm International, was founded in a free economic zone nearby Seoul in 2010, as a sister branch of a prestigious private school in the west coastal area of the United States. The school offers K-12 education with 6 years of elementary school program from Pre-K to 5th-grade, 3 years of middle school program from 6th to 8th grade, and 4 years of highschool program from 9th to 12th grade. It affiliates with the globally recognized standard education program called International Baccalaureate (IB). The school began with IB Primary Years Program (IB PYP) on elementary curriculum first, then is gradually increasing the range of IB applied curriculums to the upper grades. For the elementary program, all the teachers are IB certified, and all the interns are either IB certified or currently are in certification assessment process. In 5th-grade, there are 3 classes divided in an alphabetical order as 5A, 5B, and 5C. Each class consists of 19 to 20 students with one homeroom teacher takes charge of the class at all time, two interns rotate around the classes, and two ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Language) teachers

rotate around the classes. Thus, in an ideal situation, at least one teacher should supervise every 8 students at all time during the class.

This study was conducted with 5th-grade students, teachers, and parents at Morning Calm International in participation. Each group of participants plays important parts in the speech community. Students practice bilingual language use in various contextual settings and social domains in the school while parents and teachers frequently demand them to use English. The ethnic demographics of students consists of 52 Korean, 3 Americans, 1 Spanish, 1 Japanese-Korean, and 1 Taiwanese-Egyptian. The linguistic demographics on the first language of students consists of 53 Korean, 4 English, 1 Spanish, and 1 Chinese. Lastly, gender demographics consists of 30 boys 29 girls[7].

Conversely, teachers and staffs of Morning Calm International consist of individuals from diverse ethnic and national backgrounds. Most of the teachers, including homeroom teachers, music teachers, P.E. teachers, art teachers, librarians, and interns are foreign nationals. On the other hand, Korean language teachers and staffs including office assistants, school nurses, IT crew, maintenance crew, securities, and janitorial staffs are Korean nationals. The nationality demographics of participating teachers consist of 3 Americans, 2 Canadians, 1 New Zealander, 1 Fijian, and 3 Koreans.

Yearly tuition at the school is approximately KRW 33,000,000 (USD 30,000.00). Due to the expensive tuition, most local parents belong to the high-income bracket, holding socially prestigious professions: holding managerial positions at large corporations, owning a business, or having specialized professions on financial, legal, or medical fields. All participating parents were Korean ethnic females identifying themselves as middle-class housewives with 6 of the children being Korean locals, and the other 2

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7) Reported demographics are based on the school enrollment roster of December 2014.

being U.S. citizens. Nonetheless, both the U.S. citizens only resided in the United States less than two years after their birth and were more fluent in Korean than in English.

Most students[8] attended Morning Calm International about 2-5 years and learned English through diverse routes before entering Morning Calm International: by living at English speaking country, and/or by attending other international schools, English kindergartens, or English speech hagwons in Korea. All the Korean locals had to pass an entrance exam to be accepted into the school. Thus, all the students have been learning English and were exposed to English speaking environment for at least couple years before the entrance. To focus closely on the linguistic demographics of the first languages of students, languages other than English or Korean is very rarely spoken not only in 5th-grade but throughout all grades in the elementary program. For example, Chinese and Spanish are taught at school as a foreign language but are not in use at any other occasions. Also, the students with a first language other than English or Korean often are the only ones that speak their language within their grade, which makes English as their only language option to communicate with other classmates.

At every grade, Korean ethnics outnumber other ethnic groups as about higher than 90 percent of the student population. The imbalance in both ethnic and linguistic demographics becomes visualized especially during recess and lunch time. In terms of friend group composition, Korean ethnics in same grade gather in numbers of single-gender friend groups, and ethnic others including few English fluent Koreans usually gather in multi-grade single-gender groups that interact in English. In this regard, 5th-grade demographics reflects the student demographics of Morning Calm International, characterized by ethnic and linguistic imbalance, as 52 Korean

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8) For the research purpose with the primary focus being on Korean ethnic students who practice bilingual communication, hereafter, "students" may only refer Korean ethnic students).

speaking Korean ethnics comprising 90 percent of students. Under the circumstance, Korean assures its role as the only major language used other than English within the school environment.

(2) Social Settings of the School

Morning Calm International is a speech community where its members share the embodied notion of sociolinguistic rules regulated by school-imposed communicative norms. Prior to the discussion on the communicative norms, I first examine the social settings of the school where various communicative events are observed. Table II-1 demonstrates a weekly class schedule for 5A. I explore the schedule to examine a periodic division of school activities, and then to indicate a spatial division of the settings where the activities take place.

5A Class Schedule	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8:00-8:30	Assembly	Homeroom	Homeroom	Homeroom	Homeroom
8:30-9:15	Homeroom	Homeroom	Homeroom	Homeroom	Homeroom
9:15-10:00	Music	Music	Art	Homeroom	World Languages
10:00-10:15	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess
10:15-11:00	Homeroom	Homeroom	Homeroom	World Languages	Homeroom
11:00-11:45	P.E.	Library	Homeroom	World Languages	Music
11:45-12:30	Art	World Languages	Homeroom	P.E.	Homeroom
12:30-12:50	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
12:50-1:15	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess	Recess
1:15-2:00	Homeroom	Homeroom	Homeroom	Homeroom	Homeroom
2:00-2:45	Homeroom	Homeroom	P.E.	Homeroom	Homeroom
2:45-3:30	Dismissal	House	Exploratories	Homeroom	Exploratories

Table 1 5A Weekly Class Schedule

The school starts at 8 AM, Monday to Friday. Out of 45 total weekly class periods, 27 "Homeroom" periods take place at each homeroom, are taught by homeroom teachers mainly on Unit of Inquiry (UOI)[9],

mathematics, and English literacy. Specialist classes consist of 1 period of "Library", 1 period of "House,"[10] 2 periods of "Art," 2 periods of "Exploratories (extracurricular activities)," 3 periods for "Music," 3 periods of "Physical Education (P.E.)," and 4 periods of "World Languages." At the beginning of the year, students choose to take either Korean or Chinese for a "World Languages" class. When students choose Korean, they are divided into four-level classes depending on their proficiency: foreigners, low-level, mid-level, and high-level. The foreigner-Korean and Chinese classes are beginner level language courses, but other three Korean classes are designed for students with native proficiency in both verbal and literacy skills. In these classes, students learn Korean literature and social study using same textbooks used in Korean public schools, with class topics compatible to UOI of the time. When assessed, high-level class students have same or higher level of linguistic proficiency expected for local school students at their grade level, the mid-level class proficiency is assumed to be slightly below their actual grade, and the low-level class proficiency is assumed to be at 2-3 grades below their current grade level. Lastly, students have 15 minutes of morning recess, 20 minutes of lunch time, and 25 minutes of lunch recess for free periods during the school hours. For an accountability of student safety, all students are required to stay outside at the school field unless the weather is rainy, where at least three teachers rotate the duty to surveil them during the recess, as well as in the cafeteria during the lunch

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9) An academic year is a cycle of 6 transdisciplinary UOIs with students turning in summative assessment at the end of each UOI which takes 3-4 weeks: How the World works (primary focus on science), How We Express Ourselves (primary focus on art and social studies), Where We are in Place and Time (primary focus on social studies and mathematics), Who We Are (primary focus on literacy and social studies), Sharing the Planet (primary focus on science and social studies), and How We Organize Ourselves (primary focus on social studies).

10) "House" generally refers to 4 groups that every student is allocated during the time of the enrollment. It also means inter-house competitive events students participate on the last period of every other Tuesday. The events are often physical competitions rewarded with house points for a winning house.

time.

Next, I examine the spatial division of school activities: where the classes take place, and where students eat, play or take a rest. Geographically, the elementary school is composed of the main elementary school building, the gymnasium and theater building, and the school field. It is important to consider the spatial division to capture the correlation between the educational activities and the appropriate communicative norms. The spaces include hallways and stairs, homerooms, World Language classrooms, music classrooms, art classrooms, maker's space, library, cafeteria, gyms, theaters, and the field. According to the school regulation, students are expected to communicate in English in every space other than World Language classrooms, the cafeteria, and the field. On the following section, I explore the linguistic resources students utilize in everyday interactions along with the school regulated communicative norms on each resource.

2. The Linguistic Repertoire and Communicative Norms

The notion of linguistic repertoire refers to a set of language varieties, styles, and registers that members of a speech community can apply in various sociocultural situations (Park 2012: 137). The composition of individual's linguistic repertoire may differ based on one's idiosyncratic speech style, proficiencies in each variety, or degree of socialization. However, within a speech community, there are shared repertoires consist of available linguistic resources. For the students of Morning Calm International, the shared linguistic repertoire includes at least three linguistic resources: English, Korean, and Konglish. As English acquisition is a common goal in the school that provides a fully immersed education, the language attitudes on each linguistic resource appear in a hierarchical order where English holds the top priority over others as an appropriate language.

Korean is often an illegitimate language in most settings and recognized as an informal language of the local students. Lastly, Konglish is considered as a pidgin-like situational variety with the combination of both features of English and Korean. The school provides a regulation that clearly states what the appropriate language is, and also offers guidelines to students on how to use each language appropriately. This section explores how each linguistic resource is recognized and regulated within the school.

(1) Two Major Linguistic Resources in Diglossic Settings

Diglossia is a social state where two linguistic varieties coexist in a complementary relationship (Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1967) where social domains are compartmentalized for the use of each language, that are often based on a difference in a degree of formality. English is a lingua franca that needs to be spoken everywhere within the boundary of the school. Although Korean ethnics comprise the majority of the student population and speak Korean as a mother tongue, Korean does not hold an official language status, except during the World Language class. Thus, English and Korean are in a complementary relationship under diglossia, as "one set of behaviors, attitudes and values supported and was expressed in one language, another set of behaviors, attitudes and values supported and was expressed in the other" (Fishman 1967: 29). Every classroom has a sheet of paper placed on its noticeboard with *English Policy,* which declares ground rules for students' language use, and teachers regulate it as illustrated below in Example II-1.

Example II-1 An excerpt from *English Policy* (italics added for emphasis)

At Morning Calm International, English is the *primary language* that we use when communicating with each other, both orally and in writing. There are several reasons that we have adopted this policy and are

committed to enforcing it. First of all, we want all communication to be inclusive rather than exclusive, and the only way that we can guarantee inclusivity is to speak in a language that *all people on campus can understand*. Secondly, one of our goals as an institution is to improve student *proficiency in English*, which is best accomplished while being fully immersed in the *target language*.

English Policy states English as the *primary language* of communication, and it is one of the most important goals for teachers to provide a fully immersed environment so that students can improve their *proficiency in English*, the *target language*. Only occasions allowing the use of a language other than English (i.e. Korean) would be when answering in one or two words to a friend who does not understand concepts they learn in English, and when accidentally "slip" into the language by making an interjectional utterance or as filler. English is a lingua franca that *all the people on campus can understand*. All the conversations should be in English for students to maintain inclusive attitude when foreign students or different language speakers are present. Thus, every student attending Morning Calm International is instructed that the legitimate language be English, is guided to use it, and is constantly warned when using different languages.

Example II-2 An excerpt from an interview with Mr. Vick, homeroom teacher (italics added for emphasis)

> I think if you go to any international school or schools abroad where English is a *language of instruction*, you should be working on improving your *language ability*.

All the participating teachers agree on the necessity of strict enforcement of *English Policy* as English is a *language of instruction* and stress that students should remind themselves the goal is to improve *language ability* in English. Teachers do not physically punish students or severely criticize them for not using English. However, every time a teacher hears Korean

during the class, one would immediately warn the students by simply saying "English please." Teachers also frequently make an announcement toward the whole class to explain why they need to use English. If a student is caught speaking Korean too frequently, teachers may have to call a parent to notify the behavior and ask for guidance at home.

Korean, on the other hand, is only appropriately in use during the regular classes when explaining a concept or vocabulary that students are familiar in Korean but not in English. Despite the strict regulation of *English Policy*, students' Korean usage is rather overlooked at the school field during recess and the cafeteria during lunch. Even though the policy states that the school should be a fully immersed environment, teachers report that even though they do not encourage Korean use, they accept its use in informal situations. In this regard, when teachers interpret *English Policy* in practice, they establish different standards on students' language use based on situational differences. They tend to be stricter on English use during the class, but to be more lenient on the issue in informal conditions as demonstrated in Example II-3.

Example II-3 Excerpts from interviews with homeroom teachers (italics added for emphasis)

> They aren't hundred percent fluent in English, and I think during the day, it does help them to rest their brain a bit, and not to be forced to speak in another language for whole time, so on the playground, yes, they can speak in their *home language*, same in the cafeteria, where it's *their time to socialize and communicate*. (Mr. Crane, homeroom teacher)

> During the recess, I'm more lenient than I am in the classroom for sure. I understand that operating in your second language is a *challenge and tiring* and that sometimes they just need to be able to speak their mother tongue. If negative language whether it be English, Korean, Mandarin, whatever if it's used to insult or hurt another then it's a form of bullying where it's a troublesome behavior. So then the behavior is dealt with rather than the language. (Mr. Rudy, homeroom teacher)

> They are kids, and it's their *natural, first language*. They are excited to be outside so, boom! You have to understand that. (Mr. Vick, homeroom teacher)

Teachers recognize that it is an extremely stressful environment for students when they are forced to use an incompetent language at all time. Teachers also report the difficulties they have with managing the language use when students are out on the field. Thus, when interpreting *English Policy*, teachers distinguish each setting by a degree of formality, recognizing English as an official language that students need to speak during the class, but not in their own time. During the recess and lunch, which are *their time to socialize and communicate*, students can get comfortable, rest, and be *natural*. Korean is then recognized as the *home language* that students feel comfortable to use and associate naturally.

Korean teachers also indicate a similar perspective on how students feel about Korean. Their perception is reflected in their reports about the peculiar position of Korean class in the context of an international school. Even though Korean classes are the academic space where students develop their proficiency in Korean literacy, it should also be a bit more lenient space within the school. More specifically, it has to be a space where students can speak their mother tongue freely and express their thoughts and ideas without worrying about making grammatical mistakes or seeking for appropriate terms.

Example II-4 An excerpt from an interview with Mr. Park, a Korean teacher (interview was conducted in Korean then translated in English, italics added for emphasis)

> Students are under great *linguistic pressure*, so when they come into Korean class, they feel secured psychologically. In here, they do not have to be so strained. During the regular classes, students are anxious about disadvantages from an inability to understand English, so always

have to give full attention listening to what their teacher says. However in here, even if they are bad at Korean language in a public school standard, they have the ability to understand difficult concepts or vocabularies by inferring the meanings from situational context, because it is their mother tongue. So they feel secure and comfortable with Korean teachers, and we know that. Well, the problem comes from there as they get too comfortable to ask silly questions or to fool around. Because they know that *Korean teachers do not hold the same authority* that their homeroom teachers have, and there is *no strict language policy* in Korean class. Also, assignments that we give in Korean are much easier for them compare to the ones given at homeroom in English, so they have a sense of confidence on Korean. So it is like a like a *linguistic shelter* for them.

Korean teachers often manifest sympathy with students, who are experiencing constant *linguistic pressure* to speak in an uncomfortable second language. Thus, one of the primary goals for Korean teachers in their class planning is to produce a comfortable environment, in another word, a *linguistic shelter*, for students. It is important for students to know that Korean is comfortable language. Thus, Korean teachers tend to provide easier studying materials and assign simpler tasks so students can stay confident with their mother tongue. Students also recognize Korean teachers as less an authoritative figure not only because they see the classes undemanding, but also because there is *no strict language policy* in Korean class.

Korean teachers, while emphasizing the importance of Korean literacy skill for the students on the one hand, understand the value of English in a full immersion program to the parents, as a mother of a student puts it, who pay "such an expensive tuition" for English acquisition on the other. For most parents, acquiring English proficiency is the primary goal of their children's education in the school. They usually are not supportive, and more often, are indifferent toward what their children learn in the Korean classes or how well their children do in Korean classes. Under the

circumstances, the lenient language policy in Korean classes is a result of the years of arduous arguments and negotiations with students and parents.

However, as a matter of fact, there are few constraints on language use in the Korean class. Even though teachers do not constrain students to use Korean when they address each other, they demand students only to speak Korean when addressing teachers. In this sense, the class policy is far more tolerant when compared with *English Policy*. Teachers do not take a restrictive stance toward Korean use for two reasons. Firstly, they do not necessarily manage students' language use as most students already find it easier to communicate in Korean as their mother tongue. Secondly, there are many parents who are not concerned about the Korean language education.

(2) Konglish: Situational Linguistic Resource

There is one exceptional linguistic variety other than the two major languages. It is Konglish, a stylistic variety of English. There is a general recognition of Konglish as a mispronounced and/or ungrammatical use of English by Korean locals[11]. Kent(1999) proposed Konglish as loanwords and identified five linguistic subsets of Konglish: (i) direct loanwords with modified pronunciation; (ii) hybrid terms consist of linguistic features of both English and Korean; (iii) truncated English terminology; (iv) substitution of Korean lexis in English; (v) pseudo loanwords through semantic modification. It is often negatively valued (Kim 2006: 31) for being only understood by Korean locals while unintelligible to native English speaker and used as a source of black humor to depict deficient images of Korean locals as incompetent English speakers. The negative evaluation of Konglish then "mirrors the Korean emphasis on promoting the hegemony of correct English" (Park 2009: 109). Thus in general, it is not

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11) In accordance to The Korean Standard Dictionary (http://stdweb2.korean.go.kr/main.jsp), published by the National Institute of the Korean Language.

recognized as a valid variety of English, but rather as an adaptation of English components in Korean. Nevertheless, among students in Morning Calm International, it has a significant social and pragmatic function when making jokes or manifesting intimacy. I first introduce the few notable linguistic features of Konglish in Morning Calm International, and then explore the social functions and language attitude toward Konglish.

Two primary linguistic features of Konglish can be identified as following: (i) an exaggerated adjustment in phonation; and (ii) an intentional error in grammar. To begin with the adjustment in phonation, Konglish includes an insertion of Korean phonemic features in English utterance and an insertion of English phonemic features in Korean utterance. Example II-5 demonstrates both cases of inserting Korean features such as tense phonation and liquidization[12] and inserting English feature by tense deletion.

Example II-5 Collection of Konglish utterances with adjustment in phonation

1   S1(boy): ((to his friend)) I use your *kompuʈa* [*computer*].
2   S2(girl): ((answering to a friend)) Oh *leally* [*really*]?
3   S3(boy): ((his friend poke his anus as a prank[13])) Oh! My *dung-go* [*anus*]!

Example II-5 displays Konglish utterances in three different incidents. Line 1 is a case where a student inserts Korean features of tense phonation on pronouncing of English word (i.e. k̚, p̚, and t̚) on pronouncing the word computer). Line 2 is another example of inserting of Korean phonemic features on English utterance, by liquidizing /r/. In this case, the student pronounces approximant /r/ in English to liquid /l/. It is a common mispronunciation that Koreans make when uttering /r/. In both cases, the students clearly recognize the phonemic differences and intentionally make

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12) Pronouncing of liquid /l/ on place of approximant /r/.
13) Children's prank called ʈongchim by clasping fingers together in a figure of imaginary gun and poke other's anus.

the errors. On the other hand, line 3 is an example of tense deletion in Korean utterance, as the student pronounces the word as dung-go instead of ṭong-ḳo, the original word, to pretend that he is uttering an English word.

Secondly, to move our focus on the intentional grammatical errors, most frequently occurring errors are using a possessive noun as subject, verb deletion, and omission of plurality and/or tense in verb use. Following utterances under Example II-6 demonstrate such patterns.

Example II-6 Collection of Konglish utterances with intentional grammatical errors

1   S1(boy): ((while playing group activity, he points out a foul play of
             an opponent player)) You defense, you wrong arm.
2   S2(boy): ((while at library choosing book to read)) Me no like comic
             book.

On line 1, S1 deletes a verb when he says "you defense, you wrong arm." Instead of saying the complete sentence, "you are on defense, you are using wrong arm," when pointing out a foul play of his opponent, he implicates his playful attitude. Also, S2 on line 2 intentionally makes a syntactical error in subject use (i.e. "me" instead of "I"), and on auxiliary verb use (i.e. "no" instead of "don't").

Unlike Korean, although it is an erroneous and "broken" form of English phonemics and syntax, Konglish utilize English as a matrix language, thereby, is not completely unintelligible to native English speakers in most cases. Thus, there is no clear-cut restriction in the use of Konglish in regular classes. Students recognize negative attitudes on Konglish that is widely spread throughout the society, as an inappropriate and unintelligible style of English when used in conversation with teachers and foreign students. Nonetheless, students recognize the pragmatic utility of Konglish as a style of English, which functions as a register of informality during the class. In this regard, Konglish is a 'disembodied' (Kang 2014) style, an

exaggeratedly playing of an immature Korean person in English to provide a foolish and playful impression. For the Konglish use to implicate the social functions, its user should have others' agreement on that he/she is competent in English in reality, but using Konglish intentionally to frame a playful and intimate situation. Teachers usually overlook such use of Konglish when student's intention was not too playful to disturb on-going class activity because it is perceived as a local variety of English rather than Korean. Then again, if Korean were applied in the same situation, the speaker would be warned for using inappropriate language. Therefore, using Konglish is recognized as an acceptable act of rhetorical switching (Ervin-Tripp 2001) for a giggle or expressing intimacy in an easy-going situation without actually changing the language in use.

III. SOCIOLINGUISTIC RULES OF LANGUAGE CHOICE

The communicative competence that the students acquire in Morning Calm International is "not only the knowledge of grammaticality of language but also the notion of contextual appropriateness in communication" (Wang 1996). In this regard, the competence includes the linguistic proficiency in English and capability to make a good judgment of how and when to apply each linguistic resources appropriately. In this chapter, I will first introduce some social-contextual factors that involve students' language choice in various situations. Through an examination of the correlation of the social-contextual factors in each speech scenes, the analysis will arrive at the predictive model of alternation rules (Ervin-Tripp 1972, Wang 1979) that characterizes the selective process of students' language use.

Mainly, teachers indicate three different norms on students' language use during the school hours in accordance with three speech settings: the first one with a strict regulation of English use in regular class setting, the second one with a lesser strict regulation of language use in Korean class setting, and the last one with rather a lenient tendency on language choice during the recess. The regular class setting includes all spatiotemporal sites in the school where English should be in use during the class periods and transitions in between the classes: the homeroom, the music, the art, and the hallways and stairs. The Korean class is an exceptional class period operated with a different communicative norm where students do not have to speak English. It is the only class setting in the school that allows Korean use, while not prohibiting English use in conversation among students. Lastly, the recess setting includes the school field during the recess and the cafeteria during the lunch where students can interact with unrestricted communicative norm.

1. Social-Contextual Factors of Language Choices in Regular Classes

To begin with the social-contextual factors in regular class setting, there are four primary factors considered for the appropriate language choice that operate in correlation to one another. The school is in a diglossic environment, where two or more linguistic resources are in normative use on different domains: one as high language (H) and the other as low language (L) (Eckert 1980). H language is the public and formal language and L language is the private and informal language. Under this theoretical divergence of linguistic resources, English functions as H language, while Korean functions as L language in the school. More specifically, the members of the school community share the recognition of English as the language of formality, publicity, and officiality, whereas Korean being the opposite. Thus, an idealistic communicative norm is that English is used under all circumstances in the regular class setting. However, students as individual agents do not always behave according to the regulation. They interpret each interactional scene through their own decision-making process to determine whether they can or cannot implement Korean in communication. I disclosed four primary social-contextual factors in students' decision-making process: *designated addressee*, *class phases*, *distance from teachers*, and *topics of conversation*.

(1) Designated Addressee

First of all, students should be aware of whom they are talking to when making a language choice. To be specific, when they interact with a teacher or with an English native student, the expectation is to use English. Conversely, if the addressee is a Korean ethnic student, they may or may

not speak Korean depending on the situation.

Example III-1 demonstrates how they make different language choices when addressing a teacher and a Korean ethnic student.

Example III-1 During the class, an intern comes into the printing room and sees S1 and S2 arguing in Korean. While S1 was waiting for the laminating machine to heat up so she could laminate finished assignments in her class, S2 insisted that their teacher (Mr. Crane) confirmed his project is also finished and ready to laminate.

1 T: ((to S1 and S2)) Umm: What's up with this?
2 S1(girl): Mr. Crane said to laminate these ones.
3 T: Ok, ok it's good, good. Is it ok? Is it ready now?
4 S1: I mean, Mr. Crane said just laminate these.
5 S2(boy): No! Mr. C told me I could do mine, I'll bring it!
((S2 goes out to ask Mr. Crane for confirmation then comes back))
6 S2: ((to S1)) See? Mr. C said I can. *jal do moreumyenseo.*
   [See? Mr. C said I can. *You don't even know what is going on.*]
7 T: S2, there are some ways to do with it, but not for this one.
8 S2: But Mr. C said I can do.
9 T: Well, that's great then. Get on line.
((T takes off, S2 turns to S1 and starts ridiculing her))
10 S1: *a jjajeungna.* [*Urgh,(you are) so annoying.*]
11 S2: ((S2 pulls his tongue out to tease S1)) meh::
12 S1: *jiga mwo jalhandago.* [*You don't do anything well.*]
13 S2: ((keep teasing her by babbling and making funny face)) aw::
14 S1: *igeon hwangyengnangbiya.* [*This is wasting of resource.*]

As S1 and S2 saw T entering, they immediately change their language of interaction from Korean to English. T interrupts the conversation on line 1 by asking why they are not in their class. On line 2 and line 4, S1 reports to T in English that she is in the printing room, normally an off-limit area, with permission from her teacher, followed by line 5, in which S2 interjects to state that he is also allowed to be in the room to laminate his work. On line 6, S2 comes back while being a bit excited, speaks to S1, first in English, then momentarily in Korean to denounce her not believing what he had said earlier. As soon as T takes off, from line 10 to 14, two students

switch the language of interaction back to Korean. In this sense, Example III-1 is an exemplary incident demonstrating the different language choices of students when a teacher is present as a participant in the interaction and when the addressee is one another.

Example II-2 presents a case of how students make a different language choice to address an English native student.

Example III-2 During a homeroom period, boys are playing a Chinese ring puzzle. S1 is the only male English native student in the class.

1   S1(boy): S2 was almost breaking it.
2   S2(boy): Nah: nah:: uh: uh:: no no no:
3   S3(boy): ((to S4, who is working on the puzzle)) *ya jamkkanman, geu reomyeon bang-geumjeone S2 han-geochereom dasi ppaemyeon doejana?*
     [*Hey, wait a second, why don't we do the same move that S2 did?*]
4   S2: ((to S3)) *a-nya geureoke haneun ge eoryeoun geoya geureoke mandeuneun ge eoryeowo.*
     [*No, to do the move is really difficult, to make it like that is difficult.*]
5   S3: *igeo saeng-gakae naen saram jinjja ttokttokada.*
     [*The inventor of this game should be really smart.*]
6   S4(boy): *dangyeon-hi ttok-ttokaet-getji.*
     [*Of course the guy should be smart.*]
7   S2: It's like Einstein: I'm so good at it!
8   S1: Yea?
9   S2: ((to S1)) Seriously: I did it for six times! ((to S4)) *eo ireonde ireonde↑.*
     [Seriously: I did it for six times! *Yes, there, there↑.*]

S1 is the only English native speaking boy in the class with no close Korean friend as it was his first month of the school. S1 joined the other boys in a group playing with a Chinese ring puzzle, yet could not actively engage in their activity. Apparently, S2 is the only one responding to S1, as indicated on line 2, line 7, and line 9. He is considerate to respond to S1 in English to include him in the interaction while speaking Korean with

other boys: on line 4 to talk to S3, and on line 9 when he switches back to Korean to talk to S4. Even though the ideal norm in this interactional scene is that everyone should be speaking in English as S1 involves in the interaction, there was no teacher around to restrict their English use. Thus, Korean ethnic boys primarily interact in Korean while using English only when responding to S1, the English native student.

(2) Class Phases

Next social-contextual factor is considered in a close relation with the formality of speech situation. Under the guideline of International Baccalaureate Primary-Year-Programme (hereafter, IB PYP), the class activities are organized in a cycle of three sequential phases: *lecturing*, *giving instruction*, *teacher supporting* (in a group work or an individual task). Under 45 minutes of a class period, the first 15-25 minutes are composed of *lecturing* and *giving instruction* phases. A teacher begins the class providing lessons to transmit knowledge and concepts through various channels and lecturing methods in an Initiation-Response-Feedback (hereafter, IRF) (Lin 1999: 288) format to make sure that every student understands. Then, he assigns tasks to students and gives detailed instruction. Students spend remaining 20-30 minutes to work on the tasks either individually or in groups under the teachers' supervision. While working on the tasks, students learn by practicing and rephrasing lectured materials in their own words.

The *lecturing* and *giving instruction* phases are not easily separable as they are both characterized as centralized teacher dominated activities, so called a teacher-centered 'main or focal sequence' (Irvine 1979: 779) with the central focus of attention lies in the teacher's speech. On the contrary, *teacher supporting* phase is decentralized with many small group

conversations occur with no particular speaker presents the focal sequence. In this learning process, class phases are distinctively characterized with different degrees of formality (Irvine 1979). Both *lecturing* and *giving instruction* phases are characterized by a higher degree of formality. They are highly centralized forms of interaction where a teacher stands in front of the entire class as an authoritative speaker while students are expected to stay quiet, listening, and only occasionally answering when a teacher asks for feedback. Contrastingly, *teacher supporting* phase holds a lower degree of formality where students are usually allowed to talk freely among themselves sharing opinions in small groups. Under the circumstances, English is accepted as the formal language during all three phases, whereas Korean, the informal language, may be in use during the *teacher supporting* phase depending on students' interpretation of the degree of formality of the situation.

Example III-3 demonstrates a case of the language use during *lecturing* and *giving instruction* phases, followed by Example III-4 to illustrate the differences in the language use during *teacher supporting* phase.

Example III-3 During the class, a homeroom teacher is reviewing a story and vocabulary from a novel the class just finished reading together.

1   T: What did happen when Jonas has found about release? What does it mean to be released?
2   S1(boy): killing.
((Some students make exclamatory impressions that they now understand what it meant))
3   T: So we have, there is that "ah ha" moment.
4   S2(girl): yea, I thought releasing is something like, this, like letting the person out.
5   T: Yes, there are different meanings in the word by how we use. So then how did Jonas feel about it? What did Jonas do?
6   S3(girl): ((taps on S2's shoulder and murmurs)) *a geureom jugeun geoya?*
     [*so he died?*]

7   S2: ((murmurs back to S3)) *eung eung jusa noaseo, jusa non-neun geo.*
         [*Yes yes, injecting with syringe, by injection.*]

The teacher holds an authority to make a speech and leads the interaction. In this case, the lecture is the focal sequence, while students' mutterings are 'side sequences' (Irvine 1979). Students are only allowed to speak to answer T's question (line 2), or when they make comments relevant and/or helpful for the lecture (line 4). All the questions and the answers are uttered in English, the official language of instruction. Depending on how strict the teacher is, side-talks are highly discouraged while a lecture is given. In this regard, on line 6 and 7, two girls mutter asides to each other in Korean silently and secretly when the teacher looks at the other side of the class seeking for a student who is willing to answer his question.

Example III-4 During the class, students are designing an internet blog as part of their group presentation.

1   S1(boy): *ya ya kape, geu*(1.0) ((pointing on screen)) *igeoro haejwo.*
         [*Hey, hey, for the blog, uh… Do this one.*]
2   S2(boy): *igeo?*
         [*This?*]
3   S1: *eo, geugeo.*
         [*Yes, that one.*]
4   S3(boy): *ya, jamkkan wie ollaga bwa, igeol-ro hae.*
         [*Hey, move the scroll up just a little and choose that one.*]
5   S2: ((sees the homeroom teacher comes nearby, and initiates a report to him)) So, our issue is not gonna be political anymore, but it'll be environmental.

Contrastingly in Example III-4, four students are discussing in Korean on line 1 through 4. However, as soon as S2 notices that teacher comes nearby to check up on how students are doing, he turns his body and his laptop toward the teacher immediately and initiates a report on the current status of

their assignment in English to avoid the teacher's admonition on language use (line 5).

As indicated in above examples, students embody the notion of appropriate language use depending on the degree of formality of each speech situation. If they find the speech situation being highly formalized, as in *lecturing* and *giving instruction* phases, they only speak when the teacher allows them in English. However, during *teacher supporting* phase, when students work on group-works or individual tasks, they notice significant changes in the formality of the situation. Students find the changes in the formality as an opportunity to make different language choices as they are allowed to discuss freely with one another while working together. The teachers walk around the class to monitor several numbers of small groups of students at the same time, so are not able to possess full control over the class. With the noise level saliently higher than in *lecturing* and *giving instruction* phases, students are less stressed on English use as it is difficult for a teacher to monitor everyone at once. Thus, students often interact in Korean among each other during *teacher supporting* phase, depending on where teacher's attention is, which is to be discussed in detail in next section.

(3) Distance from Teachers

During the *teacher supporting* phase of the class, students measure the formality of situation by exploring teacher's attention; whether a teacher is within the audible distance, so he/she can hear them speaking or not. Teachers move around the class scanning on the status of students' progress, helping groups to solve problems, or giving directions to each student. When a teacher is nearby, students would have to stay focused on given tasks and use English only to interact with the teacher or with each other.

Meanwhile, students located on the other side of the classroom, not within the teacher's audible distance, are relatively free from the pressure of both working on a given assignment and speaking of the legitimate language.

However, one's measuring of an audible distance is often inaccurate as they fail to control a volume of speech or to notice teacher's presence nearby them. Especially, it is challenging to make a good judgment on teacher's location as there are always at least two to three teachers present in the class. Students often get caught and warned for violation of language policy by speaking Korean. Both Example III-5 and Example III-6 demonstrate situations with students speaking Korean assuming the teacher is not within the audible distance but sighted as a teacher comes around and hear them.

Example III-5 During the class, students are working on their group project, and a homeroom teacher T comes nearby heard the boys talking in Korean.

1   S1(boy): *neo ppal-li chajabwa.*
         [*You search for it.*]
2   S2(boy): *eung, geunde mworago chyeoya dwae?*
         [*Ok, what do I type?]*
3   T: S2, where are you right now?
4   S2: (1.0) In class?
5   T: What language are you using?
6   S2: (1.5)
7   S1: English↑
8   T: Good, then do it.
9   S1: I need all the boys in the play.
10   S2: I will, Friday.

In Example III-5, S1 and S2 interact in Korean while working on a group project. S2, relatively incompetent in English, often gets warned by T, as teachers usually give close attention toward his language use for his improvement. To take a closer look at the interaction on line 3 through line 6, S2 has difficulty interpreting the implicit message in T's question while

T asks the question to remind him the *English Policy*. On line 6, he hesitates to answer as it is unclear to him if T is asking what language he was speaking or what language they should be using in the class. Compared to S2, S1 has been attending the school for a longer period and has confidence in his oral proficiency. Thus, he takes a step forward to respond to T's question to save S2 (line 7) from the situation. Then, he leads the switching of the language of interaction among the group to English to reframe the mode of interaction back to the assignment (line 9).

Example III-6 In a transition, where students are going back to homeroom from the school field, two students are chitchatting on how many hours they spend studying after school.

1   S1(girl): *du sigan? se sigan?*
          [*For two hours? Three hours?*]
2   S2(girl): *geunikka han sigan-eun…*
          [*So, for one hour…*]
3   T: ((while going up the stairs)) Come on girls, let's go!
4   S2: Like one hour, for one hour, I ballet and math for two hours.
3   S1: I have one hour and thirty minutes *gongbu.*
          [I have one hour and thirty minutes *for studying.*]
5   S2: Tomorrow I have English and Chinese. Well, Chinese on Monday.
6   S1: On my English thingy, we always have like twelve vocabulary
            words.

   In Example III-6, S1 and S2 switch from Korean (line 1 and 2) into English (line 4 through 6) as T comes nearby. T warns them to hurry up to go back to their class (line 3). T's intention is unclear if she was warning the girls about their inappropriate language use or simply telling them to hurry up. Nevertheless, it worked as an alert to them on the appropriate language of interaction, which resulted in their switching into English while continuing the conversation.

   These incidents indicate students' embodiment of the communicative norms by switching the languages depending on a teacher's presence. Through the

examination of the above factors, we were able to review the interactional situations of the language choice in terms of the degree of formality: with whom they interact with, and when/where the interaction takes place. However, the contents or topics of interaction that affects the selective process are yet to be examined. The next section narrows the focus into the topics of conversation that influence students' language choices.

(4) Topics of Conversation

When a teacher is not around, students are released from the linguistic pressure of English use. They may freely choose to use more comfortable language. Under the circumstance, students make language choices based on the activities they participate or the topics of conversation. Hence, the last social-contextual factor is the topics of conversation which can roughly be classified into two categories: (i) discussion related to class assignments and (ii) gabbing/chitchatting. Students often speak English for the discussion of class-related topics, while speaking Korean to chitchat. It is important to note that students' language choices would most likely to occur in forms of inter- and intra-sentential code-switching rather than in a single language use.

To begin with the first category, discussion of class-related topics, both Example III-7 and Example III-8 demonstrate cases of a conversation primarily composed in Korean syntax with certain lexical components occur in English.

Example III-7 During the class, students are working on math activity to estimate how long it takes to tap million times in seconds, minutes, hours, and days.

1   S1(boy): *eo geureom* tap *haneun geon geunyang il choe han beon?*
      [*Oh, so can we* tap *once a second?*]

2   S2(boy): No, no, no, no. Mr. Vick said either do it fast or slow.

3   S1: Either one?

4   S2: Yea, either one, to say it how did you get.

5   S1: *eo geureom* friendly numbers *ro hage il choe han beoneuro hamyeon doeji ana?* It's just estimation anyway.
       [*Oh, so why don't we do once a second to use* friendly numbers? It's just estimation anyway.]

6   S2: Well.

7   S3(boy): *geunyang hae*::
       [*Just do it::*]

8   S1: *meonjeo geunyang hapsida.*
       [*Let's just give it a try.*]

In Example III-7, S1, S2, and S3 belong to the same group. They are discussing how to solve a math problem inquiring estimated calculation of time to tap a finger million times. This interactional scene is composed of practices of inter- and intra-sentential code-switching between English and Korean. However, there is a general pattern of the switching. When students talk about the keywords and essential concepts for the activity, they utter in English. For example, S1 makes intra-sentential code-switching on line 1 and line 5, by saying the word 'tap' (line 1), and 'friendly numbers' (line 5). The main ideas of the assignment are uttered in English while the dominant is Korean (line 1 and the first sentence of line 5).

Example III-8 During the class, two Students are brainstorming before writing a fiction on human migration in prehistorical age.

1   S1(girl): *du gaji-ro haja, du gaji. tta-reun geo mak* ice age *gateun geo kkeun-natjana.*
       [*Let's do two things, other things like* ice age *has already gone.*]

2   S2(girl): Maybe draught and famine, *meo-geul ge eom-neun geoji. du gae ha-myeon doe-jana.*
       [Maybe draught and famine, *they have nothing to eat. Let's do both*]

In Example III-8, two students have a debate mainly in Korean, yet they utter key concepts of their assignment in English terms they share as they

learned in the same class. It is a similar pattern of code-switching occurred in Example III-7 when students discuss on formal topics. In sum, students utter task-related words in English regardless of which language they use as a matrix language of uttered sentence in a class-related discussion.

Next category of topics is chitchatting/casual conversation. Example III-9 illustrates an instance of students dawdling over the assignment, followed by Example III-10, an instance of code-switching with English as the matrix language while embedding certain lexical components of Korean in casual conversation.

Example III-9 During the class, students are working on a skit as part of their summative assessment.

1 S1(boy): LL *geunikka nae-ga mak naoneun geoji.*
   [LL *So then I come out.*]
2 S2(boy): *naega geureom bal-ro chabeorinda.*
   [*Then I will kick you.*]
3 S3(boy): *a jinjja!* Guys, get serious!
   [*Uh, seriously!* Guys, get serious!]
4 S1: *a jinjja?* For real?
   [*Oh, seriously?* For real?]
5 S3: ((to S1)) *dasi hae.*
   [*Start over.*]
6 S1: *dasi?*
   [*Again?*]
7 S3: ((to S1)) *meong-neun cheok-hae.*
   [*Pretend you are eating.*]
8 S1: ((peels off a wrapper on chocolate bar, a prop they will be using for a skit))
9 S3: Ah::↑ You have to use this to skit!

The pattern of casual talks occurs with primary use of Korean with an insertion of few English words. Among the boys working in a group in Example III-8, S3 is the only one who is trying to concentrate on the group activity and encourage others to work with him. Instead, S1 and S2

maintain an inattentive attitude and are dawdling over the activity from the beginning (line 1 and 2) while speaking Korean. S3 maintains to speak English when he emphasizes the seriousness of the activity (line 3 and 9). At last, when S1 peels off a wrapper on a chocolate bar, supposed to be a prop that should be used for their actual skit, S3 gets angry at S1's attitude.

Example III-10 During the class, students are watching a YouTube clip while pretending they are working on a group project.

1   S1(boy): Oh↑ S2, S2, S2! He's putting the flower in the wall, flower *reul yeogidaga neo-eoseo.*
     [Oh↑ S2, S2, S2! He's putting the flower in the wall, *he puts* flower *in here.*]
2   S2(boy): Flower?
3   S1: *yeogida neo-eoseo ije* flower *ga.*
     [*So he puts in here then,* flower *is,*]
4   S3(boy): Where?
5   S1: He put it ((pointing on screen)) in this wall.
6   S2: *ya↑ jom apeuro dollyeo bwa.*
     [*Hey↑ can you rewind it a bit?*]
7   S1: He's *harabeoji*, but he's handsome. *ani* handsome *han geo anigo gyang* he's *meosisseo.*
     [He's *an old man*, but he's handsome. *No, not* handsome, he's *just really cool*].
8   S3: Hey, that *harabeoji* is Hwijun[14]'s friend. L
     [Hey, that *old man* is Hwijun's friend. L]
9   S1: *eo, hwijuni-rang biseuseutae.* LL
     [*Yes, similar to Hwijun.* LL]

In Example III-10, students are watching a YouTube clip during the class behind their cubbies while the teacher is working with students located at the other end of the classroom. In this informal conversation, students interact in code-switching with English being the matrix language while certain words and expressions embedded in Korean, such as *harabeoji* and

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14) Hwijun is name of their friend whose nickname is *harabeoji*.

meosisseo (line 7). On line 7, S1 had a difficulty in thinking of English words corresponding with the Korean lexicon *meosisseo* [(in this context) admirable] instantaneously, thus, he rather utters the Korean lexicon in place of the gap instead of making effort to reorganize his utterance in English.

In this section, I identified patterns of code-switching in connection with the topics of conversation as they chatter in Korean on playful mood while serious and task-related comments were uttered in English. In the following section, I will analyze the correlation between discussed social-contextual factors in a predictive model of language choice.

(5) The Predictive Model of Language Choice

In this section, I will examine the correlations among the above listed socio-contextual factors under a predictive model and a diglossic relationship between two major linguistic resources in the regular class setting through exploration of the patterns of students' language choice. First of all, every student recognizes the norm on using English as the primary language of interaction during the class. Therefore, the direction of language switches during the class always initiates from English to Korean. The first and the most important factor a student considers before making a choice is the *designated addressee*. When the direct addressee and/or participant in the conversation include a teacher or English native classmates, the speaker will choose to stay with English usage. If the addressee is a Korean ethnic, the next three sets of social-contextual factors will be considered before the speaker switches into Korean: *class phases*, *distance from the teacher*, and *topics of conversation*. These three sets of factors do not necessarily occur in the sequence illustrated in Figure 1. Nevertheless, the figure represents the most frequently observed selective process.
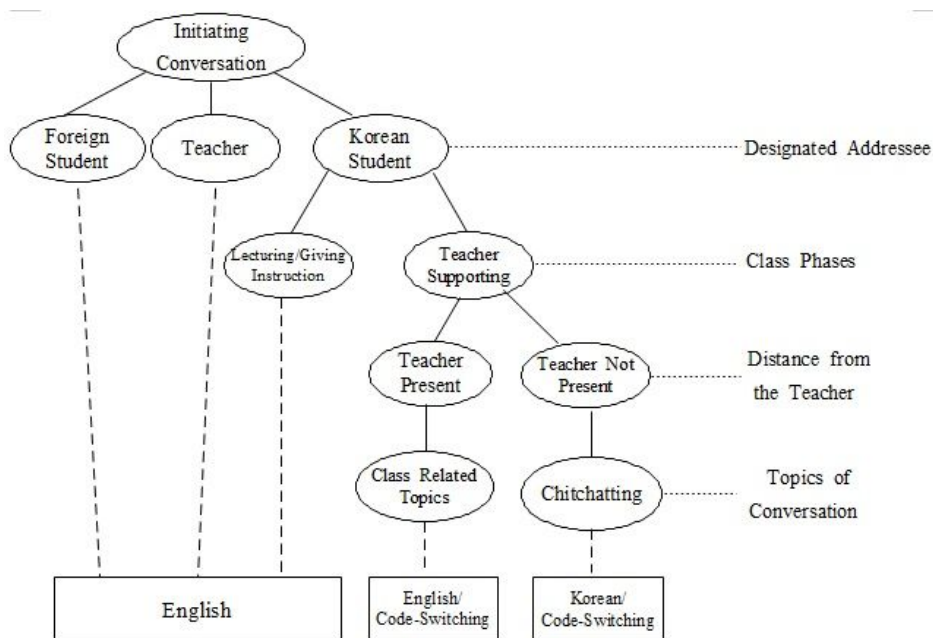
Figure 1 Predictive Model of Language Choice in Regular Classes

A speaker will choose to maintain using English if she determines the nature of the event with a higher degree of formality (i.e. during *lecturing* and *giving instruction* phases). However, when working individually around a close friend or working on a group task with friends during the *teacher supporting* phase, one would first want to measure the distance from the teacher to make sure that the teacher would not hear the conversation. The choice is also relevant to the topics of conversation. When one casually chatters or to dawdle around, one would likely to switch into Korean, but if one is to discuss a given task, the conversation will likely remain in English usage.

Through a close examination of the factors, I discovered that the relative degree of formality of situation is most importantly considered in students' language choices. In other words, Individual's conception of the degree of formality is in line with one's language choice: English would always be

the prior choice in any given situation characterized with some degree of formality while Korean is only in use when the situation is determined by the lowest degree of formality. The correlation between the degree of formality and language choice is reorganized in Table 2.

Degree of Formality	Class Phase	Teacher's Attention	Topics of Conversation	Language in Use
High	Lecturing/ Giving Instruction	Whole Class	Class Related	English
Intermediate	Teacher Supporting (group-work or individual task)	Within Audible Distance	Class Related	English
Low		Not Within Audible Distance	Class Related	English/ Code-Switching
			Chitchatting	Korean/ Code-Switching

Table 2 Correlation between Degree of Formality and Language Choice

The formal situations include *lecturing* and *giving instruction* phases of the class and when teachers present within audible distance during *teacher supporting* phase. The informal situations with a low degree of formality in this setting is only when teachers are not within audible distance during *teacher supporting* phase. Lastly, the tendency of language choices based on topics of conversation provides one important aspect of bilingual language practices in the regular class setting: students' practices of code-switching that occur in two general patterns. Students apply English terms and expressions for class-related conversation while applying Korean words and expressions for chitchatting. Such compartmentalized use of each language indicates the diglossic relationship between two linguistic resources even in a microscale interaction, as English is the language of formal topics and Korean is the language of informal topics. This relationship further reflects

the compartmentalized conception of two languages in the school: English serves a role of formal and public H language while Korean takes a role of informal and private L language.

2. Social-Contextual Factors of Language Choices in Korean Classes

Unlike the regular classes, Korean classes do not have a strict regulation on students' language use. Korean teachers show a tendency to be more lenient with students, which generates an environment where students concern less about the formality of situations. Thus, less number of social-contextual factors affects students' decision-making process that produces a much simpler structure of a predictive model compared to the one of the regular class setting. As stated in the last chapter, Korean teachers deliberately deny imposing restrictive language policy on students to use Korean only in their classes, which is in a counterpoint to that of regular teachers. The only occasion that teachers warn or correct students on their language use is when students bring English into the interaction with teachers. Even in these cases, teachers rather not to admonish them in a critical manner, but casually request them to repeat the same speech in Korean. There are two primary contextual factors considered in students' language choice: *class phases* and *designated addressee*. The reason for the two factors being placed in reverse order from that of the regular classes lies in the difference in the ethnic and linguistic composition of the class. In regular classes, the language of interaction is often not a matter of choice when the designated addressees include teachers and students from different ethnic and linguistic background, thus, *designated addressee* comes before other factors for the language choice. On the other hand, all students and teachers in Korean classes are from the same ethnic and linguistic background. Also, when there is no strict regulation in language use, it is

rather the shifting in the class phases that plays a significant role in changes of the degree of formality so as the appropriate language of interaction at each phase.

(1) Class Phases

Korean classes also follow the educational structure of IB PYP with the three sequential phases: *lecturing*, *giving instruction*, *teacher supporting*. The *lecturing* takes a typical IRF format. Once a teacher finishes *lecturing* that normally takes first 10-15 minutes of class, one *gives instructions* for the individual or small group tasks. Then, students work on the given assignments for the rest of the period. Seemingly, the only difference in the structure of Korean classes is that Korean is in use as the language of instruction. However, there clearly is a difference in the communicative norm. The two prior teacher-centered phases are characterized by a similar norm to that of the regular classes as the language of instruction is the only language to be spoken while a teacher holds an authority to produce a focal sequence. However, the *teacher supporting* phase is characterized by a saliently less restrictive communicative norm. Teachers overlook students conversing in English and code-switching.

Example III-11 indicates a case of interaction during a *giving instruction* phase where the teacher and students interact in a normative language use.

Example III-11 During the Korean class, a Korean teacher is giving instruction on what students should do for the period.

1   T: *ja, kiwodeu-ga ingwonboho-rang simindanche-ga doelkkeoeyo. simin danche-ga mwo haneun geonji aljyo?*
     [*Alright, the keyword will be protection of human rights and civic organization. You all know civic organization, right?*]
2   All: ((no one answers and one of students shakes his head))
3   T: *jangnyeone da baewotjana. an baewotdamyeon geojinmarieyo. maji*

mak yuniseseo da haeseoyo, simindanche
[*You already learnt this last year. You are lying if you hear this for the first time. You did this in the last unit, civic organization.*]

4   S1(boy): A: A::

5   S2(girl): *simindanche*↑? Ah, organization!
      [*Civic organization*↑? Ah, organization!]

6   T: *geureom* S2, *simindanche-ga mwo-eyo?*
      [*So* S2, *what is a civic organization*?]

7   S2: organization-*iyo*.
      [*It is an* organization.]

8   T: *geureon geo malgo tteut-si mwoya? geuge museun tteutsinde?*
      [*Give me more detail, what does it mean?*]

9   S2: *geu, mak saramdeuri gwolli-reul gajil-lago. eum,* (1.0) *moi myeon danche-ga doeyo.*
      [*Like, when people seek for their rights. Umm, They get together and build organization.*]

In this interactional scene, the interaction is dominantly led by T. It is the focal sequence with only T holds an authoritative position to lead the interaction. T initiates the interaction by asking a question on line 1. Students are hesitant to answer at first, but as T provides a hint that the answer is a concept they already have learned in the last unit, they begin to make responses. On line 5, S2 utters an English word "organization" that corresponds to the Korean word *simindanche*. She repeats the English word on line 7, yet T wants her to specify her answer on line 8. When she does on line 9, she already knows the expectation from T on her is to make an effort to describe her answer in Korean.

It is important to note changes in his regulation on students' Korean use during the *lecturing* and *giving instruction* phases while being permissive for English mixing in other occasions including *teacher supporting* phase. We also need to examine closely on the difference in students' interpretation of the formal class structure in the Korean classes. During *lecturing* and *giving instruction* phases, students' attitudes and behaviors project the same understandings they show in the teacher-centered focal sequence during the

regular classes. They remain silent while teacher speaks and answer only in Korean when a teacher asks for feedback. They clearly indicate an awareness of teachers' authoritative role in the teacher-centered focal sequence. Nonetheless, as soon as the class phase shifts to *teacher supporting* phase by a teacher letting them work on their own, students show a much lesser degree of awareness of teacher's authority over the class in their language use not only among each other but also with teachers.

(2) Designated Addressee

A significant difference in the communicative norm is observed during the *teacher supporting* phase in Korean classes. During *teacher supporting* phase, teachers often overlook students interacting with each other in English or code-switching instead of enforcing them to use Korean only even though Korean is the language of instruction. In regular classes, the communicative norm is to stress the formal status of English both as the language of instruction and the language of interaction at all time. Considering students' use of Korean is a violation of language policy during the regular classes, the difference in the communicative norms in regular and Korean classes even demonstrates the relatively low symbolic status of Korean within the school community. As discussed in the previous chapter, the language policy in Korean classes loosely restricts a language regulation based on the designated addressee, rather than stressing the formal status of Korean as the language of instruction.

Example III-12 represents a case of a normative language use in interaction with teachers during the *teacher supporting* phase in Korean classes.

Example III-12 During the Korean class, students are working on drawing Korean map, using a personal laptop to search images.

1 T: *S1, neo sanmaek da geuryeoseo?*
    [*S1, are you done drawing mountains?*]
2 S1(boy): *ne, geuryeoseoyo.*
    [*Yes, I am.*]
3   T: *bwabwa, eung haenne. geureom inje mwo haeya dwae? gang haeyaji?*
    [*Let me see, okay you did. What's next? You need to draw rivers, right?*]
4 S1: *eum, chajaseoyo.*
    [*Um, I searched for it.*]
5   T: *geomsaek haeseo? boja.* ((looks on the screen)) *geugeo mal go gugeul-ro gabwa. gugeul-ro gaseo "urinara gang jido" chajabwa. urinara gang jido.*
    [*You did a search? Let me see. No, not that. Go to google, go to google to type in "river map of our country", river map of our country.*]
6 S1: *urinara gang jido-yo?*
    [*River map of our country?*]
    ((Starts typing in Korean very slowly))
7 T: *eung, naonda.*
    [*Okay, here it comes.*]
8 S1: ((clicks on an image))
9 T: *eung eung, geugeo malgo jom chajabwa hanbeon.*
    [*Well, well, not that one. Try to search one more time.*]

In Example III-12, the assignment was to find a complete map of Korea with all the name of mountains and rivers marked. In this one-on-one interaction with T, S1 is expected to use Korean only to respond to T's questions, and he does accordingly. However, when closely observe students' behaviors in the Korean classes, they frequently violate the regulation by using English in the interaction with teachers as demonstrated in Example III-13.

Example III-13 During a Korean class, the teacher told students to write a weekly journal in Korean.

1   S1(girl): Teacher, How do I say first week of school?
2   T: ((stares at her in silence))
3   S1: Ah:↑ Teacher! First week of school.
4   T: S1, *seonsaeng-nimi mwo-rago geuraetji?*
       [*S1, what did I tell you?*]
5   S1: Oh, *ssaem*, first week of school *mwora geuraeyo*?
       [Oh, *teacher, how do I say* first week of school?]
6   T: *hakgyo gaehak cheot ju rago hae.*
       [*You say first week of school after a break.*]

    Example III-13 is one of the commonly occurring scenes in Korean
classes. When S1 asks a question uttered in English, even though T heard
her, she ignores yet stares at her. S1 repeats her question to see if T did
not hear her at the first attempt. This time, T replies S1 by asking her
what she previously told her (line 4) instead of directly correcting her to
speak Korean when conversing with teachers. S1 recognizes T's implied
message and reorganizes her question in Korean (line 5) by the expected
norm. The primary reason for the frequent occurrence of this sort of
violations is often caused by the general circulation of casual attitudes
among students. Students often initiate conversation in English with teachers
as if they are talking to friends sitting next to them.

Example III-14 During a Korean class, students are chatting while working
on their journals.

1   S1(girl): *ssaem, i hakgyo seonsaeng-nim doemyeoneun jagi aideu reun
       hakgyo kkongjja raeyo.*
        [*Teacher, I heard that teachers' children in the school don't pay
          tuition.*]
2   T: *aniya.*
        [*No, it's not true.*]
3   S2(girl): *majayo.* Scott *kkongjjaraeyo.*
        [*It's the truth.* Scott *goes school for free.*]
4   S1: *majayo*↑!
        [*It's the truth!*]

5   T: *oegugin seonsaengnim-deureun.*
      [*Only for the foreign teachers.*]
6   S1: *eng?*
      [*huh?*]
7   S2: ((to S1)) *maja, majeo. wae irae.*
      [*Yes, that's right that's right. Why are you asking?*]
8   S3(boy): *oegugin-deureun siheom anbogo ondae.*
      [*I heard foreign students don't have to take the admission test.*]
9   S4(boy): ((faking a fart sound by expulsing air through closed lips))
10   S2: Who farted?
11   S3: ((pointing S4)) He farted!
12   S5(boy): *siheom anbogo deureowa, oegugin-deureun.* S4↑ *neo siheom eotteoke buteoseo?*
      [*Foreign students don't take the admission test.* S4! *How did you pass the test?*]
13   All: LL
14   S2: ((to S1)) *ya,* I sometimes wonder how Connie got into Mo rning Calm.
      [*Hey,* I sometimes wonder how Connie got into Morning Calm.]
15   S1: *gyae geurae-do suhak gateun geon jom hajana?*
      [*But isn't she good at things like math?*]
16   S2: hey↑, how do, how do you think Aiden Kim *buteoseo*?
      [Hey! how do, how do you think Aiden Kim *got in*?]
17   S6(girl): I know, he so…
18   S2: *wanjeon mari andwae*!
      [*It absolutely doesn't make any sense!*]
19   S7(girl): Probably he's mom went like, "please, please, accept him."
20   S6: You know, he so *jeongsini*… ((circles her index finger around her head))
      [You know, he so *mentally…*]

   Example III-14 is a casual interaction occurred amongst a teacher and students during *teacher supporting* phase. On the first half of the interactional scene, T actively involves in the interaction as S1 and S2 address questions to T in Korean. However, from line 7 as other students enter, T no longer engages in the interaction. Once the interaction moves toward the student-only participatory discussion, active applications of inter- and intra-sentential code-switching follow. For teachers, it is not a

problematic communicative behavior as long as students are not directly conversing with teachers in English. Thus, students are free to make their language choice regardless of teacher's presence within an audible distance or relevant topics of conversation.

Students habitually use English or code-switch with parents and siblings at home. They often bring the communicative norm at home onto interactions in Korean classes unconsciously. The authority of adult figures that students recognize concerning their role to impose linguistic restriction in the school is often related to the interacting adult's primary language and ethnic features. With English native teachers from racially and culturally distanced backgrounds, students often are hesitant to make direct conversation and tend to behave with deferential attitude. Meanwhile, with Korean teachers, the stress from language restriction is alleviated. Such an intimate conception sometimes leads the class into an unmanageable state, where students behave boisterously and even impolitely in the presence of Korean teachers. Furthermore, it is not only the absence of linguistic and cultural barriers that cause rowdy behaviors in Korean classes, but also Korean teachers' tendency in their language regulation that facilitates informality. As stated in Example II-4 from the previous chapter, Korean teachers want Korean class to be a *linguistic shelter* that provides a sense of psychological security to students by imposing a lenient language policy. Therefore, unless directly addressed to teachers, using vulgar expressions, or being too loud to interrupt class activities, students' language use is not a subject of monitoring.

(3) The Predictive Model of Language Choice

Students generally indicate a lower degree of awareness of the degree of formality while in Korean classes. Students recognize the higher degree of

formality in *lecturing* and *giving instruction* phases as the interactions are mostly teacher-centered focal sequences that are conducted only in Korean. However, during the *teacher supporting* phase, students care lesser about the formality of the event and care only about appropriateness in a speech when directly addressing teachers.

Figure 2 demonstrates a predictive model of the language choice in Korean class setting that connect the above social-contextual factors in a choice making sequence.

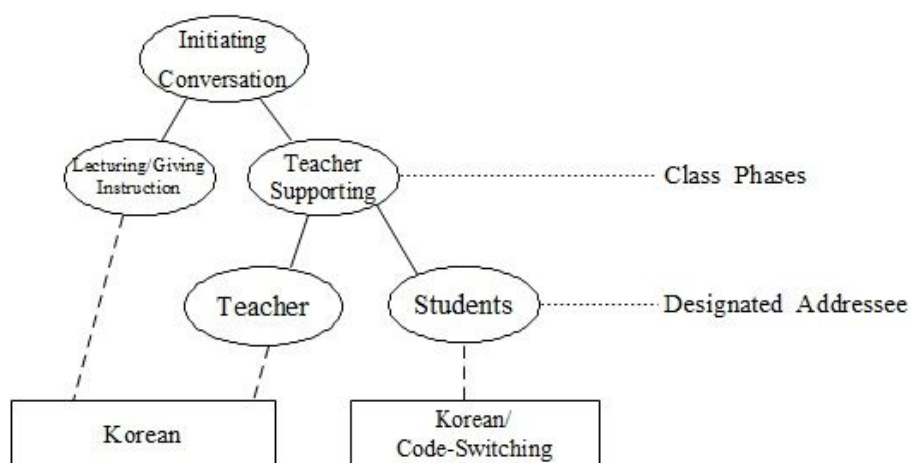Figure 2 Predictive Model of Language Choice in Korean Classes

During the first two class phases with a higher degree of formality, students are expected to speak only in Korean, as the primary addressee in interaction is the teachers who provide instruction in Korean. Once the class enters into the *teacher supporting* phase, students are rather unrestricted when choosing the language of interaction to address each other.

Degree of Formality	Class Phase	Teacher's Attention	Designated Addressee	Language in Use
High	Lecturing/ Giving Instruction	Whole Class	Teacher	Korean
Low	Teacher Supporting (group work or individual task)	Not Considered	Teacher	Korean
			Other Students	Korean/ Code-Switching

Table 3 Correlation between Degree of Formality and Language choice

As displayed in Table 3, students' conception of the degree of formality is less specifically subdivided compare with the conception in regular class setting, and students make language choices without concerning about teachers' presence or topics of conversation. Students only have to speak Korean when addressing to teachers. As teachers overlook students' English use or code-switching, the boundary of appropriateness in language use is blurred, thus, produces a casual environment for students' creative language use through code-switching.

3. Social-Contextual Factors of Language Choices in Recess

There is almost no regulation of language use during recess and lunch as teachers let students speak their language unless verbal misbehavior, such as cursing or name-calling is spotted and/or reported. In another word, the recess is the free time during the school when students do not worry about the adult-imposed communicative norms. Students can freely speak whatever language they feel comfortable. Nonetheless, without one language being declared in an official status, students' language choice is less predictable. The boundary between the statuses of two languages is blurred, as no language is considered to be more formal or informal. In this case, the

primary social-contextual factor to distinguish students' language choice is the activities students partake during recess. The activities are differently coordinated by gender, group size, and a period of enrollment, which will be examined in this section. The general tendency of grouping and participating activities among student is distinctively characterized by gender. Boys tend to play ball games in large groups while girls tend to gather in several small clusters playing small games and having small talks. Under the tendencies, boys in large groups often choose to interact in Korean regardless of each member's difference in a period of enrollment in the school. On the other hand, the period of enrollment plays a crucial role in characterizing each small girl-cluster. Among girls, clusters with members enrolling the school for a relatively longer period are likely to play and interact in English or English dominant code-switching, while other clusters with members enrolling in the school for a shorter period would play and interact more often in Korean.

(1) Large Group Sports

Most boys assemble in large numbers into one or two groups that play team sports such as soccer and baseball. The period of enrollment is wide-ranging; from ones enrolled in the school since their first grade to ones that are new to the school, so as their linguistic proficiency in English. Nevertheless, the common language for the boys is Korean. They share common rules, terms, and styles of speech used in the ball games in Korean as they acquired the registers while playing the sports among other Korean friends and from watching national team soccer games and KBO (Korean Baseball Organization) baseball league on television.

Example III-15 During recess, while waiting for their turn to bat, two boys are pretending to be sport commentators.

1   S1: *ja, yu-jihong seonsu, seonbal-ro nawatseum-nida. il hal, bangeoyu reun iljeom sai? ne, pyeong-gyun jachaek-jeomi il jeom sai imnida. ne, joeun girogijyo.*
     [*So the pitcher is Yu jihong. He is starting today. 1.00, His ERA is about 1.42? yes, it is 1.42, which is great.*]

2   S2: *ne, geureosseum-nida.*
     [*Yes, that's right.*]

3   S1: *ne, ilguneun Seuteuraik! je-daero deureo gatseumnida. sisok baeksa sip-pal killo-miteoui ḇareun jikgu↑.*
     [*Yes! starting with strike, straightly went into the zone. A fastball in 148 km/hr.*]

4   S2: *ne↑!*
     [*Yes↑!*]

5   S1: *ne, bulpeneun? ne bulpen-eun mun-junhyeun seonsuga itseum-nida. mun-junhyeun seonsu? ne ilgu ḇ[15])ol! ne igu-do? seuteuraikeu! won-aen-won kaunteu. ne, joajigo itseum-nida. A:: ruking samjin! ne, choegang-ui taja beibeu russeu-reul samjineul jabat seumnida.*
     [*So who's in the bullpen? Yes, Mun Junhyeun is in bullpen. Mun Junhyeun? The first ball is a ball! Second? strike! Out count now is one and one. it is getting better. Ah, strikeout looking! He caught strikeout from Babe Ruth, the best batter.*]

6   S2: *a daeum taja, jeri! ne, sijeun sam hal sam pun sa ri! joeun seong-jeok. ḇeong chyeotseum-nida! jwajung-gan neomeogam-nida homleon! sijeun baek ho homleon! bak-byeongho[16]) seonsureul neomeotseum-nida. daeumeneun? daeume-neun? bak-yeongbin seonsu. ne, il hal sam pun sa riui nappeun girok, bak-yeongbin seonsu.*
     [*Next batter is Jerry! Season average is 0.334, very good so far. He hits! It goes over the left center, homerun! 100th homerun for the season! He leads the race over ParkByungho. Who is next? Who is next? Park-Yeongbin stands at the batter box. Season average is 0.134, doesn't look so good. Park-Yeongbin.*]

7   S1: *ne, bak-yeongbin mireochyeotseum-nida! jwajung-gan ape tteoreo jineun anta!*
     [*Park Yeongbin pushes and hits! it's a hit on left center!*]

Example III-15 is an instance of two students playing commentator role

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15) ḇ - bilabial plosive with tense phonation [ㅃ]
16) Name of a famous Korean baseball player.

by imitating the broadcasting style of KBO baseball league while they are waiting for their turn to bat. Significantly, when students imitate the style, they make a great effort to use not only the same terms and expressions that the actual commentators use, but also to utter local pronunciations of English loan words (i.e. *b̥ol* [ball] on line 5, *homleon* [homerun] on line 6). In general, it is not only the broadcasting styles they adopt but also the terms and expressions they utter in Korean. For example, when students play soccer, they frequently use words like '*jasalgol* [own goal],' '*il-dae-il* [one on one],' and '*goldae* [goalpost]' instead of using corresponding English terms.

(2) Small Group Games

Most girls and some boys hang out in small clusters mostly mingle on one side of the school field around jungle gym, climbers, and balance boards. They spend their recess having small talks and/or playing small group playground games such as the Hopscotch, Tag, Hide-and-Seek, and various other forms of instantaneously generated simple playground games. Especially among girls, the choice of activity is certainly one of the most important determinants to make a difference in their language choice. Among 5th-graders, the most frequently observed small group game was Tag. When students play Tag, the language of interaction is most likely English. Students do not use corresponding Korean terms to call the game or explain the rules. For example, they neither call the game *sullaejapgi* [Korean name for Tag] nor call the chaser '*sullae*' ['it'].

Before the game begins, students choose who to be 'it' through rock-paper-scissors in English as in Example III-16.

Example III-16 During the recess, four boys are choosing 'It' by rock paper-scissor before playing Tag.

1   All: Rock paper scissor, shoot!
2   All: Rock paper scissor, shoot!
3   S1(boy): ((others threw rock while S1 threw paper)) *assa↑*
         [*Yes↑*]
4   S2(boy): Ah: again, rock paper scissor.
5   All: Rock paper scissor, shoot!
6   S3(boy): S2 you are it!
7   S1: Ok, don't move until I say start.
((all boys except S2 flee away))

As demonstrated in Example III-17, the interaction is also dominated by English use during the game.

Example III-17 During the recess, five girls play Tag.

1   S1(girl): Oh my god, ((runs away)) you are not gonna get!
2   S2(girl): Yea I am! ((follows S1))
3   S1: AH::! ((screams and runs close to S3))
4   S2: ((pivots, and runs toward S3))
5   S3(girl): AH::!
6   S2: ((tags S3)) S3, you are 'it'!
7   S3: Urgh, I'll revenge!
8   S1: Okay S3 is it↑ ((sees S3 starts to move)) AH::!

Students do not play in mixed-gender groups. However, the few boys that play Tag in Example III-16 are in common with the girls in Example III-17 regarding their period of enrollment. Both gender groups consist of a small number of students who have been enrolling in the school for more than 3 years and are more used to speak English in conversation.

However, the tendencies in member composition often differ by gender. The member composition in the cluster of the boys is solid, whereas girls usually form up in several groups with flexible member composition. Girls tend to gather with 5-6 members in each group, where 2-3 core members play leading roles while others straddle among several groups, and hang out in different groups depending on situations and the relationship among girls

at the time. However, the clear boundary in member composition among the girl-groups is observed when it gets to the activities they partake during recess. As stated above, the English labeled small group games such as Tag are rather played only by few numbers of girls in a solid group who have attended school for a relatively longer period. On the other hand, most girls attended school for 1-2 years tend to spend their recess having casual talks in Korean dominated code-switching.

(3) Small Talks

During lunch, students sit at the same table with their close friends. While the majority of boys playing sports together usually eat together in a mass occupying several tables, most girls and other boys sit at separate tables in small groups of close friends where each group is distinguished by students' dominant language use. After lunch, the same groups of students get out to the school field to walk around the track or mingle around jungle gyms chitchatting, teasing, and playing pranks on each other, which I classify as small talk. Often, most small talks occur in code-switching between English and Korean as sighted in Example III-18.

Example III-18 During the recess, two girls are talking to each other on the playground

1   S1(girl): ((pretending to send a radio message)) Where are you, S2?
2   S2(girl): ((pretending to send a radio message)) Somewhere.
3   S1: Somewhere? ((looks on his palm while pretending if there is a location tracking device)) wichi chujeok, *ṭị ṭị ṭị ḍị ṭị ṭị*. Oh↑, you really are at somewhere. A Place called 'Somewhere.'
      [Somewhere? Location tracking, beep beep beep bee-beep beep. Oh, you really are at somewhere. A place called 'Somewhere'.]

When asked, students report that they recognize the basic form of an

informal interactional language is code-switching.

Example III-19 An excerpt from an interview with two girls.

R: When you talk to your friend, do you use Korean or English?
S1(girl): Well, half and half. Let's say I am talking to Kimmy, I would say "Kimmy *na* hungry *hae*." so like this I mix them.
  [Well, half and half. Let's say I am talking to Kimmy, I would say "Kimmy *I am* hungry" so like this I mix them.]
R: Yes, I saw you guys do those a lot of times. Do you speak the same way out of the class?
S1: Yes, in the class and out of the class. It depends on when and which friend I am talking to.

For most students being Korean native speakers, yet having elementary education in English, they are familiar with both languages. As S1 reports, they find it easy and comfortable to speak in code-switching depending on the issue of conversation and with whom they have the conversation.

(4) The Predictive Model of Language Choice

Certainly, the relative period of enrollment and English proficiency are closely related to the language choices under informal domains. Students relatively new to the school with only 1-2 years of enrollment find it easier to get along in groups that mainly use Korean while ones attending the school for 3 years or longer period tend to gather up in groups with embodied use of English-dominant code-switching in casual interaction. Nevertheless, friend groups are more clearly distinguished when observing the activities students engage and the language they use. As discussed in previous sections, the friend groups are mostly single-gender groups, and the size of groups differs significantly between gender groups. While boys tend to assemble in 1-2 large groups with more than 10 members and few other small clusters of 4-6 members, girls gather up in several numbers of small

clusters, each with no more than 7 members. Table 4 displays the number of friend group members that are distributed differently by gender and regularly participating activity within Korean student population in 5th grade, the total of 53.

Boys	Large Group Sports		Small Group Games		Small Group Games	
	18-19		3-4		3-4	
Girls	Small Group Games	Small Group Games/ Small Talks	Small Talks	Small Talks	Small Talks	
	6-7	4-5	4-5	4-5	4-5	

Table 4 Friend Group Composition by Gender and Activity

The distribution in Table 4 only indicates a general tendency of students' participating activities. Therefore, changes in participating activities and friend group membership are frequently observed. Still, it is important to note the number of friend groups and number of the members remained unchanging during the period of observation.

Figure 3 indicates the correlation between the gender and activities in above friend group composition with the language of interaction.
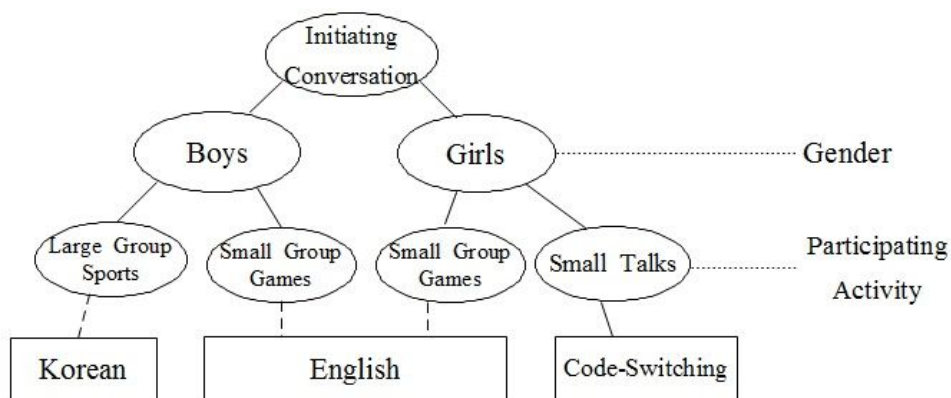
Figure 3 Predictive Model of Language Choice in Recess

As displayed in Figure 3, the activities align with students' language choices especially among boys who assemble in large groups interact in Korean regardless of members' English proficiency. With the participating activities being the primary factor of language choice, boys in large groups play ball games in Korean, while some girls and boys gather in single-gender clusters playing small group playground games interacting in English or English dominant code-switching. Lastly, most girls with a relatively shorter period of enrollment divide into several small clusters spending the recess having casual talks in Korean dominated code-switching.

In this chapter, I examined three different communicative norms in the school distinguished by social settings: one with the strict regulation of English use, another one with lesser strict language regulation, and the last one with a lenient and informal tendency on students' language choices. The first norm occurs in regular class setting, the second in Korean class setting, and the last one at recess and lunch. As a result, I discovered the degree of formality is considered most importantly to distinguish the settings and the communicative norms. In regular class setting, where the degree of formality is generally higher, students need to concern more social-contextual factors

before switching into Korean. However, in the other two settings where the degree of formality is definitely lower, fewer numbers of social-contextual factors are in concern, and I was able to observe students' utilization of inter- and intra-sentential language switching more frequently.

IV. UNMARKED AND MARKED CODE-SWITCHING

Previously in Chapter III, I examined social settings and contextual factors that affect students' language choices through predictive models. However, the models do not allow complete prediction of language choices; it rather serves to define few significant conditions considered before making normally and ideally acceptable choices. Among the choices, code-switching is a remarkable linguistic practice that occurs mostly in informal conditions. Before we begin the discussion on the patterns and meanings of code-switching, there is one notable point to make about the notion of the term 'code-switching' in relation with the term 'code-mixing.' Some scholars (Bokamba 1988, Muysken 2001) set a strict boundary between 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing' while others (Myers-Scotton 1989, 1998) use them interchangeably. For example, Muysken (2001) brings the term 'code-mixing' only to refer intra-sentential switching among linguistic varieties while utilizing 'code-switching' to refer inter-sentential switching. Also, other scholars utilize the term to refer pidginized language use (Park 2012). On the other hand, Myers-Scotton (1989) claims that the concepts are undistinguished as she focuses on *markedness* of messages rather than the formal features or interactional sequences of switching. For this research, I adopt Myer-Scotton's perspective on the differentiation of two terms, thus, only use the term 'code-switching,' as my analysis will be based on the notion of *markedness* of social message to interpret the students' practice of code-switching.

Students' practices of code-switching are distinguishable in terms of *markedness*. There may be a dominant unmarked choice "in terms of frequency and reference to norms of the dominant group" (Myers-Scotton 1998: 6), whereas a marked choice that conveys "a negotiation for

something other than the unmarked balance of rights and obligations" (Myers-Scotton 1989: 334). However, it is important to note that while speakers' social and psychological motivation being unclear, *markedness* in practices of code-switching is difficult to distinguish. In this study, I differentiate the unmarked and marked use of code-switching in terms not only of frequency but also of salience in the implication of non-referential meanings.

Code-switching is unmarked when occurs without situational shifts, changing an addressee, or implicated meanings. It is often an instantaneous but patterned utterance. Students often direct class relative terms in English rather than translate into Korean, or embed Korean in a lexical gap on colloquial words and expressions while speaking English. Then, there is marked code-switching, which the act of switching from one linguistic resource to another itself generates pragmatic and social meanings not disclosed in an examination of syntactic structure. Even though speakers' psychological motivation is often undisclosed, the intention for code-switching often lies in the articulation of social meanings, thus, is more likely strategic rather than unconscious.

1. Topics and Patterns of Unmarked Code-Switching

For students, there are shared topics and patterns that often accompany with their practices of code-switching. Students habitually switch languages either to fill in a lexical gap within one's linguistic repertoire on certain topics or to use preferred terms and expressions in one language over another. Whether the motivation of switching comes from students' competence or preference, the topics of switching can be summed up in three categories. The first is casual words and expressions, the second is expressions of pain and illness, and the last is mathematical vocabulary.

(1) Casual Words and Expressions

Most students regularly embed Korean words and expressions while speaking English. The motivation is most likely to fill in a lexical gap in English. The lexical gap may indicate one's lacking competence in English, yet can also be from one's attempt to find most suitable expression to describe interactional meaning. The lexical gap is generated in areas such as: (i) the words students know in Korean as they heard from parents and friends, or learned from television, but never had the same experience with such expressions in English (ii) English loan words differently read or not used in Standard English.

Example IV-1 and IV-2 are instances where lexical gaps occur while speaking English, so students simply switch into Korean when the interaction is among friends. On the other hand, following Example IV-3 and IV-4 demonstrate cases of communicative misfire students experience when they pronounce English loan words in Korean pronunciation without noticing.

Example IV-1 During the class, two students sitting next to each other are researching on a leadership.

1   S1(girl): ((looking on the screen searching for Steve Jobs)) Hey!
2   S2(girl): Yea?
3   S1: Steve Jobs *talmo*, *wonhyeong-talmo*.
        [*Steve Jobs is losing hair, it's a spot baldness.*]

Example IV-2 During the class, two students are having a small talk while working on a group project.

1   S1(boy): I put my *handeupon* into the laundry machine, and then it
        was alright.
        [I put my *cellular phone* into the laundry machine, and then it
         was alright.]
2   S2(girl): Maybe it's *bangsu*.

[Maybe it's *waterproof*.]
3　　S1: No, it isn't.
4　　S2: *bimil bangsu:*.
　　　　　[It's *secretly waterproof:*.]

　　On line 3 of Example IV-1, when S1 says '*talmo, wonhyeong-talmo*,' she may know corresponding English words or expression to *talmo* [hair loss], but clearly does not know the word for *wonhyeong-talmo* [spot baldness]. It is easy to use the words in Korean as she would have naturally acquired from joking about baldness with her friends or family, or on television. However, she would have never heard in English as it is a term for a medical condition that she would have smaller chance to hear in conversational uses within the school environment. The similar situation occurs on '*handeupon* [cellular phone]' on line 1 and '*bangsu* [water-proof]' on line 2 and 4 of Example IV-2. Though *handeupon* is a Korean pronunciation of English 'hand + phone', it is a vernacular version of English loanword. As in Standard English, it would rather be a "mobile" or a "cellular/cell phone". However, for a boy who was raised in Korea, it is unclear whether he knows the words in Standard English or not. Even if he knows, it is clear that he is not used to referring the device in Standard English words. Similarly on lines 2 and 4, regardless of the girl's proficiency, the English word "waterproof" is not a colloquial expression in her everyday life. Thus, it should have been much easier for her to say '*bangsu*' instantaneously than 'waterproof,' as it is a word she hears more frequently.

Example IV-3 During the class, students are sharing what they did during last weekend.

1　　S1(boy): On Sunday, I watched *Asian* game.
　　　　　[On Sunday, I watched *as^{h}ian* game.]
2　　T: Huh?

3   S2(boy): Asian game.
            [eʒən game.]
4   S1: Oh, Asian game, and then I went to play hockey.
            [Oh, eʒən game, and then I went to play hockey.]

Example IV-4 During recess, a student is reporting a misbehavior he saw during the recess to a teacher.

1   S1(boy): So like, I was doing *kkolki.*
            [So like, I was doing *goalie.*]
2   T: You were what?
3   S1: I was doing *kkolki.*
            [I was doing *goalie.*]
4   T: You were the goalkeeper? A goalie?
5   S1: Yea, yea, yea.

Asian in Example IV-3, *kkolki* in Example IV-4 are examples of English loanwords being pronounced differently in Korean. In both cases, students misfire to deliver their message to the teachers, by pronouncing [*asʰian*] for the word "Asian" and [*kkolki*] for "goalie". Both words are uttered in vernacular pronunciation that is unintelligible to a native English speaker. On line 3 of Example IV-3, one of the classmates help the student to repair the pronunciation, and on line 4 of Example IV-4, a teacher helps the student to repair on what he was referring. Such a miscellaneous use of vernacular English loanword in place of Standard English occurs very often in and out of classrooms. In formal conditions, they are asked to repeat what they meant, and repairing processes follow.

(2) Expressions of Pain and Illness

The second topic is on expressions of illness, pain, or body parts under pain. In general, students do not have much experience of expressing illness or describing where in their body part is hurting. Especially, even though the school environment is mostly English-operated, the school nurses are

Korean natives who communicate with students in Korean. Thus, students' chances to learn such expressions in English are very limited. However, there are occasions when they have to ask a teacher to go to nurse's office for treatment, or to talk about their symptoms to a friend. They usually hesitate to simplify the expression in English, translate directly, or just express or describe in Korean. Example IV-5 is a case of describing a medical condition using Korean word, and Example IV-6 is a direct translation of a symptom in English.

Example IV-5 During the class, two students are sitting next to each other during the lunch.

1   S1(boy): ((sees S2 picking his nose)) Ew:: *ko pa!*
         [Ew:: *you are picking your nose*]
2   S2(boy): No, *biyeom!*
         [No, *it's a nasal inflammation.*]

Example IV-6 During the class, a student asks his homeroom teacher to go to the nurse's office for treatment on his sour throat.

S1(boy): ((while holding his throat)) Mr. Rudy, my neck hurts, can I go to the nurse?

In Example IV-5, S2 uses a nasal inflammation as an excuse to avoid getting teased for picking his nose. However, he clearly does not know the English word nasal inflammation or any other expression in line with it to make his excuse. Thus, he simply uses the Korean word *biyeom*. Also in Example IV-6, S1 talks to a teacher about his sour throat. He says that his neck hurts instead of saying his throat is hurting while holding his throat. It would not be an easily understood expression to a native English speaker. There is a mismatch of the bodily gesture and the verbal description when he claims to have neck pain while holding his throat. The teacher interprets what he meant through observing his bodily gesture as his hand was on his

throat and sent him to the nurse's office. Example IV-7 is another example indicating students' lexical weakness in an expression of illness, body parts, and medical treatments.

Example IV-7 During recess, a student describes his mother's illness to a researcher.

> S1(boy): My dad is *hanuisa*. so (1.5) like (0.5) my mom's body is really hot, like sweat didn't come out. After she ate *hanyak*, she uh:: *ttam* came out. But (1.0) she didn't like (2.0) and then she hurt her body again. Her *heori, heori apeusidaeyo*. So, she said she didn't wanna eat anything. So (1.0) and then when she sees like food, she throws kinda up, and then so my dad *chim nwasseoyo*. And then she got kinda better, ate *juk*. She is recovering right now, but because my mom had to get *chim*, I got it too.
> [My dad is a *doctor in oriental medicine*. So, like my mom's body is really hot, like sweat didn't come out. After she ate *oriental medicine*, she, uh, *sweat* came out. But she didn't like, and then she hurt her body again. Her *back, she got a backache*. So, she said she didn't wanna eat anything. So, and then when she sees like food, she throws kinda up, and then so my dad *treated her with acupuncture*. And then she got kinda better, ate *rice porridge*. She is recovering right now, but because my mom had to get *acupuncture*, I got it too.]

S1 is fairly competent in English, holds confidence in speaking English, and normally practices English dominant code-switching with his friends and older brother in informal conditions. However, as indicated in Example IV-7, there is a notable deficiency in English for expressions of symptoms and medical treatments when the boy frequently switches by making intra-sentential direct translations in Korean words and expressions and embedding Korean sentences to describe body parts and terms for medical treatment while maintaining to use English as matrix language.

(3) Mathematical Vocabulary

Lastly, mathematics, from simple counting to complex equations, is an academic area where students' familiarity in Korean reveals saliently. Most Korean students acquire mathematic knowledge at *hagwon*s and through *hakseupji*s in advance of their grade level. When teachers introduce a new chapter in mathematics with the class, it is often the first time to confront the concepts for most foreign students while local students already learned them in advance. However, most students learn mathematic vocabulary in Korean but not the corresponding words or expressions in English. Thus, they know how to answer the problems, but have difficulty describing their answers in English. Counting also is difficult for local students when they have to read large numbers that goes over thousands. They often hesitate before uttering the numbers as they have to translate the numbers in thought.

Example IV-8 On a publically displayed Math Problem Wall, a student wrote a mathematical concept in Korean orthography to help other students' understanding.

    S1: Construction means *jakdo*. *jakdo* means drawing shapes only using rulers and compasses.

Example IV-8 illustrates a shared habitual usage of Korean mathematic terms when there is no corresponding word in English within students' linguistic repertoire. Sometimes teachers allow verbal usage of Korean when students have difficulties explaining their answers. It is usually word problems that students find most difficult to describe or understand in English. When the concepts are explained in Korean in a single word, they immediately understand and solve the given problem. Example IV-8 is one of the cases where students are tasked to solve a problem posted on a Math Problem Wall but had difficulty to figure out how to. Then, one of the students solved the problem and wanted to explain the key concept

"construction" in Korean *jakdo* to share the solution. He asked his teacher for permission to write what it means next to the problem to help other students, and the teacher allowed him to do so.

Example IV-9 During the class, two girls talk about a math problem.

1   S1(girl): I did *sibyuk-jeom-sa.*
         [I did *sixteen-point-four.*]
2   S2(girl): I did *sibi.* I mean, I need to do twelve now.
         [I did *twelve.* I mean, I need to do twelve now.]
3   S1: *sibi-jeom-o,* then *jjeom jjeom jjeom.*
         [*Twelve-point-five*, then *point, point, point.*]
4   S2: I don't *eo jamkkanman,* ((writing her calculation on a paper)) *a::
         sibi-jeom-o rago haen-neunde dasi haeya-doenda.*
         [I don't, *uh wait. Ah! I put twelve-point-five then I need to do it
         again.*]

Meanwhile, Example IV-9 demonstrates how students find it easier to count numbers in Korean. As a number gets bigger or in fractional numbers, it gets more complicated to utter the numbers in English. Therefore, students habitually utter the numbers in Korean unless they have to present to an entire class or to talk to the teacher.

We examined in the above examples of topics and patterns of students' practices of code-switching. The aim of the section was to classify the topics and patterns of unmarked code-switching to examine primarily how Korean sociolinguistic features are utilized whether the motivation lies in competence or preference. As a result, I discovered that students mostly embed Korean words and expressions in attempt to redeem the deficiency in the interactional use of English. In next section, we move on to observe the marked use of code-switching as a practice of creating pragmatic and non-referential meanings from interactions through the interpretive approach.

2. Marked Code-Switching and Emerging Meanings in Interaction

Most students in Morning Calm International practice code-switching as a mean to deliver various non-referential and implicit social meanings. Many theoretical models proposed an explanation for the social phenomenon of code-switching affiliate with Gumperz(1982) tradition by distinguishing situational and metaphorical code-switching. Furthermore, metaphorical code-switching is classified into six different social functions: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, and personalization versus objectivization. Meanwhile, as stated in the first chapter, Auer(1984) provides a supplementary approach to the notion of metaphorical code-switching while criticizing Gumperz's model for relying too much on macro-sociological factors on the interpretation of interactional meanings. His notion of discourse-related and participant-related code-switching (Auer 2005) rather explores locally-produced, instantaneous, and emerging meanings from an act of code-switching by focusing solely on the interactional scene.

To align with Auer's theoretical classification, the analysis of conversational code-switching in this study takes an interactional/interpretive approach focusing on locally constructed social meanings. Yet, I also adopt terms to describe the pragmatic functions in Gumperz (1982)'s classification of metaphorical code-switching. In this section, students' use of code-switching is divided into two categories: (1) marker of topic and frame changes and (2) expression and adjustment of social relationship.

(1) Marker of Topic and Frame Changes

For the section, the focus is on students' utilization of code-switching to change a topic of interaction, shift discursive frame, or generate side-

sequences. More specifically, it discusses following two most frequently observed interactional functions that emerge from code-switching: (i) personal experience versus factual representation and (ii) emphasis on message.

(i) Personal Experience versus Factual Representation

The first practice of code-switching utilizes the polarized perceptions in each linguistic resource. It roughly corresponds to what Gumperz(1982) termed as the *quotation* (ibid: 75) and *personalization versus objectivization* (ibid: 80). On the one hand, students regularly practice code-switching in attempt to make quoted statement to deliver a factual account of narrated events. On the other, students also utilize code-switching to deliver their own emotions and opinion. In this process, they locate two linguistic resources in juxtaposition with contrasting functions. Korean mostly operates as a code of emotions, thoughts, or opinions about oneself, while English operates as a code of an objective perspective.

Example IV-10 S1 talks about the trouble she got in for not doing her homework to her friend.

S1(girl): *eo, na eo-jeo-kke keom(pyu)teo an ga-jyeo-ga-seo sukje mo-tae-seo.* So do you know what Mr. Vick said? he said, I said "I'll do my homework at recess," then he said, "no, you have to finish your homework at home, never to do homework in recess," so I was *eo museowo. seonsaeng-nimi haji mallanikka kkamjjak nollae-seo. wanjeon kkamjjak nollae-seo.*
    [*Uh, I forgot to bring my computer yesterday, so I couldn't do my homework.* So do you know what Mr. Vick said? he said, I said "I'll do my homework at recess," then he said, "no, you have to finish your homework at home, never to do homework in recess," so I was *so scared. I was so surprised for a teacher telling me not to do homework. I was so surprised.*]

Example IV-10 demonstrates S1's utilization of code-switching in her

narrative on what happened in the morning when she told her teacher that she did not do her homework. There is two pragmatic functions emerge from her code-switching: (i) *quotation*, as she acts out what she said at the time, and what her teacher said as a response to her excuse. She switches into English to shift her role in the narrated event and to accurately present what happened by quoting her voice and her teacher's. She also makes a slight adjustment of her voice quality when she acts out her teacher's response by lowering her tone. (ii) *Personalization versus objectivization*, as she expresses how she felt when the teacher declined her offer to do homework during recess. She switches her mode of account from factual presentation to the expression of a sentimental state by switching into Korean. It is an efficient pragmatic use of code-switching.

Example IV-11 During the Korean class, two girls sitting next to each other are having a casual talk.

1   S1(girl): I have too much homework. Ah: *nado* Mr. Rudy *keullaseu ye oseoseu-myeon joketda.* Mr. Vick *eun noneun geo jalhaneun daesine sukje neomu mana.*
     [I have too much homework. Ah, *I wish I was in* Mr. Rudy's *class too.* Mr. Vick *is fun when playing, but there is too much homework.*]
2   S2(girl): *jamkkanman, neo* five C *ji?*
     [*Wait, you are in* 5C *right?*]
3   S1: *eung.*
     [Yes.]
4   S2: *neone geunde* homework *jinjja manteora.*
     [*You guys do have too much* homework.]
5   S1: *A geureonikka↑ waeilke mani junyago*! Like, we have to find current event article, read thirty minutes to do reading log, and then so many math things.
     [*That's right! Why giving so much?* Like, we have to find current event article, read thirty minutes to do reading log, and then so many math things.]

   Example IV-11 is another example of code-switching with students'

utilization of the pragmatic function, *personalization versus objectivization*. When two students chitchat during the Korean class, S1 makes notable switching from English to Korean on line 1. She first states the fact that her homeroom teacher gives too much homework in English then switches into Korean to illustrate how differently she feels about two homeroom teachers in comparison. Also, on line 5, S1 continues using Korean to state her dissatisfactory feelings on her teacher and then switches into English to specify the list of all the homework that her class has to do for a day. A Similar pattern of using code-switching with English as a factual representative language and Korean as a personal and emotional expressive language occurs in Example IV-12.

Example IV-12 During the class, four students are working in a group to make a keynote presentation as a group-task.

1   S1(girl): Hey S2, you know the IS thing Mr. Vick was talking about? *chaja-bwa wanjeon janinhae*. They *mak* holds other person's arm, and then it didn't show but, cuts it and uh: so yuck!
       [Hey S2, you know the IS thing Mr. Vick was talking about? *Look for it, it's really cruel.* They, *like*, holds other person's arm, and then it didn't show but, cuts it and uh: so yuck!]
2   S2(boy): What? ISIS?
3   S3(boy): Oh hey, why don't we do ISIS?
4   S4(boy): No, no. you know why? It's getting too violent. *naega meon jeo hallyeogo chaja bwan-neunde, mak* they cut heads, uh:: *jinjja to nawa*.
       [No, No. you know why? It's getting too violent. *I looked for it first to go with it, but then like* they cut heads, uh:: *It makes me puke*.]

In Example IV-12, students debate on whether to choose Islamic States (hereafter, IS) as their subject of a keynote presentation. S1 (line 1) and S4 (line 4) practice code-switching in the same pattern while making comments on the cruelty of IS they watched in video clips. S1 switches from English

into Korean to tell S2 to search for a video that she thought was too cruel. Also on line 4, as S4 declines S3's suggestion to take IS as their subject, he switches into Korean to express that he felt like puking because of his internet research displayed too much violence and cruelty. In this case, switching into Korean was an act of showing how one thinks or feels about the discussed issue while English takes a role of stating facts.

Example IV-13 Three students were staying in an empty classroom during the recess to finish up with their group task. Then S1, their friend, comes over with his computer to sit next to them.

1   S1(boy): Hi.
2   S2(boy): Why are you here?
3   S1: Well.
4   S2: You are doing it alone?
5   S1: *a: naega da haeyaji mwo.*
      [*Well, of course I have to do it alone.*]
6   S2: Yea, *insaengi irae.* L
      [Yea, *life is like this.* L]
7   S3(boy): Hey S1, you know? S2 had lied. I told everyone that I will be putting our things on Google Drive, and I told him too. Then S2 said he will put up his things, but didn't. So I'm just putting all up.
8   S2: What? I didn't lie. It just took too much time to get into the Google Drive thing.
9   S1: *ya ya, urineun mwo haneun jul ara? aedeureun?*
      [*Hey hey, you know what my group does? My group members?*]
10   S2: *mak jjajeungnaegiman hae?*
      [*They annoy you?*]
11   S1: *uri geurup ae-deureun. geurigo nahante mwo-ra geureo-neun jul ara? gyaene hanado* work *reul an-hamyeonseo, nahante* "Work, S1!" *a, jinjja.*
      [*My group members. You know what they tell me then? They tell me,* "Work, S1!" *when they don't* do any work. *Seriously!*]
12   S4(boy): *jagineun an-hamyeonseo* "ya, hae. ya, hae. ya, hae." boo::
      [*When they don't do work, but they say* "Hey, work! Hey, work! Hey, work!" boo::]

The students in Example IV-13 are all close friends. However, while other boys got into the same group for the class activity, S1 had to be separated and work with other boys who do not get along with S1. S1 has been complaining about how uncooperative his teammates are in doing group tasks, so all the boys in the conversation already know how S1 feels about his teammates. When S1 makes complaints on line 9 and 11, S1 switches into Korean to talk about his personal experience with his teammates. He shortly switches into English on line 11 to quote his teammates telling him to work while they do not.

All the above examples presented contrasting functions of English and Korean in the juxtaposed use. English works as a code of factual representation and Korean as a code of personal experience. However, the functional relationship between two linguistic resources can be flexible depending on situations and other contextual factors such as an interactional participant, as shown in Example IV-14.

Example IV-14 During the Korean class, S1 makes code-switching from Korean into English while talks to a Korean teacher about her conversation with her mother.

> S1(girl): *uri appaneunnyo, hakgyo neomu mani swindago sireohago eomma-neun joahaeyo. jeo geuttae chelro, chelro siganeul, lesson haneunge jungyohanikka. eomma-ga jeo chelro leseunbi-ga hakgyoboda deo nagandaeyo. geungkka naega eommabogo "eomma, you are kidding," iraeseoyo.*
> [*My dad doesn't like it when school has too many holidays, but my mom likes it because I use that time for cello. Cello lesson is more important. My mom told me cello lesson cost more than the school tuition. So I told her "Mom, you are kidding."*]

In Example IV-14, the designated addressee in the conversation is a Korean teacher. While stating what her parents says about school holidays, S1 uses Korean, then switches into English while quoting herself about what

she said to her mother. In this case, Korean is used as an appropriate language to report a factual account to a Korean teacher, while English serves the role to demonstrate her interjective response to her mother's comment on cello lesson fee. If the designated addressee was a homeroom teacher, she might have been saying the whole thing in English, and if the addressee was her friend, she might have been switching her language around differently. However, she makes different use of code-switching as the addressee was a Korean teacher, not as authoritative as homeroom teachers but not as affable as her friends. She uses Korean as a language to represent factual information, and English as a language to express personal emotion.

(ii) Emphasis on Message

Next implicit meanings of code-switching correspond to Gumperz(1982)'s notion of *reiteration* (ibid: 78) and *message qualification* (ibid: 79), which are the most frequently occurring usage of code-switching in the school. The act of code-switching, in this case, is to emphasize and to provide more detailed information on a message. First to focus on the function of *reiteration*, it is a use of code-switching to repeat the message in different languages to amplify or emphasize a message (Gumperz 1982) as demonstrated in Example IV-15.

Example IV-15 During the class, students are peer-reviewing on each other's presentation before presenting to a teacher.

1   S1(girl): S2, check my presentation.
2   S2(boy): Ok, ok.
3   S1: *gwangwang hasijyo.* I didn't copy it.
        [*Why don't you have a tour?* I didn't copy it.]
4   S3(girl): She did, you know she did,
5   S1: No I didn't. Seriously, stop↑ *a jinjja haji mallago!*

[No I didn't. Seriously, stop↑ *Uh seriously, I said stop it!*]

S1 and S3 are best friends and had been joking around each other's work before S1 asked S2 to give peer-review on her presentation on line 1. On line 5, S1 repeats her utterance of the same message to S3 at first in English, and then in Korean, to indicate the seriousness of her mood. This use of code-switching then takes a reiterative function to amplify the message.

Example IV-16 While going out for the recess, S1 talks to the researcher.

1   S1(boy): Life is hard, *insaengeun himdeun geoeyo.*
     [Life is hard, *Life is difficult.*]
2   R: Dude, you are twelve. L Why is life hard? Your life is beautiful.
3   S1: Not really.
4   S2(boy): Life is terrifying LL.
5   S1: Life is hard, there is nothing. *mulbangul gatayo.*
     [Life is hard, there is nothing. *Life is like a drop of water.*]

S1 practices reiterative code-switching twice on line 1 and 5 by delivering the same message first in English and then in Korean. S1 frames himself in a pessimistic mood but is not serious as he is smiling when he says it. S2 also adds a comment in playful attitude on line 4 when he passes by the interactional scene. In this sense, S1 uses the amplifying effect of code-switching to exaggerate his despair, ultimately to induce a smile on the researcher.

Example IV-17 During the class, S1 is asking for a help while using a drawing tool on her computer.

1   S1(girl): Can you help me? How do you erase this? *geumbang dwae igeo?*
     [Can you help me? How do you erase this? *Can it be done right away?*]

2   S2(girl): *eung? geunyang hae.*
       [*Huh? Just do it.*]
3   S1: S2, how do you only erase this? Only this. *eo: jom bwabwa igeo eotteoke jiwo?*
       [S2, how do you only erase this? Only this. *Hey, look at this. How do I erase this?*]

S1 in Example IV-17 also uses the amplifying effect of reiterative code-switching when she tries to draw S2's attention for help with using the digital drawing tool on line 3 when S2 seems to be indifferent. By repeating her request in Korean, she emphasizes the seriousness of the issue, saying that she desperately needs S2's help at the moment.

To move on to the use of code-switching for a message qualification, it is a pragmatic practice to modify and add details to a message by the act of switching, as demonstrated in Example IV-18.

Example IV-18 During the class, each student is working individually on English literacy using a computer.

1   S1(boy): *ya, na mwoharaneun geonji ihaega andwae.* Look, on this ((pointing on his screen)), it doesn't make any sense. Sentence combining? I don't understand what I had to do. Did you see my email?
       [*Hey, I don't understand what we have to do.* Look, on this, it doesn't make any sense. Sentence combining? I don't understand what I had to do. Did you see my email?]
2   S2(girl): No, I didn't.
3   S1: I sent it ((looks on S2's screen)) *neo jiwotji?*
       [I sent it. *You erased it, didn't you?*]
4   S2: *an jiwoseo, an waseo.*
       [*No, I didn't erase it. I didn't receive it.*]

In Example IV-18, when S1 asks S2 a question on the task, he utilizes code-switching to qualify his message. At first, he asks S2 in Korean that he does not understand the task. Then switches to English, to specify the message by pointing on his screen and by asking the part of the problem

he does not understand.

Example IV-19 During the class, S1 reviews on S2's paraphrasing worksheet when he says that he is done.

1   S1(boy): Yay, I'm done.
2   S2(boy): No, you have to do all.
3   S1: Yup! Done.
4   S2: No, if you are done, all the articles, *bandaejjok-do da haeya dwae dwi-edo da haeya dwae.*
     [No, if you are done, all the articles *include ones on the other side of the paper. The other side also needs to be done.*]

In Example IV-19, S2 also applies code-switching to qualify on line 4. On line 4, the first part of the sentence is uttered in English and then modified by switching into Korean. S2 first utters in English to point out incompleteness of S1's assignment. Then switches into Korean to give him more detailed instruction of what he needs to do before he claims to be finished with the activity, saying that there are more articles on the other side of the worksheet.

In this section, my primary purpose was to explore the pragmatic functions of students' use of code-switching for changes in the topic, discursive frame, and emphasis of messages. Through the analysis, I was able to capture the general tendency of the polarized notions on each linguistic resource as students often used English to discuss and represent the factual events while using Korean to describe their personal feelings and thoughts through microscale analysis in several interactions. Nevertheless, such distinguished notions on each linguistic resource were insignificant when code-switching was applied in attempt to emphasize or qualify messages in interactions. The distinctive functions of each language will be in the further discussion in connection with shared identity among students in next section.

(2) Expression and Adjustment of Social Relationship

In this section, the focus is to examine students' use of code-switching in an articulation of social relations. Often the use of code-switching relates with the expression of shared identity, disposing of two linguistic resources in a contrary relationship. I classify the practices of code-switching under following three categories: (i) expression of intimacy, (ii) adjustment of social distance, and (iii) slang as an assertion of secrecy.

(i) Expression of Intimacy

Most practices of code-switching are exchanging between two main linguistic resources: Korean and English. Meanwhile, Konglish is also an applicable linguistic resource in the practice of code-switching. One notable aspect of the practice of switching into Konglish is that there is no change in a topic of conversation or a situation. As discussed earlier in Chapter II, Konglish in the school limitedly refers to the playful style of English with an intentional error in pronunciation and/or grammar. Using Konglish is recognized as an acceptable act of rhetorical switching[17] (Ervin-Tripp 2001) for a giggle or expressing intimacy in a playful situation. Students often utilize the implicated sense of humor in intimate interactions among Korean locals. Students may use Konglish to each other regardless of homeroom teacher's presence if they measure the degree of formality in the class being relatively low. When a teacher sees students using Konglish, one may or may not advise them what the correct form of English is, but would not warn them for violating the communicative norm to use English. Students

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17) A rhetorical switching means shifting of dialect features at any level, prosodic, phonological, lexical, or syntactic, in which serves similar function as bilingual code-switching.

recognize Konglish, as a *disembodied style*, only capable of being uttered by ones embodying Standard English. Therefore, teachers would already know that the student is capable of speaking English correctly, and assume that one is only in a playful mood. Teachers would accept the use if the class is in a casual situation as well (i.e. during transitions between classes). Therefore, students with confidence in English proficiency may freely practice rhetorical switching into Konglish during the class. Example IV-20 demonstrates the notion of Konglish as a useful linguistic resource with a humorous function.

Example IV-20 The class is getting in a line to go out for recess. Homeroom teacher stands next to the door, waiting for line leader and backline leader to line students up and quiet them down. S1, a backline-leader is hurrying students to line up.

1 S1(boy): ((pointing S2 to line up)) You so busy!
2 S2(boy): I have so many snacks ((gets on line)).
3 S1: ((giving a thumb up to S4, line-leader)) Bart̪[18], goot̪ goot̪
4 S3(boy): Bart, he said good.
((S4 lead the line out as teacher nods signaling okay to go on))
5 S1: b̪[19])ye, teacher.

During a transitional period for the class and the recess, the situation is determined to a relatively lower degree of formality. The teacher is not as strict when he is about to release students. He understands that students are excited. S1, the backline leader, utilizes Konglish by deleting verb to express intimacy to S2 while telling him to hurry up. Once everyone got in line, he then makes phonemic shifts (line 3) to induce smiles while telling S4, the line leader, that everyone is ready. At last on line 5, he even makes such phonation to his teacher by calling him "teacher" instead of calling him in a normative addressing form of "Mr. + last name". It is an

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18) t̪ - alveolar plosive with tense phonation [ㄸ]
19) b̪ - bilabial plosive with tense phonation [ㅃ]

interference of Korean sociolinguistic rules of addressing. Regardless of what addressing term he used or how he pronounced certain words, it was intelligible English. Therefore, the teacher lets him go without correcting him. Just as S1 did in this instance, students easily practice the rhetorical switching into Konglish by adjusting few linguistic features to remark their utterance as a playful and intimate expression without explicit shifts in topics or a situation.

Example IV-21 During the class, S1 and S2 are sitting next to each other while writing a paragraph about oneself. They are both aware that a teacher is around.

1   S1: Honda is Japanese, no?
2   S2: Honda is Japan, Hyeondae is Korean, Benchu is Germany.
3   S1: LL Stupid. It's not Benchu, its Mercedes.

In Example IV-21, S2 applies rhetorical switching into Konglish on line 2. He intentionally applies nominative proper noun on country names instead of possessive forms and uses pronunciation to utter the brand names for Hyundai and Mercedes-Benz. S1 instantly recognizes the humorous remark that S2 was intended to induce. For this act of switching into Konglish to achieve its purpose (to induce laughter), all the interactional participants should share knowledge of the common features of Konglish, and also correct features in Standard English.

(ii) Adjustment of Social Distance

The second non-referential meanings of code-switching are expression and adjustment of social distance, which in most cases switching to English is a practice of alienating while switching into Korean functions as an expression of intimacy.

Example IV-22: In a rainy day, boys are playing a computer game using personal computers during the recess in a class while the homeroom teacher is out of class. S1 and S2 are best friends, and S3 is not a close friend to both S1 and S2 when he interjects into their conversation.

1   S1(boy): I keep dying on same spot. Hah! I hate this creature. Uh::
        oh no, I'm dead.
2   S2(boy): *a! wae jeompeu-ga andoeji ige?*
        [*Ah! Why can't I jump on this?*]
3   S1: ((pointing on S2's screen)) *ya, igeo cheoreom hae bwa jinjja eo
        ryeowo.*
        [*Hey, do it like this, it's really hard.*]
4   S3(boy): S1, S1, *naega haebolge jwo bwa jwo bwa.* ((takes S1's com-
        puter)) You suck.
        [S1, S1, *I will try, give it to me, give it.* You suck.]
5   S1: Hey hey, that's wrong one.
6   S3: What? This is Run Two.
7   S1: But it's different Character.
8   S3: *neo jigeum* Run Two *hago iseo,* Run One *hago iseo?*
        [*Are you playing* Run Two *or* Run one?]
9   S1: ((move his chair around to look onto S2's screen)) Run One.
10   S3*: a,* One *iya?*
        [*Oh, you are playing* One?]
11   S1: Run One is harder than it.
12   S3: *myeochiya?* Stage *myeochiya? ya, igeo* Run Two *jana.*
        [*What number? What* stage *are you? Hey, this is* Run Two.]
13   S1: ((ignores and keep looking onto S2's screen)) *a jinjja!* S2 *ya ireo
        ke jeompeureul han daeume igeoreul haeyaji.*
        [*Uh, seriously!* S2, *you should have jumped and then move like
        this.*]

To add a background on participants' relationship, S3 does not have a close friend due to his volatile personality. S1's distancing strategy emerges through his different choice of languages in utterances addressing S2 and in utterances addressing S3. On line 3 and 13, when S1 talks to S2, he speaks in Korean. However from line 4 through 12, as S3 takes S1's computer, S3 engages into the interaction. When S3 asks all the questions in Korean, S1 keeps answering back in English. The pragmatic function of code-switching

appears to be an *addressee specification* (Gumperz 1982: 77) on the surface level. However, to take a closer look at the interaction considering participants' relationship, it is S1's strategy to distance himself in the conversation with S3. As soon as his computer is taken, he turns around to watch over S2's screen and only makes short and uninterested responses to S3 in short answers. At last, on line 13, S1 ignores S3's question by interfering with S2's play and giving advice. S2's code-switching in this sense is a strategic act of expressing of social distance toward S3 by using English as an othering code and Korean as an intimacy code. The similar pattern of using the two linguistic resources appears in next example.

Example IV-23 On a way back into the class after playing group activity at the field, S1 was gossiping with other girls about how bad S2 was during the game in which result a loss of their class.

1   S1(girl): ((talking to a friend next to her)) *jinjja yeongi-handa. mak yeonyakan cheok hago.*
       [*She is so faking like if she is so weak.*]
((S2 comes nearby S1 then notices they are talking about her))
3   S1: ((turns around and realizes that S2 heard her)) It's not you, It's not you.
4   S2(girl): *na geunde jinjja yeonyakae.*
       [*But I'm really weak.*]
5   S1: No, S2.
6   S2: na yeonyakae.
       [*I'm weak.*]
7   S1: *neo aniya*↑ *a jinjja!* ((walks away))
       [*It's not you*↑ *Uh, seriously!*]

   In Example IV-23, S2 often becomes a target of gossip among 5th-grade girls for her unpleasant looks and boasting of her academic achievements. In this instance, all three classes in 5th-grade played several games to win house points that were added up to determine the final winner. While playing the games, S2 made few critical mistakes that played crucial roles

in the losses for the class. At the end, when the final points were announced, her class placed on the last. On the way back to the class, S1 and her friends were blaming S2 for the losses in Korean (line 1) when S2 overheard their conversation and approach to them. The girls were afraid of being reported to their homeroom teacher for bullying, S1 tries to deny that they were talking behind her back when she recognizes S2 on line 3. However, S1 switches into English when talking to S2 (on line 3 and 5), while S2 talks to her in Korean (on line 4 and 6). S1's usual language of interaction with her close friends is Korean as she does on line 1. Thereby, S1 indicates the social distance between her and S2 by choosing English as the language of interaction and alienates S2 from her friend group that she interacts in Korean. At last on line 7, S1 switches into Korean to emphasize her sincerity to assure S2.

Example IV-24 On a stairway to connected to the school field during the recess, S1 shows his mobile phone with S2's selfie that she took earlier with the phone. S1 and S2 are close friends known each other since 1st grade, while S3 is a boy who every girl dislikes for his bad pranks.

1   S1(boy): *neo igeo kaseu ollil geoya.*
        [*I'm posting this picture on Kakaostory.*]
2   S2(girl): *a geureon ge eodiseo sireo! neo hamyeon jugyeobeoril geoya.*
        [*What in the world? No! I'll kill you if you post it.*]
3   S3(boy): *museun sajin?*
        [*What picture?*]
4   S1: ((to S2)) *nae maminde.* LL
        [*I can do whatever I want.* LL]
5   S2: ((to S1)) *a jinjja↑!*
        [*Uh, seriously↑!*]
6   S3: *mwonde? mwo-ga?*
        [*What is it? What?*]
7   S2: ((to S3)) Stop↑ Not your business.
((S1 runs off to the field with his mobile phone))
8   S2: *a? ya!* ((follows him))
        [*Huh? Hey!*]
9   S3: ((follow after S2)) *mwoya? nado bollae.*

[*What is it? I want to see it too.*]
10　　S2: ((to S3)) Don't follow me!

Lastly in Example IV-24, S2 first ignores S3's question on line 3. However, when S3 comes closer with curiosity, S2 aggressively fend him off from stepping into their conversation by telling him to stop wondering about the issue. On line 7 and 10, she shows aggression by switching into English with a different tone and bodily reactions. S3 keeps asking in Korean. To contrast S2's playful but softer voice and manner in Korean utterance toward S1 with her aggressiveness in English utterance toward S3, the act of code-switching is another example of strategies of switching into English to alienate.

　　　(iii) Slang as an Assertion of Secrecy

Students' utilization of slang and vulgar expressions is another strategic use of code-switching in need for a close examination. Students are strictly monitored in the use of foul languages in the school. However, 5th-grade students as early teenagers habitually use slang terms and pejorative expressions when teachers are not around. Most interactions with slang terms do not involve with serious conflicts as students' use of slang usually does not go beyond the mild pejoratives used in a playful nature. Nevertheless, they occasionally use severe vulgar words during a heated verbal conflict. In this context, students utilize code-switching as a useful tool to conceal their foul behaviors by using slang terms in Korean that are often only shared among Korean locals. By switching, they can avoid getting into troubles for a foul language use. Students are aware that it is a linguistic behavior of their own that should not be heard by others. In this sense, switching to Korean to curse serves an interactional role to project and assert the shared sense of secrecy.

The most frequently observed usage of code-switching into Korean slang is to remark a sense of humor through mild pejoratives that induce laughter, as demonstrated in Example IV-25.

Example IV-25 Two boys sitting at the same table are teasing each other during the lunch.

1   S1(boy): Uh:: I'm so *gwichana.*
          [Uh, I'm so *feeling lazy.*]
2   S2(boy): Because you are *dwaeji!*
          [Because you are a *pig!*]
3   S1: *dwaejineun sari jjyeoyaji.* That means you are *dwaeji.*
          [*To be a pig, you need to be fat.* That means you are *a pig.*]
4   S2: Hi, *bang-gwi.*
          [Hi, *fart.*]

In Example IV-25, two boys engage in a short and mild ritual insult (Labov 1972) by framing each other with negative characters to call each other '*dwaeji* (line 2 and 3),' and '*bang-gwi* (line 4).' In this case, a purpose of the contest is to make fun of each other through framing fictive and negative attributes of the addressee. Thus, in this conversation with English as matrix language, Korean words are embedded as the playful labeling of each other.

Example IV-26 During the class, students are joking while working on a math worksheet.

1   S1(boy): ((to S3)) Hey, hey, what is English for *yeot*?
          [Hey, hey, what is English for *Korean taffy*?]
2   S2(girl): ((to S3)) *yeossi yeongeo-ro mwoya?* What is *yeot* in English?
          [*What is Korean taffy in English?* What is *Korean taffy* in English?]
3   S3(boy): Korean candy.
((Everyone in the table laughs))
4   S2: S3, you eat Korean candy!

Example IV-26 also demonstrates an incident of using a vulgar expression with a mischievous intention to joke. The Korean phrase '*yeot meog-eo*,' is a slang corresponds to 'fuck you' in English, a direct and aggressive expression that could be very abusive. However, students frame the interaction as a humorous word play by directly translating, which weakens a sense of vulgarity of the phrase (line 4). The English phrase 'eat Korean candy,' in a literal sense would not resemble such an abusive meaning. Students frequently utilize such euphemistic word plays not only among themselves but also when they interact with Korean adults.

Example IV-27 During the Korean class, a student reports an insult she heard in a jokingly manner.

1   S1(girl): *ssaem, itjanhayo. ssaem, ssaem, ssaem!* Thomas *aseyo?* Tho-
         mas *ga jeohante ssi* (1.0) *igeo geunyang malhaneun geoeyo. ssi*
         (0.5) *ba*.
         [*Teacher, you know? Teacher, teacher, teacher! Do you know*
          Thomas? Thomas *said fu… I'm just saying this, ok? fu...ck.*]
2   S2(girl): sea foot baby *rago haesseoyo!*
         [*He said* fucking punk (vulgar)!]
3   S1: *hon-naejuseyo!*
         [*Please punish him!*]
4   T: *arasseo, geunde neone ppalli sseo.*
         [*Okay I will, but you have to write this.*]

In Example IV-27, both S1 and S2 feel uneasy to say the pejorative word directly to T, even though they are just reporting other student's foul language use. Thus, S2 (line 2) switches into English to produce euphemistic expression by making partial translations and using puns to avoid directly uttering the word. She utters 'sea foot baby' instead of the pejorative word *ssibal saekki* [*fucking punk* (vulgar)], which is a mixture of puns and translation composed of three syllables using features of English and Korean: *ssi* is pronounced as 'sea' in English as a pun, *bal* is translated into English word 'foot', and *saekki* is translated as 'baby'. In

this case, S2 refines the word euphemistically because the addressee was Korean teacher, who is not as authoritative as homeroom teachers, but not as affable as her friends.

Example IV-28 During the class, four students are sitting on a same table, while they have to split up into two groups of two to work on different questions. They were having argument to choose who to work with and what question to work on.

1   S1(boy): *geunyang uri dagachi haja.*
         [*Let's just do it together.*]
2   S2(boy): *dagachi hamyeon andwae. akka nanwotjana?*
         [*We can't do it together. We split earlier, remember?*]
3   S3(boy): *a gyang ppalli hae.*
         [*Uh, just hurry up and do it.*]
4   S4(boy): We'll do Number Two.
5   S1: *andwae, uriga hal geoya.*
         [*No, we will do it.*]
6   S4: It's not fair!
7   S1: Yea, it's fair! *soljiki igeon majeo igeo* fair *hangeo majeo. maennal mujogeon mari andoendago hago.*
         [*Honestly, this is* fair. *You just always say it doesn't make sense.*]
8   S3: *maja!*
         [*That's right!*]
9   S4: Shut up *bapting*, uh: *gae-ppakchyeo.* I'm so *gae-ppakchyeo.* ((to S3)) You are *bapting.* Yea, *bapting*!
         [Shut up *stupid*, uh: *so angry*(vulgar). I'm *so angry*(vulgar). You are *stupid*. Yea, *stupid*!].

In this case, S4 on line 9 of Example IV-28 uses a vulgar word repeatedly in Korean while expressing his disagreement with his group-mates. The boys were not in a serious verbal conflict and S4 is not sincerely upset either. In fact, S4 habitually exaggerates aggressiveness and utilizes switching into Korean when using vulgar words and expressions for fun. Therefore, even though he recurrently gets warned by his homeroom teacher for losing his temper, he mostly gets away with his foul language use.

As stated above, switching into Korean slang does not only occur in a jokingly manner but may also occur during verbal conflicts. Mostly, when they do, more aggressive and vulgar words are used direct toward each other.

Example IV-29 During the class, two boys and two girls got into an argument while working in a group together. In the end, they finished and were about to turn in their assignment.

1 S1(boy): Doesn't matter, we not gonna write. This is just it. *yeogi ireum sseumyeon dwae.*
   [Doesn't matter, we are not gonna write. This is just it. *you just have to write names here.*]
((S1 starts writing names))
2 S2(girl): *naega sseul geoya. jaesu-eopseo.*
   [*I will write it. I hate you.*]
3 S1: *mworae? jaesu-eomneun saekkiga.*
   [*What are you saying? You are a punk (vulgar)!*]
((S2 erases the names S1 wrote, write girls name.))
4 S3(boy): No, I'm gonna write my name on myself.
5 S1: *ya! nan joe-ga eomneunde wae nae ireumeul jiwo!* Uh, seriously!
   [*Hey! I didn't do anything wrong. Why are you erasing my name?* Uh, seriously!]
6 S2: *a jjajeungna jinjja.*
   [*Seriously, you are so annoying.*]
7 S4(girl): ((to S1)) *niga isanghage sseot-jana! jedaero hangeodo eopseumyeonseo gye-sok honja isanghage sseugo. neo ttaemune ireoke doengeojana. babo anya?*
   [*You wrote this all weird! You didn't do anything right. You kept writing weird stuff by yourself. This is all because of you. Aren't you stupid?*]
8 S1: Huh? What the heck! I was writing all this!

During this verbal conflict among two boys and two girls, they argue against each other on writing names before turning in the assignment. Girls reject to write boys' names as they were unsatisfied for boys' uncooperative attitude while they were working in a group. During this heated argument,

S1 and S2 exchange pejorative expressions on line 2 and 3 in Korean. Especially, *saekki,* uttered by S1 (line 3), is an abusive word rarely used to address a female subject. On line 5 through line 8, they raise their voices as the conflict is emotionally heated. Luckily for them, their homeroom teacher at the time sat on his desk to collect the assignment so could not hear them. The conflict was resolved as they turned in the assignment and broke off to go back to their original desks without anyone getting in trouble. Whether it is strategically or unconsciously done, the practice of code-switching was helpful to conceal their use of vulgar words to be heard.

As examined, students strategically utilize code-switching in to hide their use of foul language. When they use vulgarly words and expressions, they are highly aware of the fact it is a linguistic behavior of their own that cannot and should not be heard by foreign national adult supervisor. Thus, their use of Korean slang project and assert the shared sense of secrecy only among locals.

In this chapter, I examined students' practice of unmarked and marked code-switching. The *markedness* was measured in terms not only of frequency but also of salience in speakers' implication of non-referential meaning. While students' use of unmarked code-switching is predictable when examining topics and patterns that often indicate students' deficiency in English, marked code-switching involves with employing locally and improvisationally produced social and non-referential meanings. Thus, I applied an interactional/interpretive approach to analyze the implicit meanings. As a result, I categorized two general interactional uses of code-switching, a marker of topic and frame changes and expression and adjustment of social relationship. In many instances, marked use of code-switching involves with students' generating sense of informality and

sense of belonging. In other words, students strategically utilize their ability to communicate in two languages to create and secure safe zones of their own uninvaded by the adults' imposed communicative norms. Students' code-switching at the school, therefore, can be construed as practicing of a contestation and a negotiation with the dominant English discourses in the school.

V. COMPLEX COMPOSITIONS OF MULTIPLE LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

In this Chapter, the focus moves onto competing language ideologies of each agent of Morning Calm International who projects different valorizations on bilingual language practice. As a theoretical notion, language ideology is a systemized complex of social values, attitudes, evaluations, beliefs, and thoughts that each speaker has within a speech community (Woolard 1998, Gal and Irvine 1995). The purpose of this chapter is to unpack the construct of ideologies that connect the microscopic pragmatic analysis of students' bilingual language practices examined in the previous chapters to the wider sociocultural understandings of the two languages and their speakers in Korean society.

Within the school, there are three categories of agents who hold different viewpoints on bilingual language practices: teachers, parents, and students. Teachers and parents often indicate double monolingualism (Heller 2002) in their promotion of bilingualism. The ideology of double monolingualism refers to the ideas and attitudes, by which speakers are "expected to speak each language as though it were a homogeneous monolingual variety" (Heller 2002: 48). In this sense, students' practice of mixed language use is not an acceptable form of language use in the adult-imposed communicative norm, and adult agents in Morning Calm often overlook the sociocultural meanings in students' code-switching. Teachers implement *English Policy* that strictly separates the social settings for each language use in the school, and parents express concerns about students' use of Korean as a disruption to their English acquisition. Thus, students are expected to build and display competencies in English and Korean respectively, but not a mixed variety. In this context, students internalize the legitimate communicative norms that

reflect the ideology of double monolingualism in the school, and often describe their understanding of the legitimacy of the linguistic practice as a direct reproduction of adult-imposed ideologies. On the other hand, students' bilingual language practices presented different aspects. They constantly shift between English and Korean throughout communication and utilize a mixed variety of English called Konglish in daily interactions. Some scholars suggested alternate terms to capture the heterogeneous nature of code-switching, such as translanguaging (Garcia 2009) and hybrid language practice (Gutierrez et al. 1999), which "manifests in the coexistence, commingling of, and contradictions among different linguistic codes and registers in the course of everyday activity" (ibid: 289). Although actively engaging in bilingual practices against adult-imposed communicative norms, students hardly attempt to make sense of their linguistic practices or to resist against the dominant language ideologies that stress the importance of 'good' English. In this regard, students reveal multiple and ambivalent attitudes toward their own practice of mixed language use.

In this chapter, I examine the international school students' efforts to reconcile the gap between the contrasting attitudes. First, I identify two adult-imposed language ideologies mediates educational practices of adult agents: the ideology of cosmopolitan membership and the ideology of English as a commodity. Both ideologies provide the legitimate communicative norms that restrain students' monolingual language use. Second, I examine how students relocate the adult-imposed ideologies in their own discourses, and how they reconcile the tensions between the adult-imposed ideologies and their linguistic practices. My analysis of students' ambivalent practices will show that they do not simply reproduce or resist against the adult-imposed ideologies. Rather, they enact two opposing identities and constantly shift their attitudes on bilingual language practices depending on the situational contexts.

1. Adult-Imposed Monolingual Ideologies

Students' language use is a subject under supervision of two categories of adult agents: teachers and parents. However, there is a notable disjuncture between these two agents' perspectives. The disjuncture lies in the values of English on different scales. Teachers stress the importance of English at a higher scale, the global level. Meanwhile, parents indicate that their valorization of English is based on the educational discourses circulating in Korean society, the local level. The varying perceptions of English in Korea have been a primary subject of many previous studies on language ideology in Korea. Park(2009) proposed three major language ideologies of English in Korea: the ideology of necessitation, the ideology of externalization, and the ideology of self-depreciation. On the one hand, English is perceived as a necessary linguistic resource in Korea for their survival in the global markets (the ideology of necessitation). On the other, the Korean national identity, which aligns with the strong monolingual ideology of Korean, locates English as extraneous language (the ideology of externalization). Moreover, the ethno-racial heritage becomes a sufficient explanation of why Koreans are incompetent English speakers (the ideology of self-depreciation) (Park 2009: 26). Furthermore, Song(2010) revisits and expands Park's ideology of necessitation by suggesting two subcategories: the ideology of commodification and that of cosmopolitan membership. Based on her ethnographic study on Korean educational migrants in the U.S., she proposes the ideology of commodification to explain Korean parents' correlation of English learning with economic investment (Song 2010: 30). The parents, dissatisfied with public English education in Korea, often describe oral communication skill based English education as an investment. In this sense, *jogi yuhak* is a transnational investment for their child to acquire a

commodity that will transform into the social and economic capital in the future. On the other hand, the ideology of cosmopolitan membership represents parents' beliefs, who recognize the value of English as a symbolic asset that enables their children to go beyond the boundary of the national borders and eventually generate more capital in their future (ibid: 31). I adopt her theoretical notions of the two language ideologies in my analysis of two commingling but often contradicting perspectives of teachers and parents in the school.

Both teachers and parents stress the need of English as a world language. More specifically, it is the Inner Circle varieties of English[20] or Standard English acceptable for students to acquire while attending the school. In this sense, both language ideologies are based on a 'monolingual orientation,' which I adopt from Bae(2014). According to her definition, a monolingual orientation refers to "the valorization of monolingual speakers of English, typically those of Inner Circle countries, as ideal models for language learning" (Bae 2014: 7). However, teachers and parents indicate varying valorizations of English in the interviews. Teachers highlight the value of English in connection with the global orientation while parents tend to stress the value of communication skill in English as a prestigious commodity in the context of local educational discourses. For teachers, acquisition of English allows one to be able to communicate with anyone in anywhere in the world. Therefore, teachers always emphasize students' English use under the ideology of cosmopolitan membership. Teachers connect the value of English with the value of cosmopolitan membership in their educational discourses, based on the school's educational philosophy stressing the well-balanced and globally-oriented development of individuals. In this regard, they often criticize the local educational practices that are narrowly focused on the academic advancement. On the other hand, parents present

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20) See footnote 2.

another layer of valorization, English as a commodity that one necessarily acquires by investing time and finance. In the local educational discourses, English communication skill is one of many necessities for their child need to prepare to successfully go through *ipsi jeonjaeng* (struggles to get into a prestigious university). In the context of the local educational market, there are many private educational institutes (*hagwon*) available, which provide various education services in different school subjects in advance of students' grade level. Regardless of teachers' strong opposition, parents tend to utilize the advantages of local resources by sending their children to various *hagwon*s, including additional English lessons. Through their educational practices, the value of English education is once again bounded within the local educational discourses.

As pointed above, although teachers and parents similarly stress the importance of English, there are also contrasting aspects. Therefore in this section, I explore the two ideologies in detail. First, I discuss the teachers' ideology of cosmopolitan membership, which the teachers tend to emphasize. Second, I examine parents' tendency to value English within the local educational context, which can be termed the ideology of English as a commodity.

(1) Teacher-Imposed Ideology of Cosmopolitan Membership

In this section, I focus on how the teachers at Morning Calm emphasize the significance of English. More specifically, I examine the teachers' language ideology and educational practices that regulate students' language use. The teachers always encourage students' interactional use of English by emphasizing the value of English as a global language. They constantly employ two essential values to reinforce the legitimacy of their regulation of students' English use: English for inclusivity and as a medium of

instruction. As a result, their educational practices not only secure and empower the value of English in the school setting but also confirm the process of separation in social domains where each language is used; English as a formal and public, thus prestigious language, while Korean as informal and private language. In this regard, the teachers' practices contribute the language subordination process (Kroskrity 2004), where diverging valorizations simultaneously occur where English secure the legitimacy in formal and public settings while the non-standard English or other languages (in this case, Korean) are relegated to informal and private settings.

The official language policy of the school, so called *English Policy*, promotes English as a common language that allows an open-minded and well-balanced individual to communicate with anyone at anywhere over the world. In other words, students have to acquire English to grow up into a globally oriented individual who understands and communicates with people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In this context, English is declared as an "inclusive language" that makes communication with everyone in the school possible. This notion of English as an "inclusive language" is based on a spatiotemporal perception that locates the school out of its regional scale but on the global scale. Under this perception, English is positioned to be a '*deterritorialized* language (Blommaert 2010: 46)' that is standardized and used across spatiotemporal boundaries of national borders to connect people in the globe, while Korean is viewed as a '*territorialized* language (ibid: 46)' with regionally and ethnically limited use. Thus, one of the most important tasks for teachers is to encourage students to build competence in English by guiding them to use English as much as possible.

Example V-1 An excerpt from an interview with Mr. Vick, homeroom teacher (italics added for emphasis)

Well, the policy is that we are in *inclusive society* and *English is a common language*, so everyone should be speaking in English. That's the school's policy. You should take advantage, because it is going to help you, and get you ready in long run. I always tell them "Remember, we are inclusive, we are inclusive." The school isn't really diverse at this point, but when they have to face the *issues with diversity*, when they are out there with more people with different languages there need *a language of common use* be settled.

As indicated in Example V-1, teachers repeatedly propose diversity in explanation of the school environment. The school should be an ideal setting for students, where they can use English as a *common language* to interact with others with various cultural backgrounds. However, as Mr. Vick admits, it is unrealistic to locate the students in such space, as most students are raised in Korea and surrounded by other Korean locals who speak the same language and share the same cultural background. When students hardly have had a chance to encounter real *issues with diversity* in their lives, teachers have to mobilize different strategies to facilitate legitimacy of English use.

Example V-2 During the class, the teacher, T, announces before the class to remind them about appropriate language use. (italics added for emphasis)

> T: Alright, boys and girls! I have couple of things to talk to about. Now, remember part of our *central agreement* that you are to be positive, encouraging role model. That comes down to the type of language you use, okay? It's about *appropriate language*. Use appropriate language and *inclusive language*. Remember using inclusive language, and you can remind your buddies you both know how to speak English. Okay?

In this context, teachers play a significant role in reorganizing the language policy by the local circumstances. Therefore, teachers are local producers of the school's language policy that "interpret, negotiate, and enact language policy and ultimately open or close spaces for diverse

language practices and development" (Henderson and Palmer 2015: 76). At the beginning of academic year, each class compiles *central agreement*s based on the fundamental principles of the school[21], which include a mutual agreement between teachers and students on English use. In this process, the notion of "inclusivity" comes before any other values that acknowledge the legitimacy of English use. The students have to speak English to include everyone in communication, especially foreign students. On the other hand, as aforementioned in Example II-3, teachers tend to excuse students' uses of Korean as long as they do not violate the principle of inclusivity. Thus, students may speak Korean in conversations among Korean locals in informal settings. In this context, teachers' promotion and regulation of compartmentalized language use reveal the double monolingual understanding of bilingual language practices.

Teachers also highlight the value of English as an academic language in an attempt to secure the legitimacy of English. English is the language of instruction that students have to acquire in order to understand diverse educational themes and genres of writings the school provides. Teachers always stress the importance of reading diverse genres of writings in English to construe different styles of writings and expand their range of thought. Furthermore, at the end of each Unit of Inquiry (UOI)[22], students are required to reproduce what they have learned in their own words in English through various media. Thus, students are constantly challenged to expand their vocabulary and improve their grammatical knowledge to write their thoughts on various subjects precisely, and to acquire presentation skills and confidence to give a presentation in English in front of others.

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21) As Morning Calm International affiliates with International Baccalaureate (IB) program in the curriculum, The fundamental principles are the attributes of IB Learner Profile (Inquirer, Knowledgeable, Thinkers, Communicators, Principled, Open-minded, Caring, Risk-takers, Balanced, and Reflective).
22) See footnote 9.

Example V-3 An excerpt from an interview with Ms. Maier, an ESOL teacher (italics added for emphasis)

That's probably, the biggest difference that we find, the biggest cultural difference here, in Korea. This is *push of academic 100% and not much else*. So I think "*balanced*" is important message for Morning Calm to kind of push to Korean parents. I had a conversation just the another week. Some parents or one parent in particular, has asked me to run a Book Club after school. And that was kind of fascinating for me listening to what she wanted compared to what I was going to offer, and I had to kind of be straight, and say, I am not going to check grammar. Umm (1.0) You know, from, they want, again, it's all academic, academic, academic, written response, vocabulary, check the writing, fix the grammar. And I said, if it's a Book Club, I am not fixing the grammar, we are going to be talking about the book, and what it means, and I am going to be giving them to focus on what makes them a good reader, and what is it that good readers do, and you know, I'm not going to be like "Here, write me a book report and I am going to fix your grammar, ok?" So, they want everything, you know. They want *the language*, they want the kids to be like this well-rounded wonderful (0.5) people, as long as they do well academically. I mean, we want that too, but we don't drill it. That's (0.5) you know, and again, it's about being "*balanced*."

The interview in Example V-3 indicates the contrasting valorization of English education between teachers and parents. Teachers perceive the process of language acquisition in line with personal and social development. As Ms. Maier indicates in Example V-3, it is not only about learning the language (i.e. grammar and vocabulary) but also about balanced development. The term "*balanced*" is one of 10 attributes of IB Learner Profile, which focuses on "balancing different aspects – intellectual, physical, and emotional – (International Baccalaureate Organization 2013)[23)] in students' personal and social development. In this context, it is a long-term

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23) International Baccalaureate Organizaiton, 2013, IB Learner Profile. Retrieved April 09 2014, from the World Wide Web: www.ibo.org/globalassets/digital-tookit/.../learner-prof ile-e n.pdf.

developmental process that takes one to achieve English proficiency. English proficiency in this sense is an indexical representation of a globally oriented and well-balanced individual. As indicated in Example V-3, teachers raise a rather skeptical view on Korean parents' excessive prioritization of academic approaches to language acquisition. They see it problematic if students have to be so eager for an academic advance to survive in the competition. In this sense, Morning Calm is suggested as an ideal alternative that provides high-quality education focusing on individual development, which enables students to break free from the narrow-focused local educational system to pursue their dreams with a broader view.

In this context, teachers' emphasis on the value of English as the inclusive language and the language of instruction reflect the ideology of cosmopolitan membership. Teachers are active producers of the notion of English as a deterritorialized language that connects local individuals with the world. Also, as English competence associates with a global orientation, English and the notion of cosmopolitan membership are equated, which then reproduce and strengthen the legitimacy of English as a hegemonic lingua franca. On the contrary, teachers recognize Korean as students' *home language* or *natural language* that students could use during *their time to socialize and communicate* when all participants in an interaction are Korean speakers[24]. The distinction of interactional domains of English and Korean in teachers' notions emerges from the ideology of double monolingualism. In other words, teachers' attempt to secure the appropriateness of English use validates the separation of social domains of each language. In formal domains, where the academic development and inclusive communication are primarily valued, teachers maintain a strict policy to regulate students' English use. Also, teachers often encourage students to extend the domains of English usage, whereas Korean is constantly pushed further to the

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24) From an excerpt of an interview in Example II-3.

informal domains. In this sense, teachers' separation of social domains of language use contributes to the subordination of the value of Korean as an informal and private language.

(2) Parent-Imposed Ideology of English as a Commodity

In this section, I examine parents' valorization of English that mediates their parenting strategies. Parents tend to conceive English acquisition as a short-term project for a child who has arrived at the right age to acquire oral fluency of Standard English. They do not consider the child's English acquisition to be a long-term developmental process that goes along with other broader aspects of child development. English fluency is one of many educational commodities that students need to attain in their academic advancement. Accordingly, international schools are one of the best options available for their children to achieve the goal of English fluency within the domestic educational markets in Korea. This narrow-focused valorization of English underlies parents' role as active agents of the language subordination process of Korean. Although both adult agents play significant roles in the language subordination process of Korean, teachers indicate more permissive attitudes toward Korean as long as the social domains of each language use are separated. On the other hand, for parents, with their focus solely on attaining English fluency before the prime-time passes by, Korean is assumed to be an interfering language. Specifically, students' use of Korean or code-switching is considered as an obstacle to their acquisition of English fluency. Therefore, parents impose a strict separation of each language use. In this regard, parents' role in language subordination process of Korean is mediated by the ideology of double monolingualism, where the interactional value of English is prioritized while the value of Korean is depreciated.

There is a common myth on English fluency circulating among the

parents. It is about the heyday for attaining fluency in Standard English so called the critical period: younger the child, more capable of learning new languages. Therefore, "English fluency" is a commodity that can be attained by investing money and time while a child is still young. Another reason parents choose the elementary school period as an appropriate time for English acquisition can be found in their concerns about preparing *ipsi*(college entrance exam) that typically begins in earnest during the middle school. It is prime-time for the students, as they have fewer concerns about advancements in other academic areas, but intensively occupied with English acquisition. Parents tend to employ domestic parenting styles in their recognition of English as a tool for an academic advancement to top-tier universities. In this context, this instrumental conception of English reflects the ideology of English as a commodity that circulates within the local education discourses.

Many parents perceive international schools as an alternative to *jogi yuhak*, and English as a target of intensive investment. For them, English education is part of strategic plans for their child to successfully compete for *ipsi*. Although not every parent shares the idea, many agrees on that 1-2 years of English education in a fully-immersed environment is enough time for a child to be exposed to English and build an ability to speak the language confidently. Mr. Crane, a homeroom teacher, puts it, "they (parents) want them (students) to improve their English to certain point here but then they (parents) want the children to go back to Korean schools to go on." Once the goal of attaining oral fluency in Standard English is accomplished, parents have other plans for the children to move on to obtain other academic resources.

Parents often have blueprints configured for their child's next seven years of life by his/her current academic standings. When a child reaches an age to enter middle school, a mother plans whether to send a child back to

"Korean schools" to prepare for *Oego* (Foreign Language high school: prestigious high school for top students in the class), or to remain at Morning Calm International, or to use the experience from the school as a preparation to send a child study abroad in upper level schools. In this sense, a child's current enrollment at an international school is a mean to utilize the critical period to learn English, which will help them having better opportunities to enter a prestigious university. Therefore, at this stage of their plans, parents portray themselves to be managers of their child for an intensive English education: a child needs to read books in English only and to speak English all the time whether they are in or out of school to attain fluency in Standard English. Many students even take English speech lessons in *hagwons* in addition to their fully-immersed schooling.

Example V-4 An excerpt from an interview with Mrs. Lee, a students' mothers (interviews were conducted in Korean then translated in English; italics added for emphasis)

> You see, I only send my daughter one *hagwon* for math, no private tutoring. The problem is that I don't know whether she is doing okay in comparison to other students. So I have to ask the homeroom teacher what to teach at home beside homework. Then her homeroom teacher tells me to have her read a lot because her vocabulary is week. Then I ask if there is some kind of textbook to help her. I mean, she reads, she mostly reads those books made into movies. But then the vocabulary is too difficult for her, so she loses interests after few pages. What I want to do for her at home is to get her ready, and to know her *weakness* so I could help her to improve as she is already in her 5th-grade. *I wanted to get her a tutor, but I can't tell this to her teacher*.

However, as Mrs. Lee indicates in the interview in Example V-4, it is not just about English fluency that a child needs to prepare. English fluency is a part of many necessities that a Korean child needs to acquire in order to occupy an advantageous position in the competitions. Mrs. Han reports that her daughter only attends one *hagwon*, yet, her worries in her

daughter's academic advancement keeps her searching for other options to overcome the *weakness* in her daughter's English. Even though parents understand the philosophy behind individual-focused evaluations, such approaches make it difficult for parents to visualize the current standings. In this context, parents' unfulfilled obligation for a child's education causes them to keep seeking for other options to measure one's current academic standings and find ways to improve them. Another interview in Example V-5 demonstrates the parental anxiety.

Example V-5 An excerpt from an interview with Mrs. Kang, a students' mothers (interviews were conducted in Korean then translated in English; italics added for emphasis)

> Well, I don't send him to any *hagwon* as of now, but I have a lot of concerns about that. When I talk to other mothers, I get the impression that I at least have to send him to a *hagwon* for math. I am happy with his *pronunciation* when I see him speaking English with his friends, but for his English in terms of grammar, he needs a *stricter and more systematic environment*. The biggest problem is that he doesn't take any of them seriously. For him, it's all about sports. I let him play his sports for now, but at the same time I tell him that it's only until the end of this academic year. The school is more focused on academics from 6th grade, so when he gets to *6th grade* I will have to force him to go to *hagwon*s.

While after school hours for most students are fully occupied by *hagwon* or tutoring schedules, Mrs. Kang's son is a rare case. Her son only plays on the school sports team after school. It does not mean Mrs. Kang is any less concerned nor have no plans for her son's academic advancement. She is currently postponing the issues with academic achievement until her son becomes *6th grade*, to take the academic issues more seriously as his own problem. She plans to send him to *a stricter and more systematic environment* to improve his grammar in English. This statement also indicates parent's reduced expectation of the school regarding English

education. Parents perceive the school as a good environment for students to acquire oral fluency but appeal the need for stricter programs for children to improve in vocabulary and grammar. *Hagwon*s are proposed as the valid alternatives that provide stricter and more disciplined environment with rules and tests to compel students to study. In this sense, international schools are positioned as one of many commodified options in the domestic educational markets in Korea, and the value of English goes through the ideological process of domestication (Kang & Abelmann 2011). By "domestication," Kang and Abelmann refer to Korean parents' attempt to provide international education as "an extension of South Korean schooling and social stratification (ibid: 90)."

Next, I move the focus onto parents' perception of students' bilingual language practices. Parents' valorization of English as a commodity is based on the double monolingual viewpoint. For parents who stress intensive English use, students' practice of code-switching is often disregarded as illegitimate language use. In parents' perception of code-switching, students' utilization of English elements is often deleted, thus, it is not different from Korean use. In contrast to the intense valorization of English as a language of communication, Korean is rather assumed to be an unnecessary linguistic resource until her child develops good communicative ability in English. Therefore, parents are often indifferent to their children's Korean language education, and some even question its need in an international school curriculum. Furthermore, many parents report that they recognize students' interactional use of Korean as an obstacle to English acquisition.

Example V-6 An excerpt from an interview with Mrs. Han, student's mother (interview was conducted in Korean then translated in English; italics added for emphasis)

I try to make my child use English at home. I tell him to speak English when talking to me and my husband, I tell him to read books in

English, and he speaks English at *hagwon* too. But the real problem is, children basically don't speak English at home or school. While they know they have to speak more English, all their friends are Korean so they just don't. And at home, mothers should provide an environment to use English by enforcing them to use English when playing and not to watch TV programs in Korean. But then, I *get loose* on him so often to let him speak Korean and watch TV in Korean. I need to be *stricter* with him.

As Mrs. Han describes in Example V-6, Korean is a disturbance to a child who needs to be exposed to English-speaking environment as much as possible. While her child is enrolled in an international school, a good parenting is to control the language use in every aspect of the child's life. Many parents promote their child to speak English at home, enforce one to watch English-mediated TV programs, and encourage one to make foreign friends. So parents should be *stricter* about a child's use of English, not *loosening* their control by letting one speak Korean or watch Korean-mediated TV programs. Under parents' necessitation of English, the evaluations on the interactional value of English and Korean become polarized.

For parents, Korean is deemed as a fully acquired language; therefore, students do not have to worry about improving their Korean. Even when students indicate saliently underachieved Korean competence in comparison with other students, parents do not find the issue problematic as they believe it is easy to adjust later on. For example, many students in mid- and low-level Korean classes often find it difficult to use or understand 5th-grade level Korean vocabulary, to indicate weakness in spelling, and to have problems with application of appropriate honorific rules in formal settings. However, as Ms. Shin, a Korean teacher, puts it, "for many parents, Korean language education is not part of their plan," thus, do not have to be concerned about improving unnecessary skills within the school curriculum. Parents' attitudes toward Korean classes have changed a bit over

the years after the school implemented IB curriculum on upper schools, which granted an advantage for students skilled in Korean literacy. Nevertheless, the negative perception of the interactional use of Korean did not change much. Parents believe that the critical problem of the school is that there are too many Korean students, which makes it harder for teachers to control students' Korean use. In this regard, parents are active agents of a language subordination process through the approval of English-only communication and the disapproval of Korean in interactional use.

In sum, although having contradicting perspectives on the educational practices, both teachers' and parents' discourses on English highlight its necessity as an interactional language, which promote and regulate double monolingual communicative norms. Teachers' interpretation and implementation of *English Policy* promotes separation of social domains of each language use while parents' disapproval of students' interactional use of Korean further depreciates the value of Korean. As a result, both adult-imposed ideologies become dominant ideological forces that lead a language subordination process of Korean in the school.

2. Students' Bilingual Language Practices: Contestation and Negotiations

Within the class setting, teachers are local producers of the language policy. Nevertheless, students also produce their own rules of language use through measuring a degree of formality of any given situation in consideration of various social factors. Students' bilingual language practices in both supervised and unsupervised interactions should be examined "in terms of struggles over the agency of individual cultural actors" (Barrett 2006: 169). Their linguistic practices of mixed language use are often improvisatory and transient, especially in formal settings when teachers are nearby. In this sense, creativity and secrecy are essential features of their

practices of code-switching as communicative means and as resources for negotiation of their language use with the restrictive agents. When the notion of agency refers to "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn 2001), students' linguistic practices are involved with their agency to secure the safe zones of their own language usage while struggling under the "strict language separation" (Henderson and Palmer 2015: 86). Through the struggles, students take different strategies to negotiate with the dominant ideologies. They adopt adult-imposed double monolingual ideologies at the level of discourses while actively generating social and pragmatic meanings in establishment and articulation of social relations and efficient and creative communication at the level of practice. The objective of this section is to examine students' agency in bilingual language practices; their capacity for creative and intimate language use through code-switching, their active involvement in the process of reproduction and transformation (Garrett 2007) of adult-imposed sociolinguistic values, and their adaptability for a favorable identity that alters in varying situations. Thereby, I disclose students' efforts to justify their linguistic practices through negotiation with the dominant ideologies. In the negotiation process, students continuously employ different situational strategies to merge the gap between contrasting evaluations and attitudes in bilingual language practices.

(1) Reproduction and Reformulation of Adult-Imposed Ideologies

Students' bilingual practices of mixed language use do not necessarily make them active agents of resistance against the adult-imposed double monolingual bilingualism. In fact, despite their active engagement in practices of code-switching in everyday interactions, students tend to echo parents' discourses on the educational necessity of English over Korean, and reinterpret teachers' discourses on the necessity of English for a

cosmopolitan membership. They relocate the two contrasting adult-imposed ideologies in their own discourses in order to explain their juxtaposed language attitudes in English and Korean. In this regard, they actively generate discourses that revoke the pragmatic value of Korean in their actual usage. In this section, I explore the process of reproduction and reformulation of adults' ideologies based on double monolingualism in students' discourses.

Students often validate their parents' viewpoints in the elaboration of their opinions on English education. More specifically, students indicate the ideologies of English as a necessary commodity in their reports about the value and quality of English education in connection with the investment of time and money.

Example V-7 An excerpt from an interview with a student (interview was conducted in Korean then translated in English; italics added for emphasis)

R: What kind of *hagwon* do you go to?
S(girl): English and Math.
R: You take additional English classes?
S: ((nods))
R: Oh, wow. I see a lot of you going Morning Calm still take additional English classes.
S: I do, my mom says I have to.
R: So what do you learn? Grammar?
S: All, everything? All. Grammar, spelling, vocabulary, listening, speaking, reading, writing.
R: Why? You learn all that here.
S: What we do here is *basic stuffs*. We have to *do more*.
R: And you learn Korean math in your math *hagwon*?
S: Yes, my mom sends me there saying they are *more advanced*.

Teachers constantly stress the unnecessity of *hagwon* both to students and parents as the school is already providing the students with a highly qualified individual-based education program with rigid educational

philosophy. Nonetheless, in reality, students have to attend several *hagwons* due to academic needs that parents emphasize. Therefore, students are constantly exposed to an ongoing process of competition between two contrastingly oriented aspects of the ideology of English necessitation through which students encounter contestation between the local ideology of parents and globally-oriented ideology of teachers. In Example V-7, S first states that attending an additional English class is what her mom made her do. However, when she adds another comment to explain the reason, she brings her own voice. She says that school education is *basic stuffs* and that she needs to *do more*. Here, S recognizes what she learns from *hagwon* is *more advanced*, and carries academic values that can enhance her current academic standings. In this sense, this statement indicates her ideological internalization of the values her parents imposed.

Students understand that parents send them to an international school as an expensive yet the most efficient option for an immersion schooling to enhance their English fluency. In this regard, students understand their privilege in the local context as Korean locals attending an international school. However, they also know that there are other academic preparations in need along with English fluency for them to be ready for the upper-level schools. English fluency becomes one of the fundamental conditions that one necessarily attains, but never the only. This understanding reflects students' valorization of English is built upon the educational discourses in the domestic educational market.

Students' notion of English – which is based on the parents' commodified valorization of English – reproduces the contrasting valorization of Korean in students' own discourses. Students tend to prioritize English acquisition while neglecting the value of literacy education in Korean. Korean teachers often blame parents' indifferent language attitude to Korean as the source of students' negative valorization of Korean. Nonetheless, students are also

active agents who lead the process of subordination of Korean as indicated in Example V-8.

Example V-8 During the Korean class, a teacher instructs a student. (interaction was conducted in Korean then translated in English; italics added for emphasis)

1   T: S1, you weren't this bad in Korean when you were in first grade. What happen to you? Huh? You used to catch up with the class quickly in your first grade. Back then, you made side talks once a while, but you weren't this *inattentive*. Your attitude in the class changed drastically. Why is that?
2   S1(boy): I don't remember how I was back then.
3   T: I remember. You were willing to do well in Korean.
4   S1: But, I *don't need to do Korean well*.
5   T: Why do you think so? Look! ((pointing on the writing journal)) This isn't difficult. You will finish very quickly if you concentrate your mind on it.
6   S1: Okay. ((starts writing))
7   S2(girl): ((leaning back in a chair and shouting out)) Teacher! My pencil is too short.
8   T: ((to S2)) Throw it away and look into the pencil case for new one. ((to S1)) Okay, better. Sit straight and concentrate.

This interactional scene occurred when T admonished S1's misbehavior for chatting with other boys aloud during the *teacher supporting* phase of the class. On line 4, even when he is being scolded, S1 is unhesitant to complain to the teacher about his apathy toward Korean, followed by S2 on line 7, who shouts out her need for a new pencil without asking for permission to speak while the teacher is admonishing another student. Such behavior reflects their perception of Korean class as an easy-going and unimportant class where they can be uninterested in *doing well* or care about acting appropriately in polite manners as parents would not care what their report card states on the developmental process in Korean. Such teacher-students interactions are more frequently observed in low- and

mid-level classes, where students' impolite behaviors and *inattentive* attitudes often go beyond control as demonstrated in Example V-9.

Example V-9 Excerpts from interviews with Korean teachers (interview was conducted in Korean then translated in English; italics added for emphasis)

Students do not hesitate to say things like "*I will take Spanish in the middle school*," "*I will live in the U.S. I don't need to learn Korean*." So I told them, "You are Korean, you have a Korean look, so if you can't use Korean well, people will think you are not very smart. You are expected to use Korean well. I don't think fully grown-up who can't spell Korean well isn't normal." I tell them several times, *they never take this seriously*. I think age matters, as I tell high school students the same thing, they take it more seriously. But how can they catch up with others when they get to that age with their Korean literacy skills stay in early elementary level? (Ms. Cho, Korean teacher)

At first, I tried so hard to work with those students who don't care about improving Korean until I got tired of it after so many tries. *It's their parents who give them an idea that it is okay to be inattentive at Korean class, so I now feel like what I do enthusiastically with those students may trouble me with blames.* I feel like there is no reason for me to try so hard with unwilling students while I can use that energy and time to give my best on students who do well and try hard… What gets me feel more miserable is especially when I hear students saying "my mom does not care what grade I receive in Korean class." Then I can't even scare them with report card. (Ms. Shin, Korean teacher)

As demonstrated in interviews with Korean teachers in Example V-9, students' inattentive attitudes and disrespectful behaviors in Korean classes often transmit into a disassociation of themselves from the local identity as Korean. As pointed in Ms. Cho's comment, students are unhesitant to state that they "*will live in the U.S.,*" or "*take Spanish in the middle school*," thus, they "*don't need to learn Korean*." Korean teachers share many concerns on students in low- and mid-level Korean classes whose vocabulary and literary comprehension skills are 2-3 grades below their grade level while having problems with their attitudes at the same time. Korean teachers

often describe *parents* as the source of such indifferent attitudes shared among students during Korean classes. The teachers report that parents' uncooperative attitudes make it difficult for them to urge students to maintain good learning attitude during Korean classes. However, it is also students who actively disengage themselves from the local values by mobilizing the notion of cosmopolitan membership.

Even though not all students tend to devalue Korean this way, many low- and mid-level Korean class students comment on the unnecessity of Korean. They often underscore their image as globally-oriented individuals whose English skill matters but not Korean in the global context. Although it is the general atmosphere in the school that emphasizes the necessitation of English through an ideology of cosmopolitan membership, teachers do not attach negative values to Korean in their discourses of local languages. Their educational goal is to make students achieve a balanced competence in both languages, not replacing Korean with English. In this regard, it is students who modify teachers' ideology of cosmopolitan membership in their own discourses in order to justify their practice of subordination of Korean. In this sense, students are not passive agents who are obedient to accept adult-imposed ideologies. Rather, they are active agents who reformulate the dominant discourses and generate their own discourses that lead the language subordination process of Korean.

(2) Negotiation between Local Identity and Prestigious Social Identity

Students may consciously degrade Korean under English in their discourses. However, their pragmatic utilization of Korean in communicative practices is an important feature that explains the ways in which they articulate their social relations and create various social meanings in everyday school life. For students, it is an 'easy' form of communication,

which leads to various pragmatic and creative functions in their social interactions (See Chapter IV). More specifically, even though they prioritize English proficiency while degrading Korean at the level of discourses, they often utilize the effects of switching to Korean to express intimacy and affection while switching into English as a distancing strategy at the level of practices. Therefore, I explore the language practices and strategies that students employ in order to justify their bilingual language practices in daily interactions in a way to counter the adult-imposed double monolingual bilingualism.

Students often admit that informal interactions among friends and family are based on code-switching. As stated in Example V-10, they explain that they switch languages to make conversation 'easy,' as we previously explored in the topics of unmarked code-switching (i.e. casual words and expressions) in Chapter III, students constantly switch for the words and expressions they find difficult to translate instantaneously.

Example V-10 An excerpt from an interview with students.

R: When you talk to your friend, do you use Korean or English?
S1(girl): English, but Korean sometimes.
S2(girl): I always *seokk-eo migugmal* words. I just kinda *seokk-eo migugmal* cause it's just easy.
   [I always *mix American language* (English) words. I just kinda *mix American language* cause it's just easy.]
R: It's easy?
S2: It's easy because it's easier to understand each other.
R: when you have to say something difficult?
S2: Yes, it's so hard to find good words. So when I talk to S1 I don't have to worry about saying things right. *waenya-myeon geunyang hangungmal-ro malha-geona yeongeo-ro hamyeon doejanayo.*
   [Yes, it's so hard to find good words. So when I talk to S1 I don't have to worry about saying things right, *because I can just use Korean or use English for the words*.]

When S2 states that it is 'easy' to mix two languages, she clarifies that the primary reason for code-switching is convenience in communication. Thus, students' practices of code-switching in informal settings are widely observable among the local student population. For instance, one of the students who attended the school since the first grade explained that his interactional use of the two languages is as follows: "during the recess, the ratio of switching between English and Korean is about 60 to 40."

However, in formal settings (i.e. class period), the use of code-switching has to be more strategic. The most remarkable strategic advantage of students' mixed language practices is that their code-switching blurs the restrictive boundaries of social domains for each language use and thus generates safe zones for small talks within formal settings. Given the fact that they degrade Korean in their educational discourses, it is paradoxical to acknowledge the strategic value of Korean in their interactions. In this sense, students' discourses of bilingualism display multiple and even ambivalent attitudes toward their own linguistic practices.

How do students reconcile the gap between their discourse and practices? Students often mobilize the notion of Konglish, as a useful tool to explain their mixed language use, especially in the formal settings. As previously discussed, Konglish is a "disembodied" style of mixing with an interference of Korean features in English syntactic structure. Although teachers tend to depreciate students' practices of code-switching during the class, they are permissive on certain forms of bilingual language use, what students call Konglish. Teachers often treat it unproblematic when it is considered to be a playful variety of the local English use by bilingual students who are also fluent in Standard English. Therefore, teachers usually overlook students' use of Konglish, and sometimes even acclaim for creativity when an utterance is intelligible, thus makes it a witty remark, as demonstrated in Example V-11.

Example V-11 Excerpts from interviews with teachers (italics added for emphasis)

Kids create their own language based on their culture. I'm most amazed to see how new words, new ways to speak. They find ways to communicate somehow. (Mr. Vick, a homeroom teacher)

Well, I guess it's an ideal goal for the students to be fully bilingual, so, being able to freely switching between the languages. It is amazing to see them *playing with their languages*. But then, at the same time, there are needs for them to build their vocabulary and bring up their English level. (Ms. Hamilton, ESOL teacher)

Students also recognize how teachers react differently on their Konglish compared to other forms of code-switching, and that they could openly utilize Konglish even in the class setting. Therefore, students sometimes even take advantage of the blurry boundary between approved and disapproved forms of switching to fake their violating behaviors.

Example V-12 T, an intern teacher, approaches three students to warn their language use.

1   S1(girl): Mr. Crane *ga ireoke hara geuraeseo*
         [Mr.Crane *said to do it like this*].
2   S2(girl): *aniya nado geureoke haen-neunde seonsaengnim i dasiharae*
         [*No, I did it like that too, but teacher said it is wrong*].
3   T: Girls, maybe we should speak English don't you think?
4   S2(girl): We speak Konglish, LL
5   S3(girl): LL

S1 and S2 in Example V-12 identify T, the intern teacher, as a lesser authoritative, yet more intimate adult figure compared to their homeroom teacher. They were relatively free from the pressure of answering T's mild reprimand in an appropriate and polite manner. Thus, they respond T in a jokingly manner on line 4 and 5, even though T is giving a formal warning about their violation in language use. When S2 answers back on line 4, she

disguises their Korean use by stating they were in fact speaking in Konglish. Her response is clearly a strategic exploitation of her notion of tolerated forms of switching. In this sense, Konglish becomes a cover term for a valid type of code-switching. She does not only demonstrates the notion of Konglish shared among students – that is the only tolerated form of code-switching in the formal setting – but also indicates how students, as active agents, can play with the blurred boundary of formality by using Konglish. It is a celebration of the bilingual practices of switching as against adult-imposed ideologies based on double monolingualism, and also a strategic utilization of local features in the global setting.

Nevertheless, as previously discussed in Chapter II, the notion of Konglish, as mispronounced and/or ungrammatical use of English, widely circulates within the society. It is evaluated rather as an invalid variety of English, and its negative images, whether be real or imagined, are associated with its users, who are incapable of speaking English fluently. Students are also aware of these undesirable images, thus refuse to be associated with Konglish when a Konglish practice threatens their social prestige as an international school student. Such ambivalent attitudes to Konglish is disclosed, especially when their English proficiency is called into question by their own practices of Konglish.

Example V-13 During the class, three girls are working in a group together.

1   S1(girl): So, we are *kompeul-litideu hol se-ting*.
        [So, we are *completed whole setting*.]
2   S2(girl): *Hol se-ting*? LL Konglish *ajumma*. S1, you are such Konglish
        ajumma↑.
        [*whole setting*? LL Konglish *old lady*. S1, you are such a Konglish
         old lady!]
3   S1: *Anigeodeun*↑.
        [*No, I'm not!*]

In Example V-13, S1 makes Konglish pronunciation when uttering "completed whole setting," to add humorous remarks in her speech. S2 indicates her recognition of S1's intention for a humorous effect by laughing. Yet, as soon as S2 calls S1 "Konglish *ajumma*" (line 2), Konglish practice obtains a defective image. Given the term "*Ajumma*" refers to mid-aged married women in a condescending manner, S1's irritated reaction to "Konglish *ajumma*" (line 3) may simply indicate displeasure to be addressed by the derogative term. However, as the defective notion of Konglish is attached to a derogative term, "Konglish *ajumma*" resembles a Korean local who will never be able to speak English fluently, and this becomes a challenge toward her image of English proficient international school student. This incidence indicates students' association with the dominant discourses about the legitimate English in Korea, regardless of the pragmatic utility of Konglish within the school.

In sum, students mobilize Konglish as a situationally applied cover term for code-switching in formal settings to relocate their mixed language use within the boundary of the dominant ideology of double monolingualism. Yet, at the same time, students also recognize deficient images attached to Konglish and its speakers. The negative evaluations cause the students to consciously detach from Konglish when the image of Konglish speaker threatens their own social identity built upon English fluency. Students' ambivalent attitudes toward Konglish bring us back to the question of how students' negotiate their practices of code-switching in a way to counter the dominant valorization of double monolingualism. It is important to capture the constantly shifting attitudes on the mixed language use as students' social flexibility and adaptability to select favorable identities in varying situations. On the one hand, students' mixed language practices demonstrate their valorization of solidarity and intimacy based local identity as Korean. On the other, students' adoption and reformulation of the dominant

ideologies index their strategies to associate with the social image of international school student – that is, built upon the social prestige of English fluency in the local linguistic market.

In this chapter, I have examined how the language ideologies of English take different facets by different motivations among three categories of agents: the teachers, the parents, and the students. Teachers underline the legitimacy of English use by regulating *English Policy* of the school under the ideology of cosmopolitan membership. Parents tend to bring domesticated ideology of English as a commodity in their strategies for their children's academic success. Lastly, students tend to reproduce parents' valorization of English as a domesticated commodity, while simultaneously reformulating the ideology of cosmopolitan membership in their own justification for the subordination of Korean. The complex ideologies of the three agents, in turn, contribute to the legitimization of double monolingual bilingualism. On the contrary, students' practice of code-switching in everyday verbal interactions results in the ambivalence in their attitudes toward bilingual language practices. Hence, my analysis on students' bilingual language practices reveals the ongoing contestations and negotiations between two situational attitudes. Students' constantly shifting attitudes on their practices of code-switching indicate their social flexibility and adaptive strategies that generate two context-specific identities - solidarity-based local identity as Korean and English-mediated prestigious social identity - they could select in varying situations.

VI. CONCLUSION

This ethnographic study examined Korean students' bilingual language practices and language ideologies at a Korean international school. At first, I explored diverse social settings of the school and students' language attitudes toward each linguistic resource under the school generated language policy. Secondly, I discussed significant social-contextual factors that influence language choices among students to predict sociolinguistic rules of bilingual language practices in three settings: regular classes, Korean classes, and recess. Thirdly, I discovered the patterns and topics of the unmarked code-switching and the social and pragmatic meanings of the marked practice of code-switching. Lastly, I examined students' bilingual languages practices articulated with multiple language ideologies of English. To reorganize the results of the study by three primary research questions, it appears as follows.

1) Firstly, there are three different school-regulated communicative norms in varying social settings; first one with the strict regulation of English use, the second one with a lesser strict language policy, and the last one with a lenient and informal tendency on language choice. The first norm is regulated in a regular class setting, the second in a Korean class setting, and the last one during recess and lunch time.

During regular classes, there are four notable sociocultural factors that students consider before choosing the language of interaction. The first factor is the *designated addressee*. While the appropriate communicative norm is to use English only, if the addressee is a Korean ethnic, the next three sets of factors will be considered before the speaker switches to Korean: *class phases*, *distance from teachers*, and *topics of conversation*. In this process of language choices, the relative *degree of formality* of given

situation is most importantly considered. An individual student's notion of degree of formality closely aligns with one's language choice, as English is a choice for the most formal situation while Korean is used when the degree of formality is lowest. The most formal situation is when a teacher's attention is directing toward students. Students measure a relative distance from teachers to know if the teachers can hear their conversation. Once the students confirm that the teachers cannot hear the conversation, they may switch the language of interaction between English and Korean depending on the formality of discussed topics.

During Korean classes, where formality is significantly less concerned with students' language choices, students configure the rule for an appropriate language choice by examining the two factors: *class phases* and *designated addressee*. Students are clearly less concerned about the degree of formality and teachers' presence, and the topics of conversation are no longer essential factors. In Korean classes, the boundary of appropriateness in language choice is blurred as teachers mostly overlook students' mixed language use. Students are only required to speak fully in Korean when addressing to teachers.

During recess and lunch time, students do not concern about the formality of the situation. The primary social factor considered in a language choice is the activities that students are participating. Most boys gather in large groups playing ball games in Korean. Only a few girls and boys who attended the school for a relatively longer period play in small single-gender groups to play games while interacting in English. Most girls form in several small clusters spending the recess by having small talks with the active practicing of code-switching.

2) Secondly, I analyzed students' bilingual language practices in terms of unmarked and marked code-switching. By exploring unmarked code-switching, I disclosed most generally observed patterns and topics of

code-switching that often occur without situational shifts, changing addressee, or implicated meanings. On the contrary, by examining marked code-switching, I understood various pragmatic and social meanings generated through the very act of switching from one linguistic resource to another.

Students' use of code-switching is predictable by examining its topics and patterns. When students have casual talks with friends, the interaction often consists of intensive code-switching. Students habitually practice unmarked code-switching on certain topics. The topics of code-switching can be analyzed into three categories: (1) casual words and expressions, (2) expressions of pain and illness, and (3) mathematical vocabulary.

To take both Gumperz's notion of conversational code-switching and Auer's notion of discourse-related and participant-related code-switching into account, I applied an interactional/interpretive approach in order to understand the social meanings that emerge from students' practices of code-switching. The most frequently observed uses of code-switching are classified into the following two categories: (1) to mark topic and frame changes and (2) to express and adjust social relationships among participants.

3) Lastly, I examined contending language ideologies that showed different valorizations of students' bilingual language practices by three different categories of agents: teachers, parents, and students. Two adult agents stress the necessity of English based on two similar but distant motivations: the ideology of cosmopolitan membership and the ideology of commodification. Their understanding of legitimate bilingual language practice is based on double monolingualism, which prioritizes English use, in turn, leads to a subordination of Korean in the school. Although actively engaging in mixed language use, students are also active agents in the process of subordination of Korean. Students' ambivalent attitudes on their own linguistic practices

can be understood as ongoing contestations and negotiations between two situational identities: solidarity-based local identity as Korean and English-mediated prestigious social identity. Students constantly switch their context-specific identities in for the given situations.

Both teachers and parents stress the necessity for English. However, the motivations are different. Teachers always emphasize students' English use under the ideology of cosmopolitan membership. Teachers believe that English is necessary for one to grow into a globally oriented subject. On the other hand, parents project a domesticated ideology of commodification. English is considered to be a commodity in a domestic education market, a resource that one necessarily acquires by investing time and money to survive in fierce competitions.

Students embrace and reformulate adults' discourses of English as a domesticated commodity and as a necessity for a cosmopolitan membership. Through the process of reproduction and transformation of adult-imposed ideologies, they actively depreciate the value of Korean regardless of its pragmatic utility in actual communicative practices. At the same time, they seek ways to justify their own linguistic practices of code-switching in a way to counter the dominant discourses that legitimatize double monolingual viewpoint of bilingualism. Students' ambivalent attitudes on bilingual language practices are explained as their situational strategies to utilize favorable identity in varying situations.

Based on these findings, we can state that bilingual language practices at Morning Calm International are predictable under students' sociolinguistic rules of language choice in response to the school's language policy. The students also habitually practice code-switching in daily interactions. This practice of code-switching can be interpreted in two ways by looking into the *markedness* in the acts of switching, that is, the analysis of unmarked

switching indicates general topics and patterns of code-switching while the analysis of marked switching involves the emergence of social and non-referential interactional meanings. Lastly, students' constantly shifting strategies on their bilingual language practices are understood as their social flexibility and adaptability in the selection of favorable identities in varying situations.

At this point, we can ask these questions: How can we address the issues of students' language practices in this specific school community under the wider context of current social and linguistic transformations in Korea? Can we assume that bilingual language practices among students at Morning Calm International indicate a transition of language practices in Korean society?

The bilingual language practice among students at Morning Calm International should be understood as a local practice of globalization, where the localization of global linguistic resources (i.e. English) and a hierarchical competition between global linguistic resources and local linguistic resources (i.e. Korean) are projected onto students' communicative practices. Lastly, there are complex ideologies that prioritize the global language, which in turn, results in a depreciation and subordination of the local language.

It is a misleading to say the language practices in the school is a microcosm of a sociolinguistic transformation of the Korean society. However, the ideological process of English necessitation in the school is certainly indicative of the foremost educational discourses within Korean society. Morning Calm International is a privileged site established from the discourses of legitimate English education and the on-going pursuit of English in Korea since late 1990's. In this context, students' bilingual language practice is a product of the educational discourses, mediated through various language ideologies on English: the language ideology of cosmopolitan membership and commodification, and students' negotiations to

secure their communicative practices against the dominant ideologies.

Lastly, I make a few suggestions for future studies on language ideologies of English in Korea and Korean international schools.

Morning Calm International is one of many official and unofficial international schools in Korea. Thus, the ethnographic data analyzed in this study only covers the cases of students who live with families residing in a nearby urban area with many after-school programs available in and out of the school. However, there are some other international schools located in an isolated environment where students stay in dormitories with no after-school programs available. Also, there are big differences in each school within the range of international schools depending on the government's authorization. Even though many unapproved alternative schools use the title "international school", most of them are occupied with a high percent of Korean ethnic teachers and almost entire student population being Korean. Therefore, ethnographic studies on bilingual language practices at other international schools in a comparative perspective will allow us to gain a more compacted understanding of English immersed education in Korea.

By focusing on language and communication, this study has sought to provide comprehensive and balanced ethnographic accounts that capture the worldly phenomena of globalization on a local scale. Furthermore, this study could contribute to enhance our understanding of the dynamics of bilingualism in language education and the roles of the local agency in creating and reformulating of local practices of global languages.

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국문초록

한국 국제학교의 이중 언어사용: 사용규칙, 코드전환, 언어이데올로기

　　본 논문은 한국의 국제학교 학생들이 일상적으로 사용하는 한국어와 영어의 이중 언어사용 규범 및 전략, 사회적 의미를 기술하고, 이러한 사용 양상과 영어몰입교육으로 대표되는 한국 사회 내 영어교육담론을 매개하는 언어이데올로기들을 한 국제초등학교의 사례를 통해 분석한다. 신자유주의적, 국제적인 인간발달의 담론을 기반으로 한국의 교육 담론에서 영어는 대표적인 세계어 중 하나이자 필수적인 언어 자원으로 여겨진다. 특히 계속해서 증가하는 의사소통 중심의 영어교육에 대한 수요는 국제학교의 등장으로 이어졌다. 이에 연구자는 한국 내 영어교육 담론의 중심지 중 하나인 국제학교에서의 연구를 통해 한국이라는 지역적인 차원에서 세계화가 어떻게 포용되는지를 분석하는 것을 목표로 한다.

　　먼저 연구자는 학교에서 제시하는 여러 의사소통 규범들을 학교 내 여러 사회적 상황들과 장면들에 있어서 학생들이 어떠한 언어를 선택적으로 사용하는지를 살펴봄으로써 언어사용의 사회언어적 규칙들을 기술한다. 전면적인 영어몰입교육이 시행되는 연구지의 사회언어적 환경에서 영어는 교수언어로서 공식어의 지위를 지닌 반면, 한국어는 비공식적 영역에서 한정적으로 사용 가능한 언어로 인식된다. 이에 한국어를 모국어로 하는 내국인 학생들은 맥락적 적절성에 따라 두 언어 중 어떤 언어를 선택할 것인지에 대한 사회적 규칙을 공유한다. 일련의 사회언어적 규칙들은 일반 수업, 한국어 수업, 쉬는 시간이라는 세 가지 물리적 배경에 따라 다르게 나타나는 사회적-맥락적 요인들과 더불어 각 말 상황의 상대적인 공식성의 정도에 따라 구분된다. 연구자는 각 물리적 배경에서 나타나는 언어 선택의 예측 모형을 세워 학생들의 언어 선택을 제약하는 사회적-맥락적 요인들을 종합하고 각 요인들 사이의 상호관계를 분석한

다.

이어서 연구자는 상호작용 중심의 접근을 통해 문장 내 혹은 문장 간 코드전환을 분석한다. 코드전환은 유표성을 기준으로 무표적 코드전환과 유표적 코드전환으로 구분된다. 무표적 코드전환은 코드전환의 일반적인 패턴과 주제의 발견에 초점을 두는 반면, 유표적 코드전환은 코드전환의 행위로 인해 의도되는 창발적인 화용적인 의미의 전달 또는 사회적 기능을 활용한 전략적인 행위로서의 코드전환에 초점을 둔다.

마지막으로 자발적이며 독립적인 행위자로서 학생들이 보여주는 이중 언어사용의 실천을 이해하고 설명하기 위해 국제학교 내 다중적으로 구성된 언어이데올로기를 분석한다. 교사들과 학부모들은 이중 단일 언어 사용 이데올로기로 학교 내 일상적 의사소통에서 영어 사용의 필수성과 적법성을 강조한다. 이러한 이중 단일 언어 사용 이데올로기는 결과적으로 학생들로 하여금 언어자원으로서 한국어의 가치를 낮게 보는 인식의 확산에 일조한다. 상호작용적 실천의 차원에서 학생들은 코드전환으로 대표되는 교체적 언어 사용을 통해 사회적 관계의 조정 및 효과적/창의적 의사소통의 기능을 적극 활용한다. 그럼에도 불구하고 담론적 차원에 이들은 어른들의 언어이데올로기를 그대로 수용하거나, 더 나아가 이를 자신들의 한국어 가치 절하의 태도를 정당화하기 위해 재해석하는 모습을 보인다. 학생들의 언어적 실천에 대한 양가적 태도는 연대 중심의 한국인으로서의 민족적 정체성과 영어로 매개되는 사회적 위세 기반의 사회적 정체성이라는 두 가지 상반되는 정체성들 간에 반복되는 대립과 협상의 양상으로 해석된다. 다시 말해 학생들의 두 정체성 사이에서의 줄다리기는 학교 내 여러 상황들에서 보다 유리한 정체성을 선택하는 상황적 전략이다. 나아가 이는 세계화가 지역적 차원에서 포용되는 과정에서 나타나는 지역 행위자들의 역동성일 것이다.

주요어 : 이중 언어사용, 언어 선택, 코드전환, 언어이데올로기, 한국에서의 영어, 한국국제학교

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