

The Influence of Contextual Perception on Language Choice Patterns among Bilingual Korean Students

Seon-Ho Park
(Gyeongin National University of Education)

Park, Seon-Ho. (2003). The influence of contextual perception on language choice patterns among bilingual Korean students. *Language Research* 39(2), 383-414.

This paper reports the findings of a study conducted with Korean bilingual students who were residing in New Zealand as migrants. A total of 177 primary to tertiary students were surveyed using questionnaires and interview sessions over three months to find out their patterns of language choice between Korean and English. The domains of language choice were classified into two categories of 'Korean norms sensitive' contexts and 'Korean norms free' contexts. This was done according to some hypothetical Korean norms in the Korean communities in New Zealand which were supposed to affect the students' language choice behaviour. The results showed that students chose Korean more in the Korean norms sensitive contexts than in the Korean norms free contexts, which supports the argument that the Korean norms hypothesised would affect students' language choice behaviour. Interestingly, despite the common belief that the 'Home' domain would be the best place to maintain ethnic language, English was most frequently chosen by students among the four Korean norms sensitive domains. The results of the present study bring some implications for matters related to bilingualism not only in Korea but also in English-speaking countries for Korean researchers and teachers as well as for students and parents.

Key words: bilingualism, domains, English learning, Korean norms sensitive/free contexts, language choice, language maintenance, language shift

1. Introduction

Bilingualism is becoming one of the most interesting issues in this modern society of globalisation. There are increasing phenomena of the

necessity of bilingualism, especially in Korean and English, in Korea. Recently, for example, the bill on 'Free Economic Zones' was passed by the National Assembly, paving the way for a government plan to turn some parts of the nation into centres of trade, business, and logistics inviting more foreign investments. This bill includes the use of English as an official language and the freer establishment of international schools than ever in those regions.

In addition, more and more students tend to want to study in the English-speaking countries with the primary purpose of an increased exposure to English and getting more chances to learn English. However, as previous research indicates, problems could be arisen even in the English-speaking countries when they are placed in the real learning situations, for instance, from various kinds of language anxiety they encounter (Park, 2002b). Another way to learn practical English is often adopted by parents through migrating to English-speaking countries in order for their children to experience bilingualism (Park, 2002a,b,c).

New Zealand has become one of Koreans' most preferred countries in recent years for the purposes of seeking a better education and quality of life, along with Canada and the USA, and Australia (Lee, 2001). There are some negative aspects in recent patterns of migration such as an unusual family type which involves, so-called, *Kirokee Appa*¹⁾ among some education-motivated migrant families. This family type is also similarly described as 'astronaut family' in a series of studies. For example, Ho, Bedford, and Bedford (2000) define the term as 'families containing members who return to their country of origin to work, often leaving their spouse and children in the country of destination'. However, most Korean migrant families in New Zealand seem to enjoy their new life in the adopted country. In total, 19,026 Korean residents were identified residing in New Zealand in 2001 by the 2001 New Zealand census, which reflects the highest population growth among the minority ethnic groups over the last decade. Most of them reside in the regions of Auckland, Christchurch, Wellington, Hamilton, and Dunedin.

Bilingualism tends to be one of the most important issues for Koreans in New Zealand: maintaining Korean proficiency and learning and developing English competence. Then, in reality, what are the chances of

1) Fathers who return to Korea to resume their work due to the lack of the chances of employment in the new country and support their family members overseas

Korean language maintenance and English language learning among Korean students who migrated to New Zealand over the last decade? These two aspects of minority language maintenance and the second language learning are strongly pursued by most minority ethnic students and urged by their parents as well to become balanced bilinguals for their successful maintenance of ethnic identity and settlement in the adopted country (Shameem, 1995; Roberts, 1999; Park, 2002a). As recent migrants, most Korean students in New Zealand have strived to learn English as a second language for their quick adaptation to the new environment and also to maintain Korean language proficiency to develop their 'bilinguality' and not to lose their ethnic identity (Hamers & Blanc, 2000).

Bilingualism is usually classified into two different kinds of 'individual bilingualism' and 'societal bilingualism' (Hoffmann, 1991; Baker, 2002). When bilingualism is examined as 'the possession of the individual', we call it 'individual bilingualism'. Therefore, many issues of bilingualism are related to individual bilingualism. For example, individual bilingualism is concerned with the individual's language proficiency and language choice as well as their own language attitudes and preference. In contrast, when bilinguals are found in groups who may form a distinct language group, either majority or minority, we refer to it as 'societal bilingualism'. Societal bilingualism takes a more sociolinguistic perspective than does individual bilingualism. Its main concerns are language maintenance, language shift, language death, and language spread. This study looks at bilingualism as a whole in the Korean communities in New Zealand through individual aspects of language choice. In fact, bilingualism is often studied from two major aspects of 'language ability' and 'language choice/use' in the bilingual or multilingual settings like in the United States of America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Hoffmann, 1991; Li, 2000; Baker, 2001). The present study focuses on the patterns of language choice among recent migrant Korean students in New Zealand and excludes the part of language ability which was partially investigated in a previous study by the same researcher (Park, 2002a).

In the studies of bilingualism or language maintenance and shift, the concept 'domain' is frequently adopted in the discussion of language behaviour, especially language choice patterns. The term 'domain' was first employed by an American sociolinguist, Joshua Fishman (1965 '2000') in his seminal article 'Who speaks what language to whom and when?.'

He claims that 'proper usage dictates that one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics'. Hoffmann (1991, p. 178) describes a domain as the configuration of at least three components: the participants in a conversation, the place where it occurs, and the subject under discussion. Sociolinguists have often employed the method of 'domain analysis' in their discussions of language choice behaviour in multi- or bilingual communities with some variations (Hoffmann, 1991).

As for some practical examples of domains, there are studies on the Korean communities in the United States (Kim, 1981; Min, 1991) and in New Zealand (Youn & Starks, 1997; Johri, 1998) looking at the importance of Korean organisations such as ethnic churches and alumni associations. According to Kim (1981), for instance, the ethnic church plays the role of a 'pseudo-extended family' for many Koreans. Korean churches have a strong influence on Korean migrants in New Zealand. Apart from regular services, almost 100% of Korean churches appear to have cell groups divided mainly by the location of the households. They gather together weekly in these units and hold meetings called *Kuyok-yebae*. In the meeting the adults share religious worship and even practical help with one another. It is even more exciting for the children to meet Korean friends who have common interests and values, not to mention the same language.

In this study, to get a clear understanding of the description of the language choice behaviour among Korean students in New Zealand, the situations or domains were divided into two categories: 'Korean norms sensitive (KNS) contexts' and 'Korean norms free (KNF) contexts'. It was supposed that the influence of the norms or expectations of Korean society for its youth would be crucial with respect to their language choice behaviour. The emphasis on paying respect to the parents and elders based on the traditional values, such as Confucianism and the patriarchal system, was expected to still influence children to some extent even in their new lives in New Zealand. The term 'norm' has been one of the primary concerns of social psychologists and could be used in the discussion of the language choice behaviour among Korean migrant community members. Social psychologists investigate the influence of the social group on individual behaviour (Albrecht, Chadwick, & Jacobson, 1987, p. 120).

In a new language environment, migrants start to acquire the new language and expand the areas of choosing the new language, entailing complex decision-making processes. It is undeniable that most Koreans are eager to pick up English as soon as possible, but it is not always simple when and how much English to use and with whom, rather than Korean. There are complicated norms which speakers are not necessarily conscious of. From a sociological perspective, norms constitute one of the essential ingredients holding society together. They largely account for the existence of social order. From a social psychological perspective, adherence to social norms helps to account for the regularities in individual behaviour.

There could be a range of ways or areas of investigating the social norms of language choice behaviour. For example, in the study of codeswitching patterns in the Tyneside Chinese community, Li (1994) reports that 'there are generational norm differences' and 'the norms of codeswitching are less apparent or strict than those of situational language choice behaviour'. Unlike the long-established Chinese community in Tyneside in the United Kingdom, Korean communities are mostly fairly new migrant groups in New Zealand. What are the norms, in particular, the social psychological norms in matters of language choice for the students? As an insider of the Korean community in New Zealand, I observed the New Zealand Korean community during a five-year period of residence. There have been lots of chances for me to face the real situations of Korean migrants in relation to language development and acquisition processes. I have therefore noticed there are shared norms which are somewhat standardised and generally expected by the community members with respect to using languages in a variety of contexts. These could be a linguistic framework of a 'set of rights and obligations between a speaker and addressee' (Scotton, 1983, p. 115) which are informal but still normative for the community members. On the basis of my experience as a member of the community, I can put forward as hypotheses the following Korean norms of language choice behaviours, which are, in particular, related to the younger generation:

- Speaking only Korean at home is expected for maintaining Korean proficiency.
- Speaking English to parents or elders is not expected and may be perceived as impolite with the exception of, for example, helping

them improve their English or being done for fun.

- Speaking English is not normally recommended at Korean functions, such as at a Korean church or in social activities. People think these activities are good for their children's Korean proficiency maintenance and even development.
- Speaking English too much in Korean contexts could be regarded as being arrogant.
- Using Korean only at the Korean school is expected.

It should be noted that the general trends mentioned here are based on the mainly 1990s migrant group members who are the majority of the whole Korean population in New Zealand. Keeping these hypothesised norms in mind the domains were divided into the 'Korean norms sensitive contexts' and the 'Korean norms free contexts' for the analyses and discussions. The Korean norms sensitive contexts include 'Home', 'Korean functions', like religious service at Korean churches and temples or social activities (sports or musical events), 'Shopping' with parents, and 'Korean school'. In these contexts, children and young people are expected to observe the norms set by their parents or seniors. On the other hand, 'School', 'Outside', like on the street or in the cinema, and 'Work' (non-Korean contexts) places for the senior students were classified as Korean norms free contexts. In these contexts they are free from the Korean community's normative obligations.

It is supposed that these kinds of norms are working for most Koreans but it also could not be denied that there are always exceptions and in some instances normative expectations are not necessarily constant in this rapidly changing new community in New Zealand. Keeping in mind these two different types of contexts, however, may still be helpful in finding the patterns of language choice behaviour. To find out the characteristics of language choice patterns in the various domains the following research questions were formulated.

- 1) What are the general patterns of language choice between Korean and English in the various domains of language behaviour?
- 2) Does the distinction between Korean norms sensitive contexts and Korean norms free contexts work in gauging the students' language choice patterns?
- 3) Do the domains of 'Home' and 'Korean school' contribute to Korean

language maintenance?

- 4) Are there any hints of language shift toward English among the Korean students?

2. Method

In this section methodological issues are briefly introduced including how the survey was designed, how and where participants were recruited, and how the data were collected and processed.

2.1. Participants

The history of Korean migration to New Zealand is fairly short compared to other minority migrant groups which mostly have 30 to 100 years residence. As about 95% of the Koreans in New Zealand arrived in the early to mid-1990s, it was almost impossible to get a sufficient number of subjects from the older settlers. Therefore, it was decided to apply this survey to recent migrant students with a minimum of two years residency experience in New Zealand to try to find out the tendency of their language choice behaviour. In fact, the young migrant students are more appropriate as subjects than the older generation in that the former are much quicker to be bilinguals in such a short period of residence in New Zealand than the latter.

This study focused on the younger generation migrants. A total of 177 students were surveyed for the research from the three regions of Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch where 88% of Koreans in New Zealand resided. They were not selected on a random basis, but by some criteria of balanced sampling according to their age, gender, and duration of residence. To secure a sufficient number of respondents, the number of 'seven' for each cross-tabular cell of gender, age group, and region was decided upon after consulting statistical support from the experts and the literature (Starks, 1997). As for the rate of the response to the survey, about 78% of people to whom questionnaires were sent, responded to the survey and 66% of people who completed the questionnaire participated in interview sessions. In many cases, parents of students also participated in the interview sessions with their children. Respondents had resided 2 to 16 years with 4.8 years of average residence. The participants were

classified into three groups of 'Primary', 'Secondary', and 'Tertiary'. Their ages range from 8 to 23 years old and the average ages of each group were 11.2, 16.2, and 21 respectively. Among the total of 177 students there were 82 males and 95 females, which would mean that almost a balanced gender distribution was made. As for their ages at migration, they were 6, 11, 15 years old when they migrated to New Zealand, which might affect their processes of learning English and the degrees of Korean proficiency at their arrival.

Table 1. Profiles of Participants

	Primary (8-12 years old)			Secondary (13-17 years old)			Tertiary (18-23 years old)			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Number of respondents	23	26	49	36	40	76	23	29	52	82	95	177
Average age	11	11.3	11.2	16	16.3	16.2	20.8	21.1	21	15.9	16.2	15.1
Average residence	4.7	4.5	4.5	4.5	5.0	4.7	5.6	4.4	5.0	4.9	4.6	4.8
Average age at migration	6.2	6.9	6.4	11.0	10.8	10.9	14.7	15.7	15.2	10.9	11.1	11.0

2.2. Data Collection and Procedure

As part of a big project, the survey was conducted during a period of 3 months from October to December in 1998. Quantitative and qualitative methods were employed for the survey using questionnaires and interview sessions. Questionnaires about the respondents' language choice according to different contexts or domains of language behaviour were developed and mailed to the respondents prior to the researcher's visits to their homes (Appendix). Then in the interview sessions at each visit, collecting the questionnaires and reviewing their responses, some questions were asked regarding their responses to obtain more detailed information. All the interview sessions were recorded and later transcribed in a coded form into tables for qualitative interpretations of the students' language choice behaviour. A pilot study was conducted initially, with the findings being used to designs for the study. This resulted in the questionnaires being written in English and the interviews

expected to be high with the exception of the 'Shop' domain, where non-Korean people are usually involved and therefore less adherence to Korean norms would be expected. However, the effect of being with parents still seems likely to be strong.

3.1.1. Home

Research has shown that the 'home' is most important and often the last domain where an ethnic language is used and persists (Fishman, 1972). It is also a principal place for the young people to communicate with the older generation. In Korean migrant communities in New Zealand, however, there are not many families composed of three or more generations yet, due to their cell-family type of migration and the short migration background. The home is still perceived and expected to be a crucial domain for ethnic language maintenance by the community members. The 'home' domain in this study was classified by situations and interlocutors as follows:

- Talking with parents
- Talking with family members at meal times
- Talking with siblings in the presence of parents or elders
- Talking with siblings in the absence of parents or elders
- Talking with Korean visitors
- Talking with Korean friends
- Answering the phone
- Talking with Korean friends on the phone

These detailed situations are clustered in the analyses and the discussions for more effective revelation of the respondents' language choice patterns. The first interesting areas to be investigated in the home domain are 'talking to parents' and 'meal times' since they involve the very strict roles of 'parents' directly in terms of the Korean norms. A primary school boy told me:

We will be severely scolded by our parents if we speak English to them or even just between ourselves at home. They want us to speak Korean always but it is really hard to keep, very often we start to use English automatically after a while.

This comment could be elicited from many interviewees, especially from primary school children, showing one of the typical Korean household's 'norms' about the use of English at home. Since they are concerned about their young children's Korean language proficiency, most parents encourage and even force them to use Korean at least at home.

Table 2. Frequency: Language Choice at Home (with Parents and with the Family at Meal Times) (%)

	Primary				Secondary				Tertiary			
	Parents		Meal		Parents		Meal		Parents		Meal	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Korean only	19	39	19	38	45	70	42	66	48	92	47	90
Mainly Korean	17	33	16	33	15	24	15	23	4	8	5	10
Both equally	20	22	11	23	3	4	6	9			1	2
Mainly English	3	6	3	6	1	2	1	2				
English only												

Table 2. shows that the respondents from all the three groups of 'Primary', 'Secondary', and 'Tertiary' students confirmed that 'talking with parents' and 'talking at meal times' are both predominantly done in 'Korean only' or 'Mainly Korean'. However, for the primary school children it is obvious that they use English more frequently than the other two groups. Their answers on the scale 'Both Korean and English equally' reaches 20-23% while the tertiary student group shows almost absolute use of 'Korean only' or 'Mainly Korean' (96-98%) in the two situations.

The presence of the parents was predicted to be crucial in relation to their children's language choice. As shown in the Table 3, in speaking to siblings, primary school children use English more in the absence of their parents ('Mainly English' : 30% and 'English Only' : 4%) than in their presence ('Mainly English' : 23% and 'English Only' : 0%). In general, many students tended to show a similar increase in English use in the absence of their parents, which reflects the clear influence of their presence on the children's language choice behaviour.

The comparison between 'speaking with Korean visitors' and in 'other non-parent related situations' was next attempted. Not surprisingly, it was found that 'talking with Korean visitors' was basically done in Korean by

Table 3. Frequency: Language Choice with Siblings at Home in the Presence/Absence of Parents (%)

	Primary				Secondary				Tertiary			
	Sib. PPE		Sib. APE		Sib. PPE		Sib. APE		Sib. PPE		Sib. APE	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Korean Only	10	21	8	17	20	33	19	32	35	67	28	54
Mainly Korean	10	21	9	20	24	39	19	32	13	25	4	33
Both equally	16	34	13	28	9	15	11	18	2	4	5	9
Mainly English	11	23	14	30	5	8	7	12				
English only			2	4	3	5	4	7	2	4	2	4

Sib. PPE : Siblings in the presence of parents or elders

Sib. APE : Siblings in the absence of parents or elders

most respondents (Table 4). In particular, it was obvious for the secondary ('Korean only' : 81% and 'Mainly Korean' : 17%) and tertiary (91% and 9% respectively) male students. Adult Korean visitors are generally not expected to speak English with the host home children even if they do with their own children at their homes from time to time naturally or for fun. It could be confirmed from the interviews that children perceived that speaking English to adult outsiders would be unusual and even impolite regardless of their English proficiencies especially at home.

Nobody answered 'Mainly English' or 'English only' to the 'Talking with Korean visitors' situation or 'English only' to the 'Talking with Korean friends on the phone' one. It seems to be obvious for Koreans that they feel strange speaking English to visitors regardless of their English proficiency. The use of English to strangers or visitors is not yet likely to be accepted by most Koreans partly because of their immediate monolingual experience in Korea. In fact, even on the phone it was found from the interviews that the telephone was a frequently used tool for Koreans for chatting with Korean friends for a long time totally in Korean. Speaking in Korean on the phone appeared to make them feel more relaxed and closer than speaking in English.

To gauge the effect of the medium of communication, the two situations 'talking to friends in person at home' and 'talking to friends on the phone', were compared (Table 4). Respondent groups tended not to show any great difference compared to the other situational contrasts. It was clear that Korean was almost always used by the respondents in a variety of home situations. In general, the results showed most frequent use of English in 'answering phones' followed by 'talking to siblings' in

Table 4. Frequency: Language Choice at Home in Various Situations (%)

	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Korean visitors						
Korean Only	29	56	52	81	51	91
Mainly Korean	16	31	10	16	5	9
Both equally	7	13	2	3		
Mainly English						
English only						
Korean friends at home						
Korean Only	19	40	34	53	32	57
Mainly Korean	11	23	21	33	22	39
Both equally	9	19	7	11	1	2
Mainly English	5	10	2	3	1	2
English only	4	8				
Korean friends on the phone						
Korean Only	21	50	36	58	21	55
Mainly Korean	6	14	19	31	23	41
Both equally	8	19	4	6	1	2
Mainly English	7	17	3	5	1	2
English only						
Answering phones						
Korean Only	15	29	29	40	14	26
Mainly Korean	10	19	19	29	22	41
Both equally	14	27	16	25	11	20
Mainly English	7	13	1	2	4	7
English only	6	12	3	5	3	6

the absence/presence of their parents. It seems that 'answering phones' involves communicating outside the home domain and therefore the respondents are more ready to get calls from non-Korean speakers answering in English. This would be the first 'activating' trial domain for the new migrants to speak English. A secondary student from Auckland said:

Saying one word 'Hello' on the phone is really an important change for us to use English. I feel safe to do that because I do not see the caller and it's really a change. The other day when I answered the phone in Korean and my friend from Korea was surprised and asked me, "Do you still speak Korean answering phone calls?"

3.1.2. Korean Functions

'Korean functions' is another important domain for Korean migrants' language-related interests along with the 'Home' domain. Due to the short

residence period here in New Zealand, Koreans have a strong tendency to gather quite often to share their common values and information in a variety of situations. It is also true that they expect the Korean language to be practised as much as possible for the members especially for the young generation.

As the Korean functions are a more extended field compared to the other situations, the language choice matters were expected to show somewhat different patterns from home-based situations. The Korean function domain was constructed to find the impact of environmental differences in the respondents' language choice behaviour with the same interlocutors as at home. The situations asked about in the survey include Korean community activities like annual or casual picnics, religious services, general meetings, and sports or music functions.

As is shown in Table 5, tertiary male students speak Korean nearly all the time to both mother and father (96% each) while female students speak a bit less (93% and 89% respectively). Also 25 of 26 male tertiary students speak 'Korean only' to both their father and mother and 27 of 29 tertiary female students speak 'Korean only' to father and 25 of them do to mother in Korean function domains. For the older children, it seems to be expected to use 'Korean only' in the Korean social atmosphere and they feel more comfortable to do so. Table 5 shows the details of the response distribution across the age and gender groups and the interlocutor variations.

Primary and secondary school students clearly showed that they use more English to siblings in the absence of parents and elders ('Primary' : 21% in 'Mainly English' and 'English Only') than in their presence (6%). The degree of using English is slightly less talking to friends ('Primary' : 14% in 'Both equally' and 9% in 'Mainly English') than to siblings (28% in 'Both equally' and 6% in 'Mainly English') in the presence of parents or elders. It reflects that the Korean young people are more reserved in speaking English in front of their parents or elders. It is understood that there are clear influences of parents or elders' presence on their children's language choice behaviour. At these Korean functions or activities no matter what they are, the presence of parents or elders is a critical variable for the children to choose their languages. That is, more Korean is chosen in their presence and more English in their absence.

The exposure to the Korean outsiders in the Korean function situations makes young Korean students speak more Korean than at home. The

Table 5. Frequency: Language Choice in Korean Function Domains

	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Mother						
Korean Only	25	51	52	81	52	95
Mainly Korean	17	35	9	14	2	4
Both equally	7	14	3	5		
Mainly English					1	2
English only						
Father						
Korean Only	25	53	53	84	50	93
Mainly Korean	16	34	7	11	3	6
Both equally	6	13	2	3		
Mainly English			1	2		
English only					1	2
Siblings PPE*						
Korean Only	15	32	32	52	42	79
Mainly Korean	16	34	18	30	9	17
Both equally	13	28	4	7		
Mainly English	3	6	5	8		
English only			2	3	2	4
Friends PPE*						
Korean Only	24	55	43	67	40	71
Mainly Korean	10	23	13	20	13	23
Both equally	6	14	5	8	2	4
Mainly English	4	9	3	5	1	2
English only						
Siblings APE**						
Korean Only	11	23	28	47	35	66
Mainly Korean	10	21	15	25	14	26
Both equally	17	35	6	10	2	4
Mainly English	7	15	8	13		
English only	3	6	3	5	2	4
Friends APE**						
Korean Only	16	36	37	59	34	61
Mainly Korean	10	23	17	27	19	34
Both equally	11	25	5	8	2	4
Mainly English	5	11	4	6	1	2
English only	2	5				

* PPE : In the presence of parents or elders

** APE : In the absence of parents or elders

dynamics of the Korean community’s group norm in New Zealand has quite a strong influence on people’s language choice behaviour. It also

seems to play a significant role for ethnic language maintenance in the community. Among the Korean functions the most important and crucial one would be religious activities such as weekly services, weekly home groups, and other irregular meetings. It is well known that a large proportion of Korean migrants is involved in religious activities. There are many, especially men, who were not involved in those activities in Korea but started to practise their religion and attend religious activities in this newly chosen country. The following is a typical statement from a father who became a believer or at least a church-goer after arriving in New Zealand.

I had no time to go to church in Korea, but when we arrived in New Zealand we felt isolated and needed help from prior settlers. Some pastors or laymen from churches were so kind as to help us and did anything for us when we needed help. Naturally and automatically, we started to go to church and became members of the church.

Most Koreans seem to go to a Korean church rather than a local church mainly because the parents are not confident in overcoming their language and cultural differences. However, there are some Korean families who attempt to go to local churches either directly after arriving in New Zealand or more likely after experiencing a Korean one for a while. One mother from Christchurch told me in the interview:

We had made an attempt to go to a Kiwi [New Zealander] church for one year to have our children learn English more quickly and even for us to make Kiwi friends, but later our children wanted to go Korean church and we too started to feel lonely, so we made a decision to go to a Korean church. All of us now are feeling better and more comfortable, and it's much better for our children's Korean proficiency.

It is a common phenomenon found in the interview sessions that as children get older and, in particular, when they experience interest differences from local friends they start to seek Korean friends and Korean contexts more and more. It means for the present young migrant generations the Korean function domains are more likely to remain influential on the community's language choice behaviour.

3.1.3. Shop

The 'Shop' domain is quite different from the other kinds of KNS

contexts since it includes family members for the main interlocutors but also it may involve the non-Korean members as overhearers. Therefore it was expected that there would be something different from the ‘home’ and ‘Korean functions’ domains in that not only could the attitudes of the parents towards their children vary but also the children’s sense of their parents’ expectations about their language could vary, depending on the situation. Parents’ norms for their children’s use of English would be mitigated due to the surrounding situation and then their degree of speaking English would be much higher than in the other KNS contexts.

Although the differences were not great, almost all the respondents reported that they used more English with parents in this domain than in Korean functions. This seems to reflect that *Korean social norms* affect people more in their language choice behaviour than *family norms* do in ‘Shop’ situations with parents. Primary school children tended to be most free to use more English with their mother (31% in ‘Both Korean and English equally’ and ‘Mainly English’) (Table 6). In contrast to this, tertiary students concentrated entirely on the two scale points of ‘Korean only’ (76% with mother; 81% with father) and ‘Mainly Korean (19% with mother; 15% with father). They seemed to feel strange speaking English with parents because most of them came to New Zealand when they were older than the present primary and secondary students. They could have little chance to speak English naturally with their parents even in this public situation.

In fact, the ‘Shop’ domain was rather tricky for the respondents to

Table 6. Frequency: Language Choice in the Shop Domain (%)

	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Mother						
Korean Only	19	37	42	65	41	76
Mainly Korean	13	33	16	25	10	19
Both equally	12	23	5	8	2	4
Mainly English	4	8	2	3	1	2
English only						
Father						
Korean Only	21	43	42	67	44	81
Mainly Korean	14	29	14	22	8	15
Both equally	9	19	4	6	1	2
Mainly English	5	10	3	5		
English only					1	2

answer because some of them, especially the older students, did not speak much with their parents in this domain. Both of the parents and the children seemed to feel awkward speaking either in Korean or in English, so they chose to remain silent until they found a place to be by themselves. This peculiar phenomenon could be found more with older male students. One male tertiary student said:

Suddenly we become very silent people in the open place like in a shop, but we start to speak more freely either in a rather crowded area or in an isolated place, of course, mainly in Korean.

3.1.4. Korean School

Parents would expect their children to learn more Korean perfectly from a Korean school and practise Korean more with friends when they send them there. The school domain is free from parents' circles but still belongs to a Korean norms sensitive context because of the roles of teachers of the Korean language and the general expectations of the children to speak Korean all the time in the Korean school. In Korean school situations, students are expected and asked by teachers and their parents to use only Korean. Tertiary students were excluded from the analysis and the discussion because they were not considered relevant to this domain. This was because most of them had no experience of attending a Korean school in New Zealand, but secondary students were included because most of them have present or recent experience of being there. It is not surprising that the primary school children (16% in 'Both equally' and 19% in 'Mainly English' and 'English Only') show a much higher degree of English use than secondary students (9% only in 'Mainly English') in the Korean school.

To primary school children and secondary students the pattern of language choices is similar to those of the 'Talking with Korean friends

Table 7. Frequency: Language Choice in the Korean School (%)

	Primary		Secondary	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Korean Only	17	45	27	61
Mainly Korean	8	21	13	30
Both equally	6	16		
Mainly English	6	16	4	9
English only	1	3		

on the phone' in the 'Home' and 'Shop' domains and 'Talking with siblings in the presence of parents' in the 'Korean functions' domain. It is noteworthy that among 22 primary school girls, eleven girls (50%) answered 'Korean only' and five of them (23%) answered 'Mainly English' with none choosing 'English only' while boys answered 'Korean only' (38%) and one of them (6%) answered 'English only'. Girls tend to observe the norms required by teachers and parents more than boys. This supports Clyne's (1985, p. 28) hypothesis that 'girls tend to maintain the language better than boys partly because they are more submissive to parental control'.

The Korean school is one of the most important issues across all the Korean communities in Auckland, Christchurch, and Wellington. It is likely most community members would agree that the Korean school plays a major role in their children's Korean language proficiency development and maintenance along with cultural values. A father of two primary school children from Auckland commented positively on the roles of a Korean school as follows:

It's hard to develop speaking ability in Korean at home, so we send them to a Korean school to develop communication skills in Korean and to play with other Korean friends without language pressures.

In the meantime, one primary school child said:

I speak English all the time to my friends at a Korean school and speak Korean only to my class teacher.

It is clear that the two statements contrast each other. However, this situation is a part of the current reality of Korean schools. The expectations from the parents do not necessarily coincide with their children's interests and actual performance. Children are often more interested in meeting their friends and sharing their restricted interests and emotions from the non-Korean contexts during the week. As the situation is like this, some parents think it is useless and too time-consuming to send their children to a Korean school. A father from Auckland who is attempting teaching his son Korean at home in a variety of ways contends:

At first, I thought it was very important to send him to a Korean school but later I found it was more disappointing than encouraging when we critically thought about the investment of time and effort costing almost a whole Saturday every week.

However, apart from this kind of discouraging comment, it is generally recognised and strongly confirmed by the interviewees that a Korean school is playing the key role in the community for the development and maintenance of Korean language as well as cultural values and practices. No parents were found who expected that a Korean school is solely responsible for their children's Korean language proficiency. After emphasising the importance of the Korean school for the community, a father from Auckland argues:

We need to monitor our children continuously. If not, they will easily lose Korean proficiency and in the end the identity of Korean and then our migration to New Zealand would be a failure. Continuous monitoring of our children makes them competent both in Korean and in English.

3.2. Korean Norms Free (KNF) Contexts

Korean norms free contexts comprise the three main domains of 'School' (classroom and playtime), 'Outside the home', and 'Part-time work' (Korean contexts and non-Korean contexts). It was expected in the Korean norms free contexts that the student would show a greater tendency to shift towards English in their language choice patterns than in Korean norms sensitive contexts.

3.2.1. School

The school domain is quite interesting in that children spend their own time without parents' supervision or interference and they have their own social lives there. It is a common expectation of the Korean parents that their children learn English and develop their proficiency by making friends with native speakers of English at school. However, it is not necessarily good for their English development at school since there are many factors interrupting their opportunities to speak English so often. The following comment was common from the interviews.

If there are some Koreans, or even only one, in the classroom, we are normally not expected to sit beside non-Korean students or to speak to or

play with non-Koreans at lunch times by other Korean peers at school.

Even with this kind of restraint, it cannot be denied that school is still a good place for them to learn and practise English. In the school domain, respondents were first asked about their language choice patterns in the play or break times at school or at the university. They were also asked about their preferred language use with Korean classmates in classroom discussion sessions. Their actual language choice in the same situation was added to compare to their preferences. It was expected that English would mainly be used in talking with other Korean students in the classroom discussion sessions.

In classroom discussions, the respondent groups showed that the *preference* to use English outweighed their *actual* choice. The difference between the preference and the actual choice of English in the classroom, unsurprisingly, tended to be greater than at play time outside the classroom. Considering the classroom situations which include a majority of non-Korean speaking classmates and an English speaking teacher, English is used relatively less often than casual expectations. In playtime,

Table 8. Frequency: Language Choice in Talking to Other Koreans at School (%)

	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Classroom-preference						
Korean Only	15	33	29	43	29	52
Mainly Korean						
Both equally	13	29	24	36	16	29
Mainly English						
English only	17	38	14	21	11	20
Classroom-actual						
Korean Only	16	38	33	52	27	52
Mainly Korean						
Both equally	19	45	25	40	18	35
Mainly English						
English only	7	17	5	8	7	13
Playtime						
Korean Only	14	39	33	53	23	41
Mainly Korean	4	11	17	27	28	50
Both equally	11	31	7	11	4	7
Mainly English	6	17	5	8	1	2
English only						

the reports were much nearer to 'Mainly Korean' or 'Korean Only' (50%, 80%, 91% respectively among the three groups) than towards 'Mainly English' or 'English only' (17%, 8%, 2% respectively among the three groups).

It seemed that there were many factors leading them to avoid using English. It is already well known and confirmed by the interviewees that 'Koreans have a tendency not to speak English to other Koreans regardless of their English proficiency'. In the classroom discussion situations, most interviewed students wanted to speak English personally, but the conditions of the presence of other Koreans and their lack of English proficiency make them uncomfortable using English. Interestingly, most interviewed students thought their English was better than the other Korean students in the discussion sessions, which is natural because the subjects were limited to those who have been here in New Zealand over three years and since then Korean students have continued to come into their classes. Most interviewees were more concerned about their Korean counterparts' English proficiency rather than the presence of a teacher who is normally urging them to use English.

As for the preferred language in the classroom discussion sessions, 67% of primary school children preferred to speak 'English only' or 'both Korean and English equally' whereas the corresponding proportion of tertiary students was only 49%, with more preference to use 'Korean only' (52%). The primary school children's strong preference to use 'English only' dropped sharply from 38% to the rates of 17% in their actual language use in classroom discussions with Korean classmates. It indicated their conflicting motivation in terms of the language choices with the other Korean students.

On the whole, the differences of the language choice patterns by age subgroups and the situations in the school domain showed less variation than the other previous KNS situations, which reflects the influence of the contextual differences. However, considering that the situation is a 'school', their use of Korean is well ahead of English, in particular, at play times.

3.2.2. Outside

There were not many students who associated with non-Korean friends outside the home or the school. Interviewed students' common explanations for that include that they had different interests from Kiwi friends, and they had interests in common with other Asian students like

Hong Kong Chinese or Taiwanese Chinese rather than Kiwi friends. There are some occasions for them to meet non-Korean friends outside, but they do not normally meet them with other Korean friends. Korean students have a tendency to avoid meeting people multi-ethnically. At any rate, it is Korean friends that they meet more often outside school or home than others, which indicates the importance of the 'Outside' domain in terms of their language choice behaviour with other Korean friends.

The respondents were asked to report their language choice in talking with friends on the street or in the cinema where they feel most free from every Korean norm expectation. Contrary to my expectation, most of the respondents were using 'Korean' or 'Mainly Korean' with the only exception of the primary school group. In fact, with regard to the primary school children, they do not have many opportunities to be outside without parents' guidance.

Table 9. Frequency: Language Choice in Talking to Other Koreans Outside Home and School (%)

	Primary		Secondary		Tertiary	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Korean Only	19	44	36	57	31	55
Mainly Korean	6	14	20	32	22	39
Both equally	11	26	4	6	2	4
Mainly English	5	12	3	5	1	2
English only						

As shown in Table 9, no respondents indicated they spoke 'English only' at all in these situations. In fact, among Korean students it is a common concept that in order to communicate only in English, they need first to be a fully competent English speaker and then they need to have consensus with the feeling of comfort speaking English even if only between friends without any Korean norm monitors. This could be partly attributable to the possibility that both sides are not competent in English or that they are not used to speaking only in English yet. It was often found from the interviews that in the 'Outside' domain students meet Korean international friends frequently.

They are always there in town, whenever we go out we can meet them wherever we go. My parents do not want me to meet them, but I cannot help meeting them.

With the impact of the IMF crisis on most Asian countries including Korea, many Korean international students went back to Korea at the time of the interviews and the survey but their influences on the respondents and the whole Korean community in New Zealand were not small. From the parents' point of view it was not desirable for their children to meet them for fear of their misconduct. However, in terms of Korean language and culture maintenance for some of the resident students it was a good opportunity to meet other recently-arrived Korean international students to get exposed to interesting things and enjoyable items such as the most recent pop song CDs from Korea. Though this is not the story for all the community members it would be true that this group of recently-arrived Korean international students have influenced resident students quite a lot in a variety of ways. In particular, they were one of the main sources for the resident students to get new colloquial Korean including *Yoohaengeo*²⁾. Some respondents told me:

If we do not catch up with the *Yoohaengeo*, we are easily regarded as a 'barbarian', so we try to learn from them and from the Korean videos everyday.

3.2.3. Work

It was expected that some of the secondary and tertiary students would be working part-time. The total of six responses of primary school children were excluded from the analysis due to their inappropriateness. In this domain, it was asked what language they were using when talking with other Korean colleagues in either Korean or non-Korean work environments. Even in the Korean-oriented work place it was presumed that they are not required to speak Korean by the owner or customers, which means these situations are still Korean norms free contexts. In general, it was noted that more English was used by the respondents in the non-Korean contexts than in the Korean contexts.

In Korean working contexts, 55% of secondary students and 66% of the tertiary students reported that they talked with Korean colleagues in 'Korean only' without any 'English only' option or 'Mainly English' with the exception of two responses. It indicates that even though there is no strong Korean norm pressure the respondents preferred to speak Korean

2) Currently popular Korean slang, often spread from TV programs in Korea

Table 10. Language Choice in Talking to Other Koreans at Work (%)

	Primary		Secondary	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Korean work context				
Korean Only	21	55	27	66
Mainly Korean	12	32	13	32
Both equally	4	11	1	2
Mainly English	1	3		
English only				
Non-Korean work context				
Korean Only	18	44	17	40
Mainly Korean	13	32	16	37
Both equally	7	17	5	12
Mainly English			5	12
English only	3	7		

in Korean-context work places. It was noticed that most working places for the students from Auckland were Korean contexts and for most of those in Christchurch and Wellington they were non-Korean contexts due to differences in the distribution of the Korean-related trades across the cities.

4. Summary and Conclusion

As discussed earlier, home was found to be crucially important for the ethnic language maintenance. It was therefore expected that the 'Home' domain would show a limited use of English compared to the other Korean norms sensitive domains. However, surprisingly, the 'Home' domain showed the most frequent English use among the four Korean norms sensitive domains, which is quite the opposite result to the prediction. It seems that home is a good place to practise and maintain Korean language but is also good place to start to speak English and even to practise with siblings or parents. A younger female secondary student commented:

It is comfortable for me to speak English at home even though my parents ask me to speak Korean as much as I can do. Outside the home, it's a bit awkward to speak English because of the people, but at home everybody can understand me when I speak English. Actually my parents like us to speak English sometimes because they want to hear and learn English from us.

Perhaps because the Koreans have a short migration history in New Zealand, there seem to be conflicts over the language policy at home. In theory, parents ask children to speak Korean, but, in reality, they tend to be quite tolerant when children speak English and even feel proud of their competency in English. This can be related to their motivation for migrating to New Zealand. Having children learn English without any stress is one of the most important reasons for migration to New Zealand, which was confirmed from the surveys and the interviews. Therefore parents are not so harsh with their children's speaking of English but they continue to emphasise the importance of using Korean at home.

The 'Korean school' is another domain where children, especially primary school boys, use English frequently. Regardless of their parents' and teachers' expectations to speak Korean all the time at the Korean school, it seems that they speak English more comfortably with friends than in other situations. This would be because the children are about the same age and feel less threatened about speaking English to each other than to English speaking friends at school. The monitoring by the teachers is, of course, not enough to prevent the children speaking English freely any time.

These two main domains of 'Home' and 'Korean school' which were understood as important for ethnic language maintenance are ironically used as places for speaking or practising English with siblings and friends more comfortably. But this general tendency does not seem to be either easily reversible or necessary to reverse for the community members. The confession of a mother from Wellington, however, should be remembered for the continuous concern over the children's language choice behaviour and the desire to give them strong motivation to maintain Korean competency:

Some mothers let children speak English at home for the purpose of education but I have seen there have been communication breakdowns after years and they couldn't communicate with their children properly, they seem to be going in different directions.

Turning to the Korean norms free contexts, on the whole, the language choice reports on the 'Outside' and 'Work' situation showed the same level. While the school is a place for most respondents to speak much more English, it is noticeable that male secondary students do not show a big difference from the other domains. They seem to have the most

invariant characteristics in their language choice behaviour. Overall, students showed more use of English in the Korean norms free contexts than in the Korean norms sensitive contexts with some variation across the situations and the subgroups of age. This reflects the fact that the Korean norms are a strong influence on the Korean students' language choice behaviour across all the situations.

As we have so far examined, the present study has attempted to describe the influence of contextual perception on language choice patterns trying to gauge the extent of Korean language maintenance and shift among young members of the Korean communities in New Zealand. It has also attempted to incorporate the quantitative and qualitative approaches for language choice investigation. Socio-structural domains of language choice behaviour were mainly classified into two contexts by the sensitivity of the Korean social psychological norms among the community members.

One thing clearly identified in this study was that language shift was occurring among younger members of the Korean communities to varying extents. As for the two Korean norms-based contexts, it was obvious that in the Korean norms free situations (School, Outside, and Work) respondents were using more English with other Koreans than in the Korean norms sensitive contexts (Home, Korean functions, Shop with parents, and Korean school).

As for the expectation that the 'home' domain would be the place where the Korean language was most used, it turned out that this was not the case. Rather, the results from the survey and the interviews showed that English was used steadily and even comfortably in the 'home' domain more than in most other domains, of course, with some variation depending on the interlocutors. In fact, the concept of 'Korean norms' was useful to identify the language choice categories in that it showed relevantly distinguishable norm differences according to contexts.

In conclusion, the extent of Korean language maintenance in a variety of language use contexts of the young members of the Korean communities in New Zealand, seems to be relatively high as yet, with an under 10 year migration history for most of them. Compared to other relatively new migrant communities, such as the Indo-Fijian (Shameem, 1995), Lao (Smith, 1997), and Tongan (Aipolo, 1989), the previously monolingual Korean community was still maintaining the Korean language very well across the various domains. It was confirmed from

the interviews that the expectations of Korean language use in the future were fairly optimistic but it should be noted that the reality will not always be the same as our expectations. As we have noticed, there are some symptoms of shifting towards English even at home among the various domains and, in particular, for the younger group members. This may appear beneficial for their bilingualism at first, but it also may bring irreversible shift to English within an unexpectedly short period. The use of English in different domains and to different interlocutors will increase rapidly, without serious parental and community efforts to guide and help the younger generation.

The present study has some limitations. First, it does not deal with code-switching among the students which is another important area in the study of language choice behaviour. Another limitation is that the study focuses on only restricted age groups of the Korean communities in New Zealand and thus it does not necessarily represent the general situations of Korean migrant communities over the other English-speaking countries. In addition, it does not employ the method of 'participant observation'. If the method had been employed, the Korean students' bilingual behaviour might have been discussed more in depth. These limitations could be explored in future research. Despite these limitations, it is hoped that the study brings some implications to not only researchers and teachers but also to students and parents as it is a kind of rarely attempted investigation of the real situations of Korean students' bilingual behaviour in recent migrant communities overseas. In particular, this study indicates that there are some factors necessary for a better understanding of the situations of English learning and Korean language maintenance and shift to English. This is particularly true in an English-speaking country like New Zealand which is one of the preferred countries for Koreans seeking the development of bilingualism and education migration. These kinds of issues of migration and learning English, ethnic language maintenance and shift among Korean migrants overseas are suggested to draw more attention from researchers in the field of applied linguistics. This is important in order to understand the changing patterns of language behaviour in the next generation, particularly in this age of globalisation.

References

- Aipolo, A. (1989). *Profile of Language Maintenance and Shift within the Tongan Speech Community in Wellington*. New Zealand. Unpublished master's thesis. Victoria University of Wellington. Wellington, New Zealand.
- Albrecht, S., Chadwick, B., and C. Jacobson. (1987). *Social Psychology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Baker, C. (2002). *Key Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Clyne, M. (1985). Language maintenance and language shift: Some data from Australia. In N. Wolfson and J. Manes, eds., *Language of Inequality: A Reader in Sociolinguistics* (pp. 195-206). The Hague: Mouton.
- Fishman, J. (1965, 2000). Who speaks what language to whom and when?. In Li, W., ed., *The Bilingual Reader* (pp. 89-106). Routledge: New York.
- Fishman, J. (1972). *The Sociology of Language: An Interdisciplinary Social Science Approach to Language in Society*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- Hamers, J. and M. Blanc. (2000). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ho, E., R. Bedford, and C. Bedford. (2000). *Migrants in Their Family Contexts: Application of a Methodology*. Briefing Paper No. 4, Presented to Seminar 'New Directions: New Settlers', 12-13 April 2000, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Hoffmann, S. (1991). *An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Johri, R. (1998). *Stuck in the Middle or Clued up on Both?: Language and Identity among Korean, Dutch, and Samoan Immigrants in Dunedin*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Otago. Dunedin, New Zealand.
- Kim, I. (1981). *New Urban Migrants: The Korean community in New York*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lee, J. (2001). *Immigration fever*. Retrieved May, 2001, from the World Wide Web: http://monthly.chosun.com/html/200105/200105070001_2.html.

- Li, W. (1994). *Three Generations, Two Languages, One Family*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Li, W. ed. (2000). *The Bilingual Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Min, P. G. (1991). Cultural and economic boundaries of Korean ethnicity: A comparative analysis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 14, 225-241.
- Park, S. (2002a). Bilingualism among Korean students as recent migrants. *Foreign Languages Education* 9, 23-49.
- Park, S. (2002b). Language anxieties in second language learning. *Korean Journal of English Language and Linguistics* 2, 373-401.
- Park, S. (2002c). Learning English as a second language among Korean migrant students in New Zealand. *English Teaching* 58, 75-100.
- Roberts, M. (1999). *Immigrant Languages in New Zealand: Community Language Maintenance and National Language Policies: Research on the Wellington Dutch, Gujarati and Samoan Communities*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Victoria University of Wellington. Wellington, New Zealand.
- Scotton, C. M. (1983). The negotiation of identities in conversation: A theory of markedness and code choice. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 44, 115-136.
- Shameem, N. (1995). *Hamai Log Ke Boli: Our Language: Language Shift in an Immigrant Community: The Wellington Indo-Fijians*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Victoria University of Wellington. Wellington, New Zealand.
- Smith, H. (1997). Ngeun Dtem Pha Bo Panya Dtem Phoung: Social network analysis and the acquisition of English in the Lao refugee community of Wellington. *New Zealand Studies in Applied Linguistics* 3, 21-45.
- Starks, D. (1997). Community languages and research methodology in New Zealand: The issues of social networks. *New Zealand Studies in Applied Linguistics* 3, 46-61.
- Youn, S.-H. and D. Starks. (1997). *Language Difficulties Encountered by Immigrants: A Study of Koreans in New Zealand*. New Zealand-Asia Institute, Auckland: University of Auckland.

Appendix

(Questions used in the survey)

Which language(s) do you use in general in the following situations?
Please tick the appropriate box.

- 0 Not applicable
- 1 Korean only
- 2 Mainly Korean
- 3 Both Korean and English equally
- 4 Mainly English
- 5 English only

() specifically or for example

*siblings: brothers and sisters

	0	1	2	3	4	5
Talking with mother (home)						
Talking with mother (shop)						
Talking with mother (Korean function, service)						
Talking with father (home)						
Talking with father (shop)						
Talking with father (Korean function, service)						
Talking with siblings* (in the presence of parents)						
Talking with siblings* (in the absence of parents)						
Talking with siblings* (Korean function with parents or elderly)						
Talking with siblings* (Korean function without parents or elderly)						
Talking with family members (meal time)						
Talking with Korean visitors/ relatives (home)						
Answering phones (home)						
Talking with Korean visitors/ relatives (home)						
Answering phones (home)						
Talking with Korean friends (at home)						
Talking with Korean friends (at school playtime)						
Talking with Korean friends (on the phone)						
Talking with Korean friends (Street, cinema,)						
Talking with Korean friends (Korean function with parents or elderly)						
Talking with Korean friends (Korean function without parents or elderly)						
Talking with Korean friends (at Korean school playtime)						
With Korean colleagues (at part-time work, Korean context)						
With Korean colleagues (at part-time work, non-Korean context)						
Which language do you prefer to use for discussions between you and other Korean students in the classroom group activities?						
Which language do you actually use for discussions between you and other Korean students in the classroom group activities?						

Seon-Ho Park
Department of English Education
Gyeongin National University of Education
Gyodae Street 45, Gyeyang-gu
Inchon 407-753, Korea
E-mail : shpark@gin.ac.kr

Received: Dec. 24, 2002

Revised version received: May 5, 2003

Accepted: May 16, 2003