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International Englishes, Dialects and Glocalized Englishes: Translanguaging in South Korea

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Abstract

English has spread across the world as the language of business, education, science and travel. Americans, British and other native speakers living in Inner Circle countries speak English as a Native Language (ENL). Nigerians, Jamaicans, Singaporeans and others living in Outer Circle countries speak ‘World Englishes (WEs)’, but what do Koreans, Chinese, Japanese and others living in the Expanding Circle speak? Koreans learn English as a Second/Foreign Language (ESL/EFL) but they also speak *Konglish*, and they can see and hear English in Korean music, advertisements and products, indicating that English is not really a ‘foreign’ language. They often do better at communication with Chinese or Japanese business contacts than native speakers who do not know how to modify their English. In this dissertation I introduce the concepts of ‘Glocalized Englishes (GEs)’, ‘English as a Glocalized Language (EGL)’ and ‘International Englishes (IEs)’ to account for the relationships between different varieties of English. GEs cover *Konglish*, *Chinglish*, *Janglish*, and other hybrid languages which emerge through translanguaging in Expanding Circle countries. EGL expands the simple binary of ESL/EFL, and IEs describe the modified languages of native speakers and fluent English learners that are used for international communication. I propose a Pyramid Continuum model to represent these languages, with GEs on the bottom with the narrowest usability, ENL and WEs in the middle with moderate usability, and IEs on the top with the widest possible usability. I demonstrate how language ideologies coalesce together to form indexical configurations of EFL and EGL. The case study focusses on a South Korean university and includes taped interviews, written homework assignments, a survey on taking an English name, over 10 years of participant observation, and an analysis of the ‘linguascape’: the linguistic soundscape in videos of buildings and streets, and the linguistic landscape in photographs of buildings, streets, products, road signs, public literature and graffiti. Discussion of future implications include how to do further studies of other GEs, what linguistic features are indicative of IEs, and why language testing must include the recognition and production of IEs.

Keywords

Linguistic anthropology, language ideology, indexicality, translanguaging, English as a Second Language, English as a Foreign Language, linguistic landscape, linguistic soundscape, linguascape, Konglish, Glocalized Englishes, International Englishes

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Chapter 1

1 Introduction and theoretical background

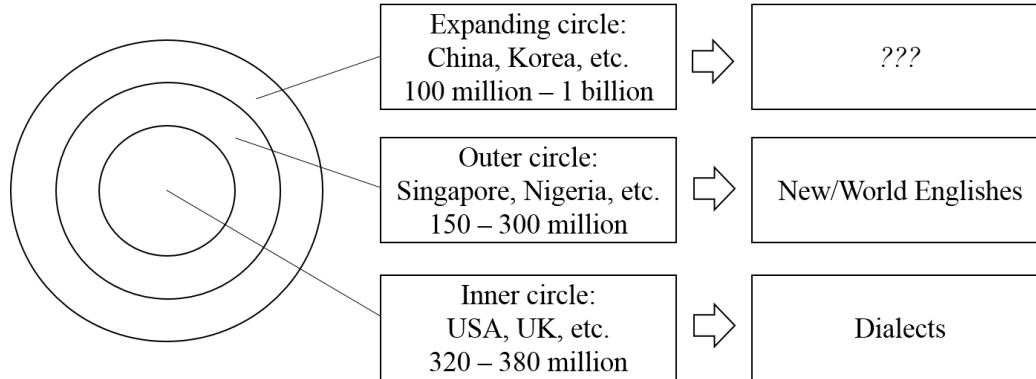
In 1996 I arrived at Kimpo airport, just west of Seoul, South Korea. I took the ‘Limousine Busuh’ past the pyramid shaped garbage mountains of Nanjido and into the city of Seoul. The sunset revealed street after street of neon advertisements and glowing red crosses. I arrived at the gigantic signage of ‘HYATT HOTEL’ where I met an expat who showed me where to stay, where to drink and where to find a job. My first full-time job was at Sogang University. I was introduced to *Konglish* within the first few weeks of teaching in Korea. My students would say, “Teacher, she is my *junior*. Oh, is that *Konglish*?” and “Teacher, do you know *longdari*? It’s *Konglish*!” I would reply “What is *Konglish*?” and my students would look shy and say, “It’s a mixture of English and Korean.” I would soon find out it was much more than that. I would see ‘Falling in Coffee’ and ‘I’m Baker’ painted on the sides of trucks and hear students talking about which *apateh* (apartment complex) they lived in, and I would indulge myself with a *peurim kopi* (Prim Coffee) from a *kopi japangi* (coffee machine). Most people I talked to considered *Konglish* to be vocabulary and grammar, but some colleagues would say ‘bing money’ (big money) was *Konglish*, which suggested it can be pronunciation, and others would say “The way that guy speaks English is very Korean style” which suggested it can be discourse. Most would call it ‘poor’, ‘bad’ or ‘broken’ English. It became clear that *Konglish* was everywhere, it was a negative thing, and no one had a clear definition of what it was.

The major questions of this research can be summarized as follows:

- 1) What is *Konglish*? How is it different from other varieties of English such as dialects and New/World Englishes?
- 2) Is English a foreign language as most researchers state, or has it become a local language in Korea?
- 3) Where, and for what purposes, are English and *Konglish* being used in Korea? How do they appear the linguascape of Korea?

To answer these questions, we first need to consider the current major model for dividing the world of English, which is Kachru's (1983) famous 'Circles of English' model. He stated that the world of English can be divided into three concentric circles. The first 'inner circle' includes countries where English is the primary language and includes the USA, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The second 'outer circle' includes Nigeria, Singapore, India, etc. These countries have had a long history of British colonization, the teaching of English in the education system and the usage of English as a lingua franca in their own countries. The third 'expanding circle' includes countries where English has acquired cultural or commercial importance such as China, Korea, Brazil, etc. These countries do not have a history of British colonization but study English as an 'international/foreign/universal' language for education, business and communication (Bolton & Kachru, 2006). The language learning situation is a simple binary: students studying English in the Inner Circle are in the situation of learning 'English as a Second Language' or ESL, and those studying in Outer or Expanding Circles are learning 'English as a Foreign Language' or EFL (ELT, 2011). Scholars have labelled the languages of the first two circles. Inner circle countries have 'native speakers' who speak 'dialects' or 'English as a Native Language (ENL)' (Leung, 2009; Allen & Linn, 2014; Kulshreshtha & Mathur, 2012). Outer circle countries speak 'New' or 'World Englishes' (N/WEs) where English is used as a 'second/official/state language' of government, education, business, etc. (Platt, Weber, & Ho, 1984; Kirkpatrick, 2007, 2010). However, there is no unifying term that covers *Chinglish*, *Janglish*, *Konglish*, etc. spoken in the Expanding Circle countries (see figure 1 below).

Figure 1, Circles of English (based on Kachru, 1983)



In this dissertation, I introduce and develop a theoretical approach to the study of English in Korea, which can be applied to similar situations of language learning in the Expanding Circle. I will propose ‘Glocalized Englishes (GEs)’ as a theoretical term that describes *Konglish*, *Chinglish*, *Janglish*, etc. I argue for a new term to be added to the binary ESL vs EFL that describes the language learning situation: ‘English as a Glocalized Language (EGL)’. I introduce a term that describes the modified language of native speakers and fluent non-native speakers: ‘International Englishes (IEs)’. I use these terms in a model that supplements the Circles of English model and accounts for the emergent nature of individual learners and conversations and the hierarchy of languages based on ideologies: a ‘Pyramid Continuum of English’. I use the notions of language ideologies and indexicality to show what language ideologies of English and *Konglish* are evident in the entire linguascape of a Korean university, how these ideologies have changed over time, and how ideologies and language play can be grouped together as ‘indexical configurations’ that index English as a Foreign Language (EFL), English as a Glocalized Language (EGL) and Glocalized Englishes (GEs). In sum,

- 1) *Konglish*, *Chinglish*, *Janglish*, etc. should be called ‘Glocalized Englishes (GEs)’ which have been localized at all linguistic levels
- 2) These GEs are developing in a language learning situation of ‘English as a Glocalized Language (EGL)’ where English is available outside the classroom in the linguascape (linguistic soundscape and landscape);

- 3) The ‘Circles of English’ model should be supplemented with the ‘Pyramid Continuum’ model to account for the emergent nature of individual learners and conversations, and the hierarchy of languages: GEs at the bottom with the narrowest field of usability, ENL, ESL, EFL, etc. in the middle with a broader usability, and ‘International Englishes (IEs)’ at the top with the widest usability.

The implications of these new terms are various. At present there is no term that covers *Konglish*, *Chinglish*, *Janglish*, etc., thus GEs fill this theoretical gap. The Circle model puts native speakers in the position of power at the center/core, whereas most world travellers know that ENL has to be modified in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar to be understood internationally, so by putting IEs at the top of the Pyramid model native speakers are encouraged to modify their English and non-native speakers are encouraged to value their own forms of Englishes.

1.1 GEs, EGL and IEs

GEs

I define *Konglish* based on a previous definition collectively generated at a KOTESOL conference (Lawrence, 2010a):

Konglish, *Chinglish* and *Janglish* are Glocalized Englishes (GEs) that are developing as a result of translanguaging between English and local languages, which normally include vocabulary and grammar, but may also include all other linguistic levels. They are ‘glocalized’ in that they have been transformed to fit local linguistic and cultural norms. They are ‘Englishes’ as they are based on English and are often considered to be English by their speakers.

‘Translanguaging’ is a major part of GEs and *Konglish*. The term was developed in Cen Williams’ Welsh language classroom in the 1980s. I define it as

the process whereby multilingual speakers utilize their languages as an integrated communication system (Canagarajah, 2011), [which] involves issues of language production, effective communication, the function of language, and the thought processes behind language use (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012), in which multilingual language users mediate complex social and cognitive activities through strategic employment of multiple semiotic resources to act, to know and to be (Garcia & Li, 2014).

Translanguaging is the best theoretical fit for an analysis of *Konglish*. It does not require the speaker to be fluent in a language, rather it allows for the use of language as a semiotic, linguistic resource such as a market lingo or metrolingua franca (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014). Even monolingual speakers have been shown to be translanguaging between codes, registers and discourses, challenging the traditional notions of ‘monolingual’, ‘bilingual’ and ‘multilingual’ that focus on the boundaries between languages such as ‘English’ versus ‘Korean’ and contribute to “the neglect of the diversity of socially indexical resources *within* languages” (Blackledge & Creese, 2017, p. 37). Translanguaging can be seen not as switching between separate linguistic codes but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have societally been labelled as separate languages (Garcia & Li, 2014). Translanguaging resembles ‘style-switching’ which is defined as “a bundle of semiotic resources indexically tied to a social type, category or persona [that] do not exist in isolation but acquire meaning only in relation to other styles” (Bucholtz, 2011, p. 11). Traditionally, this involved ‘high’ and ‘low’ registers of politeness, but it can also involve clothing, possessions, activities, i.e. an entire semiotic system (ibid). Finally, translanguaging is also useful with its emphasis on the emergent nature of language: the ‘-ing’ of using, mixing and transforming languages.

‘Glocalized’ is also a major feature of GEs and *Konglish*. The term originates from the process of globalization and is a combination of ‘global’ and ‘local’. The processes of globalization have been around for centuries, but the word itself has only been around since the 1970s (James & Steger, 2014). Major researchers include Crystal (2003) who documented the ‘globalization’ of English around the globe, Phillipson (1992, 2009) who demonstrated the negative effects of ‘linguistic imperialism’ and

Macedo et al. (2003) who argued against the ‘hegemony of English’. The concept of ‘glocalization’ comes from the Japanese word *dochakuka*, which means global localization, and became a buzzword in Japanese business in the 1980s (Khondker, 2004). It was made popular by British sociologist R. Robertson (1994, 1995) who rejected the binary polar opposites of ‘global’ and ‘local’ arguing that there is an interplay and hybridity between the two, for example replacing Ronald McDonald with Asterix in France. A few scholars have used the term to describe language contact situations. Shi (2013) differentiated English, China English and *Chinglish*, stating that some scholars consider ‘China English’ or ‘Sinicized English’ to have Chinese characteristics in its lexicon, sentence structure and discourse style without any L1 interference, while other scholars (Pride & Liu, 2009; Chen, 1992) consider it to have distinct elements of pronunciation, vocabulary and syntax that are learning ‘deficiencies’ or ‘mistakes’. Both sides of the argument seem to devalue *Chinglish*, which is reminiscent of De Camp’s (1971) notion of the post-creole continuum that was later visualized by Sebba (1997), where the ‘acrolect’ is highly valued, the ‘mesolect’ is somewhat valued and the ‘basilect’ is devalued (see table 1 below).

Table 1, Post-creole continuum for Jamaican Creole (based on Sebba, 1997)

Acrolect	Local standard form	Jamaican standard	[ai am i:tin] “I’m eating.”
Mesolect	Linguistic variety between	Middle lects	[a iz i:tin] [a i:tin] [mi i:tin] [mi a i:t]
Basilect	Broadest form of the creole	Jamaican creole	[mi a nyam]

GEs incorporate the notions of borrowing and/or loanwords. The Korean government has also been dealing with the increase in borrowing of loan words into Korean called ‘Woeraeo’ (외래어). A government body called The National Institute of the Korean Language (국립국어원) looks at foreign words coming informally into the speech of Koreans and decides which words will be formally included in the Korean language (korean.go.kr/08_new/index.jsp). At this point a word is officially no longer considered to be *Konglish*, but officially part of the Korean language. For example, the

term ‘hotchkiss’ (호치키스), meaning ‘stapler’, can be typed into the search engine on the site and the origin of the word can be found.

호치키스 Hotchkiss

「명」 「1」 '스테이플러'를 달리 이르는 말. 스테이플러의 고안자인 미국의 발명가 호치키스의 이름을 딴 상표 이름이다. 「2」 『군』 기관총의 하나. 고안자인 미국의 발명가 호치키스의 이름을 딴 것으로서 가스 압력을 이용한 공랭식이다.

(http://korean.go.kr/08_new/dic/search_input.jsp)

The government has also compiled an extensive list of foreign loan words 600 pages long. Hotchkiss is among them.

#1Hotchkiss#2호치키스#3[군사], 상표명#4용일, 표준.

(korean.go.kr/08_new/index.jsp)

Thus *Konglish* incorporates borrowing/loanwords; however, there is some confusion in using the website and the list of loanwords. The ubiquitous *Konglish* word ‘hand phone’, meaning ‘cell phone’, is *not* on the list, but it *is* on the website search engine.

핸드-폰 (▼hand phone)

「명」 『통』 개인이 가지고 다니면서 통화할 수 있는 소형 무선 전화기. '휴대 전화', '휴대 전화기'로 순화. (http://korean.go.kr/08_new/dic/search_input.jsp)

Therefore it seems that *Konglish* is bigger than the list(s) generated by the government, and just because the government says that it is a loanword does not stop my students from calling it *Konglish*.

GEs also incorporate the notion of ‘Codified Korean English’. The term was coined by a Korean scholar (R.J. Shim, 1999) and refers to uses of English that are different from American English that are being taught in Korean schools and tests. It has three basic differences from English. Lexico-semantic differences (pp. 250-252) include the following:

- i. ‘growths’ as a countable as in ‘hills and valleys that are covered in fresh green *growths*’,

- ii. 'day by day' used as 'everyday' as in 'We go to school *day by day*'; and
- iii. 'on life' meaning 'alive' as in 'Gardens come *on life* again.'

Morpho-syntactic differences (pp. 252-254) include the following:

- i. non differentiation of definite and non-definite articles as in 'He is *a/the* man who can help other people'
- ii. non-count nouns as count nouns as in 'Although it is *a hard work*, I enjoy it.'
- iii. change of types in sentence elements as in 'make a trip = trip (v)

Pragmatic differences (pp. 254-255) include the following (my analysis provided in brackets):

- i. You had better hurry up. ('had better' is pragmatically too strong; should be 'should')
- ii. Why don't you meet my brother? ('why don't you' only used in certain contexts; should be 'would you like')
- iii. I want you to help me with this. ('want' is too strong; should be 'would like')

Considering that these 'codified' examples appear to be 'written' in textbooks, GEs and *Konglish* incorporate the notion of codified Korean English, because *Konglish* can be spoken in conversation, sung in K-pop and written in advertisements (and freshman English students' homework).

GEs are differentiated from dialects/ENL and New/World Englishes. Dialects are defined as 'mutually intelligible' languages (Comrie, 1993) or variations on that definition (Hammarström, 2008). Traditionally dialects were associated with particular countries including the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, Canada and New Zealand (Kirkpatrick, 2014). English is the language spoken by the majority of the population and is the default language even if it is not the 'official' language. The dialects within these countries are mostly mutually intelligible and the speakers are considered to be 'native speakers' who learn 'English as a Native Language (ENL)' (Leung, 2009; Allen & Linn, 2014; Kulshreshtha & Mathur, 2012). The variety of the most socio-politico-

economically powerful speakers is usually considered ‘standard’ but it is often contested (Grzega, 2005; Farrell & Martin, 2009; Crystal, n.d.). GEs are also different from Platt et al’s (1984) notion of ‘New Englishes’ also called ‘World Englishes’ (Kirkpatrick 2007, 2010), hereafter referred to as N/WEs. They sought to distinguish N/WEs from erroneous English or creative but fleeting usages of English, and they came up with the following criteria:

- i. They have developed through the education system...
- ii. They have developed in an area where a native variety of English was *not* the language spoken by most of the population...
- iii. They are used for a range of functions *among* those who speak or write it in the region where it is used....
- iv. They have become ‘localized’ or ‘nativized’ by adopting some language feature of its own, such as sounds, intonation patterns, sentence structures, words, expressions (p. 2-3).

They subdivide N/WEs according to their background of development (see table below).

Table 2, Type and background of New/World Englishes (based on Platt et al., 1984)

<i>Type</i>	<i>Background</i>	<i>Examples</i>
1	local language(s) Usually non-English language of wider communication	Indian English Kenyan English Singapore English
2	local language(s) English-based pidgin used as language of wider communication	Ghanaian English Nigerian English
3	English-based creoles	Caribbean English

According to Platt et al, *Konglish* might be a type 1 New/World English because it developed in the Korean education system (pt. i) where English is not the local language (pt. ii) and it has been localized (pt. iv). However *Konglish* is not used for a range of functions among Koreans (pt. iii); it is limited to mostly vocabulary and some phrases. In addition the political history of WEs and GEs are drastically different: WEs originate in former colonies of Britain; GEs do not. They originate in the language learning situation of English as a Globalized Language (EGL).

EGL

The world of English Language Teaching can also be divided into two main language learning situations: English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Academic agreement on what these are, however, is lacking. A few scholars state that students who are studying English in the Outer Circle study ESL and those in the Expanding Circle study EFL (Nordquist, n.d.; Götz & Schilk, 2011). Some to want to blur the distinction (Reves & Medgyes, 1994; Oxford & Burry-Stock, 1995; Nayar, 1997). Most state that ESL refers to the situation where the English classroom is situated in an Inner Circle country and the classroom usually has students from various countries speaking various languages, and EFL is the situation where the class where students all speak the same language in a non-English speaking country (Leung, 2009; Allen & Linn, 2014; Kulshreshtha & Mathur, 2012), where English “serves little communicative function” (Judd, 1987, p. 6) or “does not play an essential role in national or social life” (Broughton, et al, 1978, p. 6)”. Researchers have gradually realized that this is not the case with the increase of English contact in almost all countries. For example, Nayar (1997) argued for an ESL1 zone for Asia, ESL 2 for North America, and ESL 3 for Scandinavia, and Brown (2007) states that there are “pedagogical implications for a continuum of contexts ranging from high visibility, ready access to the target language outside the language classroom to no access beyond the classroom door” (p. 116). The limitations of this binary definition are exemplified in Trudgill & Hannah (2017) book on ‘International English’ where they state that ENL is spoken in the Inner Circle, ESL is spoken in the Outer Circle and EFL is spoken in the Expanding Circle. Despite the fact that they devote five chapters of the book describing different ENLs, one chapter on ESLs, one on pidgins, and one on ‘lesser known Englishes’ their title suggest that there is still only one English. In addition, they virtually ignore the Expanding Circle which contains more speakers than the Inner and Outer Circle combined, and they ignore the fact that schools and teachers that teach English in the Inner Circle are called ‘ESL schools and teachers’ of which I am one. This binary definition is obviously inaccurate and needs to be expanded to include English as a Globalized Language:

Teaching English as a Globalized Language (EGL) is the language learning situation where outside the English classroom there is access to English in the linguascope of the community, which includes the linguistic soundscape and the linguistic landscape, and where the motivation for learning is for academic or financial success in an Expanding Circle country, not for emigrating to an Inner Circle one.

Finally, there needs to be a term that accounts for the languages used by native and fluent non-native speakers of English, who know that their speech has to be modified for international communication: International Englishes (IEs).

IEs

International Englishes are the result of non-native speakers mastering English and native speakers mastering international travel, business, tourism, etc. They are:

Englishes that are mutually intelligible to native and fluent non-native speakers for international communication, but still have a variety of linguistic features of their national origins.

For non-native speakers, they are Englishes that have sufficient accuracy and fluency to be understood internationally, but still have an accent, some words, or some grammatical features that indicate the speaker's first language is not English. For native speakers, they are Englishes that have been modified enough to be understood internationally, but still have some features that indicate a local dialect. For example, if a Korean student says "Bruce teacher, it must be going MT," then it would be a GE, but if the student says "Bruce teacher, I have to go to a group party," then it would be an IE. In turn, if a Londoner says, "Dude, check out the vroom," it would be a local ENL, but if they said, "Man, look at that cool motorbike," it would be an IE.

GEs and IEs must be differentiated from similar but inaccurate terms: English as an International Language, English as a Global Language, and English as a Lingua Franca. McKay & McKay (2002) state that English as an International Language is "no longer linked to a single culture or nation but serves both global and local needs as a

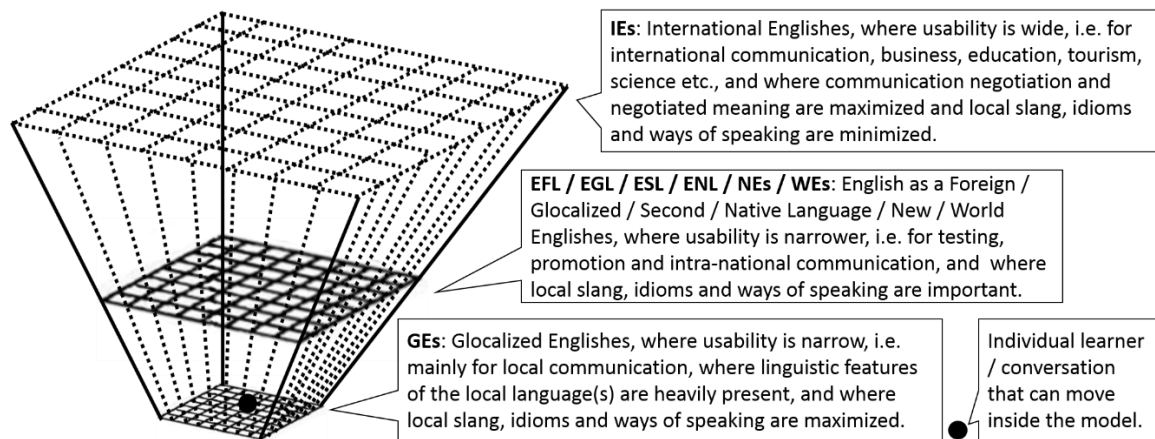
language of wider communication” (p. 24). Crystal (1997) defines English as a Global Language as a language that has achieved a “genuinely global status” with a “special role that is recognized in every country” (p. 3). English as a Lingua Franca is defined functionally by its use in intercultural communication rather than formally by its reference to native-speaker norms” (Hülmbauer, et al. 2008, p. 27). Scholars have criticized these terms for their ideologies. Pennycook (1994) attacked English as an International Language stating that it is always taught in ‘cultural and political arenas’ where different values are in struggle (p. 297). Phillipson (2009) attacked English as a Global Language stating that is monolingual, exonormative and promotes the ideology of the diffusion of English, which he called ‘linguicism’ (Phillipson, 1988) and ‘linguistic imperialism’ (Phillipson, 1992). Haswell & Hahn (2016) attacked English as a Lingua Franca stating that its definition was in its infancy. I would criticize these terms in terms of the fact that they do not exist. There is not one English as an International Language, Global Language or Lingua Franca, or even one ‘standard English’ on the globe. There is not even one standard English in Britain or America. There are many native and non-native speakers speaking mutually unintelligible local dialects or GEs or mutually intelligible IEs.

1.2 Pyramid continuum model of English

In this dissertation, I argue for a supplementary for the Circles model with a ‘Pyramid Continuum’ model. At the bottom level is a map of the world. The Englishes here are Glocalized Englishes (GEs) or local vernaculars, where the usability is narrow. Foreigners will have a hard time understanding GEs as they are mainly used for local communication, and linguistic features of the local language(s) are heavily present, and local slang, idioms, and ways of speaking are maximized. The middle level represents the various situations of English as a Native, Foreign and Second Language, and New/World Englishes. The usability of these Englishes is wider than GEs, as their intended usage is for international communication among varieties; However, the intent is not achieved, as the practical usage of the languages is more for testing at school, promotions at work and intra-national communication, and local slang, idioms and ways of speaking are salient features. The highest level is for International Englishes (IEs) where the usability is wide,

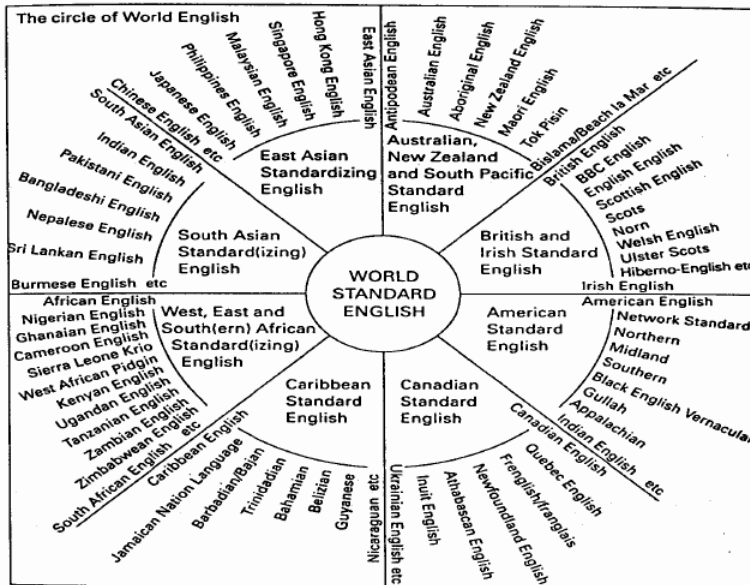
i.e. for international communication, business, education, tourism and science, where communication and negotiated meaning are maximized while local slang, idioms, and ways of speaking are minimized. IEs include Asian Englishes, European Englishes, and any Englishes that are internationally intelligible but still have enough linguistic inheritance for a listener to recognize their original context of contact. The dot represents the emergent nature of the model. It can represent the individual who is born anywhere on the model and may move throughout their life through the model. For example, a boy is born in Canada, learns the local language (ENL) and the local slang (GE), travels around the planet and learns to modify his English for maximum intelligibility anywhere he goes (IEs). It can also represent a conversation that starts at one point in the model and moves around to other locations. For example a girl begins a conversation at an international conference (IEs), breaks her concentration and uses more British English (ENL), then finds out that her interlocutor is from near her hometown and immediately switches to her hometown's slang and pronunciation (GE) (see figure 2).

Figure 2, The pyramid continuum of English



This model is based on the numerous critiques and attempts to improve Kachru's Circles of English model. McArthur (2001) and Gortlach (1990) developed a Circles of English with 'World Standard English' in the middle and much more detailed examples of different types of English (see figure 3 below).

Figure 3, McArthur's Circles of English (McArthur, 1987, p. 11)

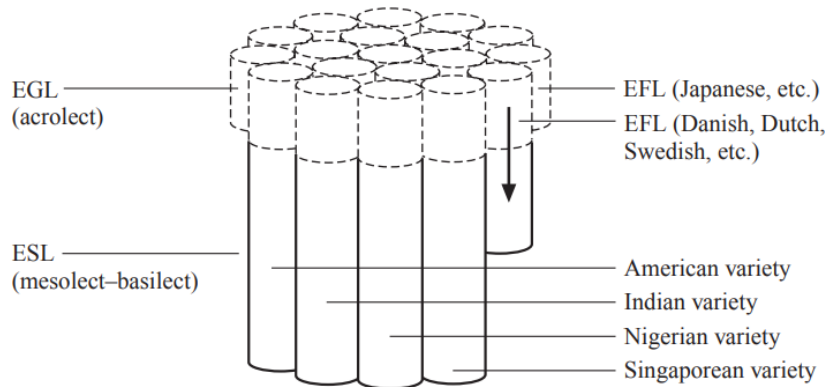


However, they do not define ‘World Standard English’; they do not cover the multiple versions of English in Europe; and they lump together China and Japan with places like The Philippines and Singapore under ‘Standardizing English’ which is untenable because English in The Philippines and Singapore have complex grammar and vocabulary, a literary tradition, and have been described as ‘New Englishes’ by Platt et al. (1984), whereas English in China and Japan is far more simplified and mostly limited to vocabulary and phrases. The biggest critique of any of the circle models, however, is the core-periphery bias. The models put ‘the native speaker’ in the Inner Circle, which is the seat of ‘norm providing’ followed by ‘norm developing’ and ‘norm dependent’ in the outer two circles. This is not only unfair, but inaccurate as there is no one ‘native speaker’ speaking one ‘standard English’ but many dialects competing for supremacy and there are many countries in the outer two circles that have developed their own English tests for their own education system.

Yano (2001) was the first to publish an alternative to this with a 3D Cylinder model of English. At the top is ‘English as a Global Language’ with individual cylinders of Japanese EFL, Danish EFL, etc. on equal footing and with dotted lines to indicate their mutual intelligibility. Toward the bottom the lines become solid indicating domestic

varieties of ESL and ENL. This model no longer puts the one native speaker at the seat of core power, but it has been critiqued for not taking into account individual learners and their movement through the different cylinders as they learn language (see figure 4).

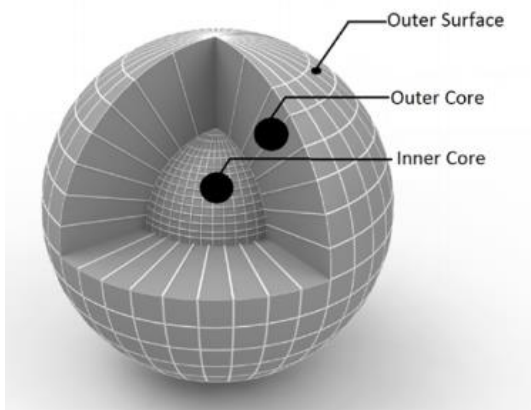
Figure 4, Cylinder model of English (Yano, 2001)



However, this model does not account for the market value of English and the ability of learners to move from one type of English to another as they acquire the language.

Haswell & Hahn (2016) developed a ‘Global Model of English’ to include a ‘market-based’ approach and a ‘4D’ component that can represent individual movement. The model shows an ‘Outer Surface’ that has countries and regions mapped onto it, representing speakers of ENL as well as speakers of Japanese English, Chinese English, and other Englishes, who cannot modify their language to communicate with those outside their geographic location. The ‘Outer Core’ is ‘sub-regional varieties of English’ where speakers can modify their English for more mutual intelligibility. Highly-proficient ESL, EFL and ENL speakers are drawn toward the ‘Inner Core’ where speakers use mutually intelligible English that has no common standard. The black dots represent speakers who start at the Outer Surface but can move toward the core, or not (see figure 5).

Figure 5, Global Model of English (Haswell & Hahn, 2016)



This model is definitely an improvement on older ones, but it still lacks a definition of what language the Inner Core speakers speak, and it seems to deny or be unaware of the ideologies behind their motivation to learn English.

Ideologies are a major factor in language learning. My students do not want to move ‘down’ to a ‘core’; they want to ‘level up’ to ‘advanced’. Most students devalue *Janglish*, *Chinglish*, *Konglish*, etc. calling it ‘bad’ or ‘poor’ English, and they say they want to speak ‘real’ English like a ‘native speaker’ which indicates a hierarchy. However, the highest node does not have to belong to the native speaker. More and more people in the Outer and Expanding Circles are learning English to communicate among themselves, not with the Inner Core (Xiaoqiong & Xianxing, 2011). More and more Koreans are devaluing Korean Americans who are rural, backwards and only speak English in favour of transnational Korean elites who are urban, modern and multilingual. For example, Korean Americans or *kyopos*, used to be seen as successful Koreans who could speak English like a native speaker, but now they are being mocked for not being able to speak Korean properly and being rather rural; whereas ‘Korean elite’ are seen as successful urbanites who can speak standard English and Korean (Lo & Kim, 2012; Park & Lo, 2012). Some are even devaluing these ‘Korean elite’ who can only speak Korean and ‘standard English’ in favour of ‘Asian global’ who can speak WEs like Singlish as well as ENLs like New York or Canadian English plus another language, especially Chinese. This indicates that there is a higher level beyond the monolingual native speaker, which

values the ability to modify English for international communication (i.e. IEs) as well as the ability to move within the pyramid continuum from one language variety to the next.

1.3 Standard language, indexicality, linguascape & language play

There are subtle differences between the approaches of applied linguistics, sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. Applied linguists will compare the oral (speaker system) and written (posters) public announcements in English in the Tokyo subway and see a pattern of requests being made orally and commands through writing (Backhaus, 2015). A sociolinguist will hear a pattern of ‘-in’ suffix endings being used a lot by men from a working/lower-class background and ‘-ing’ being used a lot by women from a middle/higher-class background and state that these suffixes are associated with class (Labov, 1972). A linguistic anthropologist will ask a further question: what do speakers *mean* when they use an ‘-in’ versus and ‘-ing’ variant (Foley, 1997). One possible answer would be that ‘-in’ is linked to maleness, working class, and masculine self-identity (Trudgill, 1972). In this dissertation I will suggest answers to the questions of what it *means*:

- 1) when students use *Konglish* instead of Korean or English;
- 2) when Korean students study English for success in Korea;
- 3) when English appears in certain domains of the linguascape in Korea.

Answering these questions involves looking into standard language ideologies, indexicality, linguascape and language play.

Standard language ideologies

To defined Konglish and other GEs it is useful to consider what other varieties they are opposed to, namely the language ideology of a standard language. I will define language ideology and standard language ideology separately. Then I will describe how this dissertation contributes the theoretical models of standard language ideologies.

For a century anthropologists have developed the study of what language ideologies are, how language can index gender, emotions, properness, and how indexes can be direct, indirect or configured together to show social action. In this dissertation I use the following working definition of language ideology that simplifies and incorporates the previous definitions:

Language ideologies are commonly held *configurations* of ideas about languages and speakers of those languages, and are:

- 1) Multiple, interactive and changeable over time,
- 2) Emergent through language, not only in speech, but in the entire linguascape,
- 3) Configurable in order to index higher orders of ideologies.

There are numerous other definitions of language ideologies; however, as there is “no particular unity... no core literature, and a range of definitions” (Woolard, 1998) regarding language ideologies, I will only deal with ones that are relative to my research. Silverstein defined it as

“sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193).

He then showed how changes in language ideologies can produce changes in language by illustrating the change in the French pronouns for ‘you’ in the early 20th century. The formal ‘vous’ used by social inferiors to their superiors and informal ‘tu’ used among social equals gave way to a ubiquitous usage of informal ‘tu’ which was the result of an increase in the value of egalitarianism and represent a linguistic attempt to flatten social hierarchies (ibid). Ahearn (2012) stated that language ideologies are best conceived of as multiple because all societies consist of many different divisions and subgroupings and practice, and they are based on practice, emerge from structure, reproduce structure, and have the capacity to transform structure. According to Irvine (1989) language ideology is “a cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic

relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (p. 225). An exemplary political case can be seen in Chiac (Comeau & King 2011), which is a sub-regional variety of Acadian French and is negatively stereotyped as “half French, half English” (ibid, p. 181). However, in 2005 a TV show called *Acadieman* aired starring a superhero whose only superpower was his bravery to speak Chiac. This ideological stance shows both linguistic conservatism in that *Acadieman* recognizes that Chiac is substandard, and linguistic innovation in that he proclaims that it has value.

In this dissertation I will argue that multiple, emergent language ideologies configure together to index higher order ideologies of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and English as a Globalized language (EGL). Indexes of EGL *mean* that English is becoming part of Korean society and I will demonstrate how this constitutes a shift in ideology from English as a foreign, invading force to a local, familiar phenomenon. As English is taken into Korean society it begins to change the structure of society as Silverstein (1979) and Ahearn (2012) state; however, this change does not occur evenly or ubiquitously. English is only borrowed in certain domains such as fashion, technology and coffee. This *means* that Koreans have the ideologies that ‘English is good for western, modern, youth products’. It also means that if English is borrowed in a certain domain, then the chances of more borrowing increase, and if English is borrowed at a certain taxonomical node, more borrowing can easily occur under that node, but not above it. My analysis will show that there is also a growing positive attitude toward *Konglish*, which means there is a shift in language ideologies from *Konglish* being poor, bad or broken English, to a playful marker of Korean identity. These language ideologies are not only multiple and emergent in speech, but also in signs, posters, songs or a label on a beer bottle, in other words, the entire linguascape. This means there is growing resistance to the ‘standard English’ ideology in that *Konglish* is being regarded as more positive, viable and valuable. However, it would be a mistake to conclude that the increased borrowing of English is leveling the unequal language ideology of ‘USA / English is rich, powerful and international and ‘Korea / Korean is poor, weak and local’ or that the increase in positive attitudes towards *Konglish* means that it is rising from its ideologically low position. No matter how much of an improvement the usage of *Konglish* in K-pop and Chiac on TV is, it does not shake the ideological foundation of the

standard ideology. The positive attitudes toward Chiac have not elevated it to replace standard French. If anything it reinforces the standard ideology in showing that *Konglish* and Chiac are only good for entertainment, not for education, finances, business and other politically powerful positions and reinforces English's position at the political, ideological top as the world 'standard'.

The second part of language ideologies is the notion of 'one nation-one language' or the 'one standard language' myth. As a working definition I define this notion as follows:

The notion of 'one standard language' is a language ideology that entails four beliefs:

- 1) There is one standard English language per Inner Circle country.
- 2) Each standard language is mutually intelligible between Inner Circle countries.
- 3) It is not spoken by speakers in Expanding Circle countries.
- 4) The 'native speaker' is the representative speaker of this language.

Lippi-Green (2011) provided evidence that this 'one standard language' is a myth: all spoken language changes over time; all spoken languages are equal in terms of linguistic potential; grammaticality and communicative effectiveness are distinct, independent issues; written language and spoken language are fundamentally different; variation is intrinsic to all spoken language, and is mostly symbolic (pp. 6-7). I would add that there are many dialects of English spoken Inner Circle countries along with many dictionaries and grammar publishers competing for the right to be the standard. Like all languages these dialects are subject to internal variation in terms of sociolects (varieties among class), argots (varieties among groups such as vocation) and idiolects (varieties among individuals). Certain English learners from Expanding circle countries can speak English quite well and are sometimes better at communicating with other English learners than native speakers who may not know how to modify their pronunciation, speed and usage of local slang.

Numerous linguistic anthropologists have shown that the ideology of one standard is not just erroneous but it has negative effects on politically less-powerful groups. Lippi-Green (2012) showed that this myth is used to

- i. link language variation with geographic location and social identity such as with Manhattan, Southern, Black, Spanish and Asian accents,
- ii. promote stereotypes in media and entertainment via heroes speaking the standard and villains not,
- iii. subordinate ‘non-standard’ languages in the employment and judicial system via hiring and incarcerating practices.

Hill (1998, 2008) showed how white, middle-class Americans (and Terminators) use ‘Mock Spanish’ which are often erroneous Spanish words and phrases such as ‘no problemo’ and ‘asta la vista’ to normalize English and marginalize Spanish via directly indexing Spanish as ‘easy-going’ (positive) or ‘lazy’ (negative); and indirectly indexing Spanish as a minority language, English as a majority language and Spanish speakers as easy-going and/or lazy minority. Woolard (1994) showed how standard language ideology privileges the variety of speech of the most powerful group in society, which is acquired through long years of formal education, and thus is aesthetically, morally, and intellectually superior to other varieties. The ideology can make it seem fair and equitable, to both advantaged and disadvantaged groups, that speakers of that variety should occupy privileged positions in society, while non-speakers should be excluded from such positions. She demonstrated this with a case study of Filipino meat workers in Australia who are hired seasonally to work long hours in dangerous meat shops with other Filipinos. The Australian government maintains that those trying for citizenship must show competency in English, a seemingly reasonable and fair request, but the Filipino workers are almost guaranteed not to attain any level of competency due to the long hours spent working with other Filipinos, thus guaranteeing a flexible, cheap labor force for the meat industry.

The timing is ripe for language ideologies to be applied to the vast field of English Language Teaching, for the number of ‘native speakers’ was estimated to be

around 500 million (Ethnologue, 2005) whereas the number of ESL/EFL students is now estimated to be 1.5 billion (Bentley, 2014). These billions of students have multiple ideologies of English and their own languages. Korean scholars have begun researching language ideologies and Joseph Sung-Yul Park is the leading scholar of English ideologies in Korea (J. S.-Y. Park, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2015; Gao & Park, 2015; Park & Bae, 2009, Park & Wee, 2009; Park & Wee, 2013). He (2009c) determined that there were three major ideologies of English in Korea by conducting interviews with Koreans, recording Korean TV shows and analyzing the public debate on making English an official language of Korea. First, the ideology of *necessitation* regards English as a resource or tool to be acquired in order to survive and gain prestige in a globalized world. Second, the ideology of *externalization* locates English as foreign to Korea, in opposition to the nationalist ideology of Korea being one nation, one race, one language. Third, the ideology of *self-deprecation* indicates that Koreans view themselves as being poor at English. S.J. Park and Abelmann (2004) argued that these ideologies differ according to class: low class mothers consider English to be marginally important in their children's education and success; middle class mothers believe it to be moderately important, and high class mothers consider it greatly important. J.Y. Song (2010) expanded these to include the following ideologies:

- i. 'English is the best investment for children's education', which includes 'English is better than other languages', 'the Korean education system is bad', and 'tutors and *hawgons* (institutes) are good'.
- ii. 'English is a commodity in the global market', which includes 'grammar-translation is bad', 'communicative language teaching is good', and 'children should learn English language not culture'.
- iii. 'Koreans are bad English speakers', which includes 'the Korean education system is bad', and '*jogi yuhak* (early study abroad) is good'.
- iv. 'English makes you a cosmopolitan person', which includes 'becoming part of a bigger world', not just 'being part of Korea'.

- v. 'Korean is the naturalized language of Korea', which includes 'resisting English as an official language in Korea', 'resisting the loss of Korean fluency', and 'glocalization by traveling to the US for Korean reasons'.

Researchers in Korea are identifying more and more complex ideologies, yet almost all consider English to be a distant, foreign language, and Korean and *Konglish* to be inferior to world 'standard English'.

Just attacking the ideology of the standard language myth is not enough to change it. Park and Wee (2013) offered a market-theoretical framework to study English as a global phenomenon. They utilized the concepts of language ideologies, indexicality and inter-discursivity to challenge the top-down imposition of 'standard' English and to free South Koreans from the 'oppressive ideologies of English' (J.S. Park 2009c). They (2009) critiqued the circle model for its inability to account for the heterogeneity and dynamics of English-using countries, communities and individuals, and for perpetuating the very inequalities that it aims to combat. They (2013) argued that English achieves convertibility and mobility as capital because of its perceived neutrality, which is also linked to the prevailing discourse of neo-liberalism. Their example of this potential theory was hip-hop where specialized English is being used in a market genre unattached to any individual country. Yet they have been criticized (Sigismondi, 2017; Kelly-Holmes, 2014) for not specifying what this specialized English looks like, not giving other examples, and for perpetuating the same inequalities of the Inner Circle as speaking the valued language and the Expanding Circle as speaking the devalued one. One reviewer, however (Kelly-Holmes, 2014), praised the potential of this model to explain the *mobile*, easily interpretable 'non-native' English of highly educated continental Europeans verses the *immobile*, not so easily interpretable 'native' English of the local Irish. In order to change the ideology of the standard language an alternative ideology is needed where mobility is a key factor.

The idea of 'movement' combined with an ideology of something higher than the standard English native speaker is beginning to take shape in the Expanding Circle. Shin

(2013) showed how Korean *yuhaksaeng* (studying abroad students) contest their negative stereotypes as ‘FOBS’ (Fresh-Off-the-Boats) and ‘Nerds’ in Canadian society and reconstruct themselves as wealthy, modern, cosmopolitan and ‘cool’. They criticize Canada (including Canadians and long-term Korean immigrants to Canada) as being ‘backward’ and a place to ‘enjoy nature’ as opposed to Korea which is ‘technologically advanced’ and a place to ‘enjoy culture’ (p. 197-189). Similarly, Kang (2012) identifies two language ideologies among Korean *yuhaksaeng* in Singapore, which she calls *pragmatism* and *sociolinguistic competence*. Pragmatism involves learning English because of its present value and Mandarin as well as because of its potential future value. It also involves learning Singlish, a devalued variety of English, which Koreans perceive to be an ‘easy,’ ‘simple,’ and ‘practical’ form of the language, but which has the connotation of sounding ‘strong,’ ‘course’ and ‘heavy’, all Korean stereotypes of Chinese people. Sociolinguistic competence is the ability to control and distinguish the use of Singlish, on one hand using it as a tool for making local friends and showing local solidarity and on the other hand disassociating from it and switching to New York or Canadian English. In other words, the ability to *move* from one variety of English to another without being restricted to one is considered valuable (of course they are not ‘moving’ but switching among languages, styles and varieties). This results in a new identity called the ‘Asian global’ who value local identities but are still global, as opposed to the ‘Global elite’ who seek identities that are non-local or non-particular who are profoundly ‘Western,’ ‘modern,’ and ‘individualistic’.

In this dissertation I will demonstrate how language ideologies of *Konglish* and English are changing from *Konglish* being substandard and English being a foreign world standard language to *Konglish* being a positive marker of Korean identity, and English being a more familiar, domestic language, where *mobility*, not just being ‘on top’, is valued. I will show how these and other language ideologies coalesce into indexical configurations that index EFL and EGL and how indexes of EGL are rising, which means that English is becoming an integral part of Korean society. I will show how Korean students are changing their attitude toward *Konglish* from being ‘bad English’ to a more positive expression of Korean identity. This also means that English is no longer a foreign language in Korea but a more familiar, glocalised one. Some would argue that

ideologies of both EGL or EFL help maintain social inequalities in Korea. English is a part of the Korean university entrance exam which determines which school Koreans go to, and the TOEIC test is a determining factor in getting a promotion at a Korean company even though English is not necessary for the job. In this way English becomes another tool for high class Koreans who can speak 'standard' English, which is considered financially, educationally and technologically superior to distinguish themselves from low class Koreans who can only speak *Konglish*. However, the situation is more complex in that by bringing English into their society (EGL), Koreans begin to value their own version of the language as *Konglish* is highly present, even necessary for success in K-pop, fashion and certain consumer products. I will also show how some Korean students are recognizing a level higher than the 'native speaker' and value movement within the pyramid continuum model from high levels of intellectual, cosmopolitan IEs to low levels of cool, fashionable *Konglish*. This means that it is not valuable to be a 'Global elite' speaking 'world standard English' but it is valuable to be an 'Asian global' who is able to *move* from a widely intelligible IE, to a more local EGL, to a totally local GE, or even to another language.

Indexicality

Silverstein (1976) introduced 'indexicality' to linguistic anthropology and summarized three trichotomies of function: icon (a sign with physical likenesses to its referent), index (a sign with spatio-temporal contiguity to its referent), and symbol (a sign with no relation to its referent) (p. 27). He also showed how indexes can index higher categories such as:

- i. sex/gender (indicating the speaker is male or female)
- ii. affect (indicating speaker's emotion)
- iii. deference (indicating the speaker's respect for the listener)
- iv. social class (indicating the speaker's class), and
- v. social identity (indicating the speaker's identification with a social group).

Scollon & Scollon-Wong (2003) showed how languages on signs can index the community in which they are used (*geopolitical location*), or symbolize an aspect of the

product that is not related to the place where it is located (*sociocultural associations*) thus an English sign may not index an English speaking community, but symbolize foreign taste and manners. In essence, indexicality is “the semiotic property of pointing to other things” (Kallen, 2009, p. 273).

A central notion in this thesis are ‘configurations’ of language ideologies and indexes. Lakoff & Johnson (1980) found that daily sayings like “Your claims are indefensible. He attacked every weak point in my argument,” and “His criticisms were right on target,” could be configured together under a higher node “argument is war (p. 5-7)” (see table below).

Table 3, Metaphors we live by (based on Lakoff & Johnson, 1980)

Argument is War	Time is Money
Your claims are indefensible. He attacked every weak point in my argument. His criticisms were right on target.	You're wasting my time. This gadget will save you hours. I don't have the time to give you.

Kroskrity (2004) included the notion of ‘cluster concept’ (configurations) in his definition of language ideology:

“[Language ideology is] a cluster concept, consisting of a number of converging dimensions...[with] partially overlapping but analytically distinguishable layers of significance... [including] (1) group or individual interests, (2) multiplicity of ideologies, (3) awareness of speakers, (4) mediating functions of ideologies, and (5) role of language ideology in identity construction (p. 501).”

Wortham & Reyes (2015) built ‘indexical configuration’ to a fully developed analytical tool on how to analyze discourse across speech events. Their analysis involves identifying important indexical signs in a certain discourse, showing how these signs coalesce into stable configurations and then drawing conclusions about the social action of the discourse.

In this dissertation I will show how songs, posters, advertisements and statements in student interviews can have ideological indexes, how these indexes can be configured

under EFL or EGL, and how these indexes are shifting from EFL to EGL. This shift means that English is becoming an integral part of Korean society and there is a growing resistance to the ideology of world standard English. This social action of resistance is not likely strong enough to dethrone world standard English, but a new model with a level higher than standard English and movement within the model poses a real threat to the hegemony of the standard language ideology.

Linguascape

I define ‘linguascape’ as a combination of ‘Linguistic Landscape (LL)’ and ‘Linguistic Soundscape’. LL was first popularized by Landry & Bourhis (1997) who define it as the “language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings [which] combines to form the LL of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration” (p. 25). The typical methodology of LL studies is to choose an area and count how many signs in different languages and deduce the reasons for the linguistic choice. For example, (Ben-Rafael et al., 2004) found that the western areas of Jerusalem are dominated by Hebrew, while the eastern parts, including the Old City, are Arabic dominated, and that public signs have much more Hebrew but private signs have more English, suggesting that English is considered to be a ‘neutral’ language. H.Y. Lee (1979) researched the LL of six different cities in Korea and found that larger cities, apparel shops and city centers have more sign boards with foreign language, and that the usage of *Hangeul* (Korean characters) is on the rise. Backhaus (2007) researched Tokyo and found that Japanese is predominant on government-related or ‘top-down signs’ and English tends to appear more frequently on bottom-up signs and this English exhibits what he called ‘idiosyncrasies’ or “deviation from what is considered ‘proper’ language use... used [in his research] in order to avoid expressions such as ‘error’ or ‘mistake’” (p. 117). Idiosyncrasies were observed at the orthographic (‘alcohol’, ‘Chainese’), morphosyntactic (‘home made burger and cake’, ‘drug and cosmetic’) and lexical levels (‘coffee and restaurant’, ‘make facial cut’) (Backhaus, 2007, pp. 119-120). However interesting LL studies may be, the limitation is that they focus almost entirely on written language in public signs, whereas the public spaces are filled with sound, both live and recorded. My

earlier research examined English signs in different cities, districts and areas of Korea and found that English is used in the physical domains of main streets, amusement parks and foreign districts, in the product domains of beer, wine and shirts, and in the sociolinguistic domains of modernity, luxury and youth (Lawrence, 2012). Backhaus (2015) studied the linguistic landscape and soundscape of Tokyo's transportation system and found that 'prohibitions' were written and 'requests' were spoken. The term 'linguistic landscape and soundscape' is rather cumbersome and limited to public announcements, so I would suggest 'linguascape' from Appadurai's (1990) notion of 'the 5 scapes': Ethnoscape, Mediascape, Technoscape, Financescape and Ideoscape. Most definitions of Appadurai's scapes have been somewhat ethereal, whereas I have quantified the linguascape: linguistic landscape and soundscape. The linguascape of an ethnographic site can be analyzed using the Pyramid Continuum model to show how language ideologies and language play can coalesce as 'indexical configurations' that index EFL, EGL and GEs.

Pennycook (1998) was the first to use the term when he suggested adding the term 'linguascape' to describe "the ways in which some languages are no longer tied to locality or community, but rather operate globally in conjunction with these other scapes" (p. 523). A small number of scholars treat it as "a term that can capture the study of language on languages and the discursive negotiations through which multilingual organizations try to resolve the complexity of their multilingual context" (Steyaert, Ostendorp, & Gaibrois, 2011, p. 271) or "the transnational flows of linguistic resources circulating across the current world of scapes, creating local linguistic forms whilst intersecting and interjecting with other moving resources across these scapes" (Dovchin, 2014, p. 2). This term has the potential to connect public signs with public announcements, but it misses the spoken areas of advertisements, music, and public conversations, and the written areas of graffiti, products, and T-shirts. Therefore I will use this working definition:

The 'linguascape' refers to the languages that are used in the public contexts of the:

- 1) linguistic soundscape: the audible scape including public announcements, music, advertisements, and overheard conversations
- 2) linguistic landscape: the visible scape including public signs, advertisements, clothing, product labels and graffiti

The linguascape is a useful tool to show how language ideologies are manifested, recognized and (especially for the researcher) recorded in society. Lippi-Green (2011) offers “the language subordination model” (p. 70) as an analytical tool to investigate how standard language ideologies are disseminated and accepted: language is mystified; authority is claimed; misinformation is generated; targeted languages are trivialized; conformers are held up as positive examples; non-conformers are vilified or marginalized; explicit promises are made; threats are made (p. 70). However, she concedes that we still do not know exactly how language subordination works or why and suggests that schools are the place where SLIs are first introduced and enforced, even by well-intentioned teachers. Silverstein (2017) began to show us how language subordination works in his brilliantly amusing analysis of ‘Starbuckese’. First, he explains the difference between the standard, which seems like a fixed, non-situational, universal, ‘from nowhere’ language that indexes virtues such as truthfulness, transparency and communicative efficiency (i.e ‘how you should speak’), from the non-standard forms that index opposite adjectives such as stupid, brutish, and uneducated. He then argues that non-standard speakers are anxiously oriented to the top/center standard by reviewing how Labov (1966) showed that postvocalic ‘r’ pronunciation is linked to class: high usage relates to high class, moderate usage relates to middle class; low usage relates to working class. However, working class speakers display an allegiance to their usage of non-standard in terms of being ‘genuine’ and lower-middle class speakers display anxiety in their ‘hypercorrection’ and over usage of the ‘r’ in too many situations. Then he illustrates three examples of how these ideologies and anxieties play out in social situation of fashion (what you ‘should’ wear and what you ‘should not’), wine (how you ‘should’ talk about wine) and coffee (how wine talk is transferred to coffee). If you can use the proper ‘wine talk’ to describe wine, you not only enjoy the ‘finer’ things in life you become an emblem of the class of people who can, and if you cannot, you risk being labelled as such. This anxiety is purposefully, corporately

transferred in to the language of Starbucks where coffee labels describe coffee with the same linguistic descriptions as wine, and a new language of ordering coffee is thrust upon customers who can learn the new prestige dialect of ‘grande mochachinos’ or stick with the low dialect of ‘double doubles’. These researchers offer an illuminating glimpse into how language ideologies work in certain situations like school, TV or a coffee shop conversation, but a fuller picture is needed to explain how these ideologies function in society.

In this dissertation I will show how language ideologies work in the bigger picture of the linguascape. Korean students display certain language ideologies during individual and group interviews, but this does not explain the immense influence of language ideologies exerted upon them in the surrounding Korean society. A detailed study of the linguascape can explain how these language ideologies are expressed in music, signs, advertisements and products and how these influence the minds and speech of everyday Korean students in the ethnographic site of a Korean university. Thus in this dissertation I will argue for an ideological level higher than ‘the native speaker / world standard English’: International Englishes (IEs). The previous literature review shows that there is resistance against the politically powerful standard language ideology, and there is some emerging evidence that some English learners in Expanding Circle countries consider themselves as more cosmopolitan than certain English learners in Outer Circle countries and even certain native speakers in the Inner Circle. I will argue that the ‘one standard English’ model should be changed to many International Englishes, which are Englishes that have been modified to have maximum usage and intelligibility in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and discourse. I will also argue that it is not being at the top which is the enviable position of the pyramid continuum, the ability to *move* within the model, via English or multiple languages, that is considered valuable.

Language play

Finally, there is the notion of ‘language play’. Sherzer & Webster (2015) define speech play as

The playful manipulation of elements and components of language, in relation to one another, in relation to the social and cultural contexts of languages use, and against the backdrop of other verbal possibilities ... (p. 1).

Language play involves what many linguists and anthropologists treat as marginal such as play languages, pun, jokes, verbal dueling, proverbs and riddles (Sherzer, 1970; Bauman, 1978; Basso, 1979). It explores and flirts with the boundaries of what is linguistically possible and appropriate and is simultaneously humorous, serious and aesthetically pleasing. It can also be likened to the “play” of a door or a window within their frames, and can also mean “play a game” with sides and winners and losers (Sherzer, 2002).

Language play is a key part of speaking any language, but playfulness increases with the number of languages involved. Lamarre (2014) investigated ‘bilingual winks’ in the linguistic landscape of Montreal, a mostly bilingual city in mostly monolingual Francophone province of Quebec, Canada. After years of Anglophone domination Quebec legislated to have French only signs in 1977, which drew a large backlash from the Anglophone community, and the Supreme Court of Canada decided to soften it to French dominant signs (French must be first and bigger). Bilingual winks are puns available only to bilinguals, like the shoe store sign “Chouchou”, a term of endearment in French like ‘sweetiepie’ and is pronounced “shoe-shoe”, the café sign “T & biscuits” which can be read ‘Englishly’ as “tea and biscuits” or Frenchly “thé et biscuits” and the comedy festival sign “L’été sera show” where “show” is pronounced identically to the French adjective ‘chaud’ meaning ‘hot’, a word that can mean ‘sexy’ in French and English, which basically means: “this summer is going to be hot – thanks to the comedy festival”. Thus the linguistic ‘battle ground’ of Montreal has given way to a ‘playing field’ where shops try and circumvent the legislation providing implicit and explicit meta-commentaries of who authors a bilingual wink, who ‘gets it’, and who it is supposed to slip past.

There has not been much research in the area of language play in Korea. J.W. Lee (2014) investigated transnational linguistic landscapes, utilizing Pennycook's (2007) idea of 'transgression' which he defined as "an act of going against what is accepted, of testing the possibilities of difference" (p. 42). Among Lee's examples were 'deviations' such as a clothing store called "NaBii," which is an altered version of "나비 / nabi" for "butterfly," 'paronomasia' in an eyewear retailer in LA called "EYE JOA", the Korean expression "아이좋아 / ai joa" which translates into "Ah, it's good!," and the 'transmodality' of "별이 빛나는 밤에 / Byeoli Bitnaneun Bamei" or "Starry Night" where part of the "ㅂ" in "별" (star) and all of the "ㅈ" in "빛" (light) are replaced with a star (see plate 12 below). All of his examples fall within the much simpler category of 'language play' and I would call the star example more specifically 'logographic play' because it combines the picture star with the word star, which Koreans are particularly good at due to studying English (alphabet), Korean (alphabetic syllabary) and Chinese (logographs).

Plate 1, Logographic play



In this In this dissertation I will give examples of different types of language play, some of which fall into the traditional linguistic definitions, others of which do not, and one type which has not yet been studied by researchers that I call 'logographic play'. Korean students engage in language play when they take a Korean verb *sogehada* (to introduce) an English-esque morpheme '-ting' to make *sogeting* (matchmaking), or take syllables of a Korean word *dosogwan* (library) and a Koreanized English word *raunji* (lounge) and make *doraji* (library cafeteria), which defy traditional definitions of morphological processes, but are examples of people simply and beautifully playing with language. I will not call these 'transgression' 'deviations' or any other negative sounding term suggested by Lee, as all of his examples fall within the much simpler category of

language play. In addition I will describe a type of language play not mentioned by researchers where a Korean student has combined three languages, English (alphabet), Korean (alphabetic syllabary) and Chinese (logographs), with a simple drawing. I call this type of language play ‘logographic play’ as it mostly plays with the shape and meaning of Chinese logographs. As final point, it is important to note that whenever language play occurs with English in Korea, it always indexes English as a Glocalized Language because the whole idea of playing with English is to modify it from its original form, to change it from ‘foreign’ to ‘funny’.

1.4 Summary and outline

In summary, I offer a supplement to the circle / cylinder / sphere models of English in the world to account for the languages spoken by the Expanding Circle and the ideologies behind their learning with a new model: ‘Pyramid Continuum’. At the bottom of the pyramid are languages of very limited usability, *Konglish*, *Chinglish*, *Janglish*, etc., which I collectively call ‘Glocalized Englishes’ (GEs). I argue for a new term to be added to the binary ESL vs EFL to describe the language learning situation: ‘English as a Glocalized Language’ (EGL). I combine the notions of ‘linguistic landscape and soundscape’ into one: the ‘linguascape’. I use the notions of language ideologies, indexicality and indexical configurations to show what language ideologies of English and *Konglish* are evident in the linguascape of a Korean university, how these ideologies have changed over time, and how ideologies and language play can be configured to index EFL or EGL, GE or IEs.

Looking forward, Chapter 2 ‘The ethnographic site of Ajou University’ describes the languages in Korea, my role as an EFL teacher and anthropology researcher, and student life Ajou University. Chapter 3 ‘Methodology’ describes the data collected during my work as a teacher (homework, surveys, interviews and field notes) and data collected during anthropological fieldwork in 2016 (interviews, maps and the linguascape) and the analytical tools utilized to reveal ideological, indexical and indexical configuration patterns. Chapter 4 ‘Translanguaging & Konglish as Glocalized English’ describes Konglish as a Glocalized English that involves translanguaging at all linguistic levels:

phonetics, phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax, pragmatics and discourse. Chapter 5 'Indexical configurations of EFL & EGL' demonstrates how different ideologies involving *Konglish* and English coalesce to form indexical configurations that ideologically position English as a Foreign or Glocalized Language. Chapter 6 'The linguascape' illustrates how indexical configurations of EFL and EGL are manifest in the linguistic soundscape and landscape of Ajou University. Chapter 7 'Conclusions and Future Implications' shows how GEs, EGL and IEs can be studied in other Expanding Circle countries, how the supplementary model of the 'Pyramid Continuum' model can be utilized in studying conversations and language acquisition, and how there is a need for new testing models of English...es.

Chapter 2

2 The ethnographic site of Ajou University

I first arrived on the campus of Ajou University in the late fall of 2005. I thought it was strange that I could not secure a job in Korea from Canada, but upon arriving back in Korea I landed numerous job interviews. I assumed that universities would not take an applicant seriously if they were not in the country. The ‘boom times’ of the 1990s were gone. I did my job interview, which involved teaching a 15 minute class to the job interviewers and convinced them that I was a good teacher. I started teaching and soon realized that things had changed in Korea. At Sogang U. in the 90s when I asked my class how many had travelled abroad, very few raised their hands. At Ajou over 50% raised their hands. At Sogang, when I asked how many had had a native speaker teacher before, very few raised their hands; at Ajou almost all did. Native speaker English teachers and travelling abroad had become the norm. I also noticed the staff had changed. Most EFL teachers I had met in the 90s had discovered teaching by accident. They had studied sociology, psychology or some other unrelated major field of study, could not find a job in their field and found a job ad for teaching English in Korea in a newspaper or website. At Ajou, nearly all the teachers had an MA in TESL and years of experience. The Korean language learners had changed as well. At Sogang in the 90s in ‘Korean Level 1’ there were students from Canada, Bangladesh, Germany, China and Japan; at Ajou in ‘Korean Level 4, 5 & 6’ there were students from China, Japan, Mongolia and me, the only English speaker. It seemed that the shared structural features of Korean, Japanese and Mongolian (Pereltsvaig, 2012) and the influence of Chinese vocabulary made it easier for those students to learn Korean. I had only been gone for 5 years but Korea seemed like an entirely different country.

One of the hallmarks of anthropology is showing how large sociological factors are experienced in a single, ethnographic site. This chapter describes the historical background of languages and education in Korea, the spread of English around the world, into Korea, and into Ajou University. It reviews Korea’s historical relationship with English and America. It describes the ethnographic site of Ajou University with its

different majors and types of students, and it illustrates the ethnographic context of learning English before, during and after university in Korea. A university was chosen over an elementary school, middle school or high school, as it is a time where Korean students have more time to reflect on society and Ajou University was chosen as I had over seven years of participant observation in that institution.

2.1 Languages in Korea

Korea has had a long ‘5,000 year history’ (Monash, 2009) of contact with foreign languages. This history can be divided into four stages of language and education: Chinese antiquity, Japanese occupation, US presence and Modern times (the divisions are mine; the dates are based on Seth, 2006).

Chinese antiquity

China is the ‘older brother’ of Korea (W.B. Yi, 2002). Even though Korea considers itself to have been an independent country for 5,000 years (Nahm, 1989), China claims that *Kojoseon* (Old Korea) was founded around 1120 BC by the Chinese sage *Gija*, a descendant of the Shang dynasty (Simons, 1999) and that Korea existed as a vassal state, paying tribute to China in exchange for technology, money, art and culture (W.B. Yi, 2002). In either case, Chinese has had a huge influence over Korea and Korean. In the Shamanist stage of Korea, which lasted from antiquity to the Three Kingdoms period (unknown date BC ~ 57 BC) Korean had no written form and Korean scholars learned Chinese and produced many writings on animal totems, sacred mountains and semi-divine ruling families. Korean shamanism held three spirits in high regard: Sanshin (the Mountain Spirit), Toksong (the Recluse) and Chilseong (the Spirit of the Seven Stars, the Big Dipper). In the Buddhist stage, which was from the Three Kingdoms to the Koryeo period (57BC ~ 935AD), Korean was used as the spoken language and Chinese as the language of Buddhist literature (Cumings, 2005). During the Confucian stage, from Koryeo to the Japanese occupation (935 ~ 1910) Korean was still only used as a spoken language and Chinese was still the language of literature (Cumings, 2005), but it also became the language of state and religion. In 958 the ‘civil

service exam' on government law and Confucius' writings (H.W. Kang, 1974) was established as a way for young men to become not only government officials but also the elite aristocracy called the *yangban* 'two sides' i.e. *muban* 'military side' and *munban* 'civil side' (Seth, 2006). The test was conducted in written Chinese and continued right through the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910). Chinese remained the language of religion as seen in the carving of the *Palman Daejanggyeong* (Eighty Thousand Tripitaka) in 1011 during the Goryeo–Khitan War and again in 1232 during the Mongolian invasion. Koreans believed if they carved the Chinese Buddhist scriptures into over 80,000 wooden printing blocks it would invoke Buddha's help (S.J. Park, 2007).

Chinese characters 漢字 *Hànzi* (*hanja* in Korean), literally 'han characters', is a logosyllabic system where one logograph represents one syllable. The logographs are sometimes based on pictograms such as 人 *rén* 'person' and ideographs such as 上 *shàng* 'up' which are easy to memorize, as you can easily see the legs of the person and the sticks pointing up, and sometimes they are based on logical aggregates such as 東 *dōng* 'east' and phonetic complexes such as 晴 *qíng* 'clear weather', which take more work to see the sun rising in the trees or the sun surrounded by blue. Literacy requires the memorization of a great many characters: educated Chinese know about 4,000 (DeFrancis et al., 1968; Norman, 1988). Most of my Korean students hated and complained about having to memorize Chinese characters in school. Even my friends who studied Chinese as part of their major said that even though it was very important to know Chinese in Korea, it is difficult.

The Korean writing system, on the other hand, is the easiest I have ever seen. It was invented around 1443 by King Sejong the Great (1418–1450) who led research in science, mathematics, and literacy, which included the invention of an alphabetic syllabary (Taylor, 1980) called *Hangeul*. It was designed for common people to easily write, having only 10 vowels and 14 consonants, which are especially easy to memorize as they are pictures of the vocal tract. For example, ㄷ *shiot* represents the tongue pointing up to the alveolar ridge shown by the arrow to make the fricative [s]; ㄸ *jiot* is the tongue touching the roof of the mouth shown with the upper line to make the affricate

[dʒ]; and ㅈ *chiot* is the extra puff of air shown by the extra small line to make the aspirated affricate [tʃ] (see figure 6 below).

Figure 6, Hangeul

●Consonants:

ㄱ	ㄴ	ㄷ	ㄹ	ㅁ	ㅂ	ㅅ	ㅇ	ㅈ
\k, g\ kiyok	\n\ niun	\t, d\ tikut	\r, l\ riul	\m\ mium	\p, b\ piup	\s, sh\ siot	\ng\ iung	\ch, j\ chiut
ㅋ	ㆁ	ㅌ	ㅍ	ㅎ				
\ch^\ ch'iut	\k^\ k'iuk	\t^\ t'iut	\p, f\ p'iup	\h\ hiut				

●Vowels

ㅏ	ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ	ㅗ	ㅛ	ㅜ	ㅠ	ㅡ	ㅣ
\a\ la\	\ya\ lya\	\eo\ leo\	\yeo\ lyeo\	\o\ lo\	\yo\ lyo\	\u\ lu\	\yu\ lyu\	\eu\ leu\	\ee\ lee\

Source: <http://www.lifeinkorea.com/Language/korean.cfm>

Despite, or because of, its simplicity and learnability, *Hangeul* was considered threatening to the literate elite (I.S. Lee & Ramsey, 2000) and did not become commonly used in schools and government until the 1800s due to government reforms and missionary schools (Silva, 2008). Chinese remained the language of the educated elite, and it influenced the vocabulary in the same way Latin influenced English: low class words like ‘work’ and ‘sweat’ are derived from German in English and Korean in Korea, while high class words like ‘university’ and ‘study’ are derived from French in English and Chinese in Korean. H.M. Sohn (2006) states that about 60% of Korean words are of Chinese origin, and many of those are of Sino-Japanese origin (P.H. Lee, 2003).

Japanese occupation

Japan is the ‘younger brother’ of Korea (W.B. Yi, 2002) as the flow of ancient technology, education and government went from China to Korea to Japan. However, in 1910 younger brother Japan quickly and silently ‘annexed’ Korea, with little protest from western countries, and occupied it until 1945. The Japanese took control of the education system and taught English in the Japanese way: as part of the ‘university entrance exam’

(Koike & Tanaka, 1995), with the 'Grammar-Translation' method (Reesor, 2002), and via Japanese language and textbooks, as English was considered degenerative (B.M. Chang, 2009). Japan has had a long love-hate relationship with English. The first English language schools taught only conversation with no literacy in order to prevent students from being influenced by foreign ideas (Reesor, 2002). This suspicion grew to an isolationist policy from 1638 to 1853 when Admiral Perry fired his cannons to force Japan to open up to trade. The Meiji Restoration of 1868 welcomed foreign commodities, culture and ideology and English became part of public school education and English grammar and translation became part of the university entrance exam (Koike & Tanaka, 1995). Isolated hatred of foreign ideas and people persisted as can be seen in the assassination of the minister of education by an ultranationalist in 1889 for incorporating English borrowings into the Japanese language (Ike, 1995). In 1922, the Ministry of Education invited linguist Harold Palmer to help improve Japan's English education. He recommended abandoning the grammar-translation method for a more communicative approach, but he was ignored (Koike & Tanaka, 1995; Reesor, 2002). Therefore, during the Japanese occupation, Korean students likely learned more Japanese than English in the EFL classroom.

American presence

In 1945, in a close race with Russia, American forces liberated Korea from Japan. This became the first time English played a major role in Korean society. Before this time, English had played a major role in the world through British colonialism (Crystal, 1997, 2003; Phillipson, 1992; Platt et al., 1984) and American neocolonialism (Wallechinsky, Wallace & Wallace, 1977), but it had only played a small role in Korea with the first contact in 1797 with a British expedition ship (Pratt & Rutt, 2013), first gun battle in 1871 with a small American fleet (K.B. Lee, 1984) and the first schools in the 1880s with private diplomatic institutions (Neff, 2013) missionary schools (B.M. Chang, 2009) and a large number of converts from *Silhak* (practical learning) to Catholicism (B.S. Kim, 2002). The American forces' policy for English education was simply to continue employing Japanese administrators, teachers and methods. The Japanese administrators and teachers slowly went back to Japan, and English began to be taught

via the Korean language in 1955, but the new Korean teachers continued using the grammar-translation method used by the Japanese (B.M. Chang, 2009). Unlike Japan, the Korean university entrance exam did change to include 'Audio-Lingualism' (listen and repeat) in the 1960s, 'Four Skills' (listening, speaking, reading, writing) in the 1970s, 'Functions' (apologizing, asking directions, ordering, etc.), 'listening to media' in 1992, and communicative competence in 1997 (N.S. Park, 1992). A major increase in American presence happened during the Korean War of 1950 to 1953 when American soldiers, who had co-developed a simplified language with Japanese people during WWII known as 'Bamboo English,' returned to Asia during the Korean War (Norman, 1954, 1955). In 1961, Park Chung-Hee became dictator of Korea through a military coup and led the country through a rapid economic growth period called the Han River Miracle, named after post war Germany's Miracle on the Rhine (S.M. Lee & S.J. Yoo, 1987). In 1966 the Peace Corps tried their hand at teaching English. About 80 native speakers were given minimal training and limited resources and were sent to Korean high school and middle schools to teach English and remold English education with limited success (Garner, 1968). These early programs paved the way for numerous, larger other ones that sent volunteers to all levels of the Korean education system, but again with limited success due to the teachers having poor training and methods, and often being transferred to the overburdened Korean medical system (Strickland, 2010).

Modern times

In 1988, Korea opened its doors to the world via the Olympics. After the assassination of dictator-president Park Chung-hee in 1979, his successor, Chun Doo-hwan, won the Olympic bid in the hopes of legitimizing his authoritarian regime, garnering protection from North Korea and welcoming Korea onto the world stage (Manheim, 1990; J.H. Kang & Traganou, 2011). In 1991, the government included English listening on the university entrance test and announced that English would be taught in elementary schools (J.K. Park, 2009). This swept the country into an 'English fever' and caused the growth of the private English education including private language schools, private tutoring, self-study books and test preparations (ibid.). Businesses and corporations began requiring English test scores as part of hiring and promoting policies

(N.S. Park, 1992). In 1995, the Korean government began the English Program in Korea (EPIK) program and hired native speakers as public school teachers (Dusthimer & Gillett, 1999). Even with all this English education, present day Korean mothers distrust the Korean education system's ability to teach their children for three major reasons:

- 1) The constant reform in the university entrance exam that holds enormous sway over future success of students and teachers (J. Kim, 2008).
- 2) Government textbooks and curriculum that mainly teach grammar-translation methodology (McConnell, 2000)
- 3) Korean English teachers who are only comfortable with the grammar-translation method, are not well trained in the communicative method and do not believe they are fluent enough in English to teach it communicatively (Reesor, 2002; McConnell, 2000).

Korean mothers now spend more money on sending their children to English *hagwons* (private institutes) or overseas for *jogi yuhak* or 'early education abroad' than they do on public schools (J. Kim, 2008), which has created new words in Korean: *toksuri appa* 'eagle father' (always flying to the US to see his family), *kidulgi appa* 'wild goose father' (flying once or twice a year) and *penguin appa* 'penguin father' (unable to fly). It has also created new divisions in the *hagwons*: regular classes from beginner to advanced and special classes only for students who have studied abroad.

2.2 Languages in Ajou

In 1973, as a result of an agreement between Korea and France, Ajou Engineering Junior College was founded. A year later it was promoted to Ajou Engineering College and in 1997 produced its first graduates and was taken over by Daewoo International's chairman Kim, Woo-jung, who set out to make it the 'MIT of Asia'. To achieve this goal, Ajou established humanities and social science departments with courses in business administration, French and English, and in 1981 it received full university status. Currently, Ajou has French language and literature courses taught by one foreign and

seven Korean French teachers, English language and literature courses taught by 11 foreign and 23 Korean English teachers, and over 80 content courses offered in English taught by various professors from Korea and abroad. Ajou has ‘sister school’ relationships with around 250 universities in 60 countries. It has around 700 international students, around 40% of which are in MA programs, and around 400 ‘exchange students’ program where a student from Ajou can go to a sister school in a foreign country for one or two semesters and a student from that school can come to Ajou. It has a focus on engineering, so it is pursuing Accreditation Board for Engineering Education of Korea (ABEEK) accreditation, which contributes to international quality and competitiveness (Ajou University, 2013; Pusan National University, 2015).

Even though Ajou is known for engineering, English is a big part of the curriculum. All first years students must take English courses regardless of their major. This is partly because all majors have textbooks and articles that are mostly published in English and partly because English is the language for international communication. Ajou has a mix of Korean and foreign English teachers. Native speaker professors teach the production skills: speaking and writing. Korean professors teach the receptive skills: listening and reading. Elective courses include English writing, English conversation and Business English, among others. Ajou also has over 80 content courses that are taught in English and are taught by Korean professors, Native speaker professors, and international professors who come to Ajou for one or two semesters as ‘visiting foreign professors’. This is to attract foreign students and promote the student exchange program. The libraries at Ajou have a large number of books in English, and its website is available in Korean, English and Chinese. There are English events such as the English Café where English professors and Korean volunteers serve free beer and snack food, play trivia games and chat in English once a month. There are English signs on buildings, menus and classrooms. There is a foreign student office that assists students in English and one native speaker professor functions as a foreign student liaison. Even its logo suggests that English is part of life at Ajou (see plate 1).

Plate 2, Ajou logo



Source: <https://www.ajou.ac.kr/en/about/about03.jsp>

2.3 Student life at Ajou

Student life before university has been described to me as ‘hagwon hell’. Typical Korean children grow up with the pressure of learning Math, Science and English. They go to preschools that have an English class where they learn some English songs and vocabulary. They go to elementary school that has a mandatory English class where they learn songs, games and the alphabet. As they get into high school their entire lives become preparation for the ‘all-mighty’ university entrance exam called the ‘수능 / suneung’ which in English is usually called the ‘university entrance exam’ or the ‘KSAT’. It is understood to have a significant impact on where they will go to university, and as all the universities are ranked, this will heavily impact where they will work, how much money they will make, who they will marry, where they will live and even where they will die. Their day begins at around 6am, then they go to school from 9am to around 3pm learning the government curriculum, then go to after school ‘private institutes’ or *hagwons* for math, science and English until 11 or 12 pm. The *hagwons* have a special marketing trick that is detrimental to the students and to the education system in general: they offer to teach the government curriculum one, two, three or four years ahead of schedule, so the children can get ahead and have a competitive advantage. This causes students to often sleep during regular classes because they are tired from going to *hagwons* where they have already studied what the teacher is explaining. This in turn causes the teachers to lose motivation to teach well because they know the students are tired and have already studied the material. At some point the students go home, eat and study until 1 or 2am, sleep and start the process all over. After they write the entrance exam, they get their result that indicates which universities they can attend, if any. Highly ranked universities accept only students with high scores, so if students are unhappy with their result they can do ‘재수 / jaesu’ or an ‘extra year’ of studying at special *hagwons* and write the exam the next year. It comes with the stigma of ‘failing the entrance exam’ but some students do *jaesu* three or four times to try and get into a better university.

Ajou University is not one of the “better universities” in Korea. Korea obsessively ranks many things including its universities. ‘SKY’ is the acronym for the three best

universities in Korea: Seoul National, Korea, and Yonsei (Card, 2005). Students at Sogang University told me that they were “number 4” and other students from other universities seemed to agree. My Sogang students seemed to have an upper-middle class background, a good study ethic, high levels of English, and high hopes for getting a good job when they graduated. Ajou is a middle ranked university. My students and colleagues told me that some students felt disappointed in not being able to study at a “good university in Seoul” and would write the entrance exam again and try to move to a better school. They seemed to come from a lower middle class background, had a lower study ethic, lower levels of English and lower hopes of getting a good job when they graduated. Exceptions to this pattern were medical students, students who had a high level of English and students who participated in the ‘study abroad’ program, where they can study for one or two semesters at a sister university in another country.

When they enter university, students choose a ‘과목 / gwamok’ or ‘major’ (program/field of study). Ajou has various majors such as engineering, nursing, English language and literature. Like in Canada, students tell me that certain majors are good for getting a job (engineering, medicine, science), while others are more fun (art, media, culture contents), but English is required for all of them. Ajou tends to designate its buildings according to majors. For example, ‘원천관 / Woncheon Hall (#5 on the map in plate 2)’ is the ‘engineering building’ as most of the engineering courses are held there. Most English classes are held in ‘다산관 / Dasan Hall (30)’ which is the ‘humanities building’ and ‘성호관 / Seongho Hall (25)’ which is the ‘university college building’ for general education. Students take courses in the first/Spring semester from March to June and the second/Fall semester from September to December. Ajou has four dormitories where most first and second year students live, after which they rent a ‘원룸 / one loom’ which is a small, one room, studio apartment, or a ‘하숙집 hasukjip’ which is a house with rooms rented out to students with one caretaker to cook and clean. Students who live in the dormitories can eat in the ‘기숙사식당 / Dormitory Dining Hall (21)’ and everyone can eat in ‘학생회관 / Student Union 1 (23)’ the ‘학생식당 / Student cafeteria (6)’ or any of the small cafes usually located in the first floor of each building (see plate 2).

Although there are a lot of assignments, students have ample time to socialize. Members of the same major often go on 'MT' or 'membership training' which is *Konglish* for going to a hotel, resort or campground and drinking a lot of beer and *soju*. It is sometimes the first time the sexes socialize together as many elementary schools are not coed and in high school there is simply no time. University students may join a '동아리 / dongari' or 'circle' (*Konglish* for university club) located in '동아리실 / Student Club Rooms (7)' which can be about music, drama, art, sports and martial arts. There are large numbers of bars, cafes and restaurants near the university, most of which are located on the main road leading up to the '정문 / Main Gate (1)' There is a traditional one week 'spring festival' held in the '테라스 / Terrace (26)' and the '노천극장 / Amphitheatre (28)' during which the university provides funding and encourages students to organize food vendors, concerts, events, etc. (see plate 2).

Plate 3, Ajou campus map



- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 정문 Main Gate | 21 기숙사 식당 Dormitory Dining Hall |
| 2 버스정류장 School Bus Stop | 22 남제관(기숙사) Namje Hall(Dormitory 1) |
| 3 선구자상 The Pioneer Statue | 23 학생회관1 Student Union 1 |
| 4 에너지센터 Energy Center | 24 학생회관2 Student Union 2 |
| 5 원천관 Woncheon Hall | 25 성호관 Seongho Hall |
| 6 학생식당(아향) Student Cafeteria(Ahyang) | 26 더테라스 The Terrace |
| 7 동아리실 Student Club Rooms | 27 중앙도서관 Central Library |
| 8 화공실험동 Chemical Engineering Laboratory | 28 노천극장 Amphitheater |
| 9 서관 West Hall | 29 율곡관 Yulgok Hall |
| 10 동관 East Hall | 30 다산관 Dasan Hall |
| 11 종합설계동 Capstone Design Laboratory | 31 약학관 College of Pharmacy |
| 12 대형지반연구실험동 Geotechnical Engineering Laboratory | 32 임상수기센터 및 실험동물센터
Clinical Skills Laboratory and Animal Research Center |
| 13 토목실험동 Civil Engineering Laboratory | 33 종합관 Jonghap Hall |
| 14 팔달관 Paldal Hall | 34 테니스장 Tennis Courts |
| 15 학군단 R.O.T.C Headquarters | 35 의과대학연구관 School of Medicine - Research Building |
| 16 산학협력원 Industry-University Cooperation Building | 36 가스화실험동 (IGCC) IGCC Laboratory |
| 17 조립식교량실험동 Precast Bridge Research Laboratory | 37 체육관 Gymnasium |
| 18 광고관(기숙사) Gwanggyo Hall(Dormitory 4) | 38 운동장 Athletic Field |
| 19 화홍관(기숙사) Hwahong Hall(Dormitory 3) | 39 캠퍼스플라자 Campus Plaza |
| 20 용지관(기숙사) Yongji Hall(Dormitory 2) | 40 송재관 Songjae Hall |
| 41 아주대학교병원 Ajou University Hospital | |
| 42 병원별관 University Hospital Annex | |
| 43 웰빙센터 Well-Being Health Center | |
| 44 병원주차빌딩 University Hospital Parking Garage | |
| 45 병원장례식장 Funeral Hall | |
| 46 병원정문 University Hospital Main Gate | |

Source: http://edorm.ajou.ac.kr/edorm/campus_map.jsp

Usually in their second year, male students have to do military service. For two years their lives are put on hold while they march, shoot and labour for next to nothing for their country. There is great fear in going to the military. Most of my male students dread it. It is tough, dangerous and lonely as the saying goes ‘the foot turns inside the shoe’ which means that your girlfriend promises to wait for you but changes her mind once you are in the military. Some of my students have been shot while in military—some by North Koreans, some by accident, some by suicidal fellow soldiers. When they come back to school after military service, they come back changed. They are no longer boys. They are polite, disciplined, obedient and ready to finish school and join the

workforce.

When they graduate from university and join a company, their lives become busy again. They get up at around 6am, commute, work from 9am to 9pm, go drinking with their boss and other staff until around 1 or 2 am, go home, sleep and start the process all over. One of the requirements to get promoted at work is a demonstration of English ability. The Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) is one of the most common tests. This test used to evaluate only listening and reading ability but has recently included speaking and writing. Companies often provide free English lessons before and after work usually from 7 to 8am and from 7 to 9pm. Parents working under these conditions rarely get to see their children. Sundays are usually the only day off, although some companies include a half or a full day off on Saturdays, and aside from ‘주석/ chuseok’ or ‘Lunar Harvest Festival / Korean Thanksgiving’ and ‘설날 / sulnal’ or ‘Chinese / Lunar New Year’ there is usually only a one week holiday for employees.

Therefore, a university is undoubtedly the best time for Koreans to reflect on their busy lives. During the mind-numbing pre- and post- university life, Koreans seem to study then work themselves ‘to death’ as seen in the saying ‘힘들게 죽었어 / so difficult I died’. University life seems to be the only time when Koreans can relax, enjoy their youth, and develop their personal philosophy.

2.4 My role as EFL teacher and SNU student

During my time at Sogang University from 1996 to 2000, I had two roles: I was a teacher of English and a student of Korean language and culture. I taught various English courses, two linguistics courses and one anthropology course. For three months I took a Korean language level 1 course from 9am to 1pm. When my Sogang classes finished at around 5pm, I would go to my Hapkido class, which is a Korean martial art that I started studying at the University of Western Ontario. I spent many hours eating, drinking and talking with Sogang and Hapkido students after class in bars and coffee shops talking about Korean culture, history and language. I also did some Saturday trips with them, visited their homes, and attended their weddings. I taught English conversation, writing,

linguistics and anthropology. My students taught me that '*Hangeul* is the most scientific language on the planet and it can handle the pronunciation of all languages' which they had memorized from dictator Park-Cheon-Hee's textbook, so I did further research on *Hangeul's* linguistic principles of pictures of the mouth and philosophical principles of humans and the universe. They taught me that Korean society was based on Confucianism, so I read *The Analects of Confucius* and other basics of Buddhism, Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism. During class I would always teach them about *Konglish* as it came up with words for clothing (*one piece* = dress; *butterfly tie* = bow tie), hairstyle (*sports cut* = crew cut; *Mohican* = Mohawk; *bomb hair* = Afro) and others (*eye shopping* = window shopping; *D/S* or *discount* = bargaining; *hunting* = cruising). I taught them that *Konglish* was like local slang, that everybody does it, and it is a natural thing for children to play with language and in Korea's case create a new language, but that they should know the difference when they travel abroad. Many of them thanked me for teaching them English and how to appreciate *Konglish*, but still some of them said that they did not want to speak *Konglish* but 'real' English.

During my time at Ajou University from 2006 to 2014, I also had two roles: I was a teacher of English and a student of Seoul National University (SNU). I taught five courses per week at Ajou. Usually three 'English 1' courses that were for first year students and focused on speaking and writing, and two 'elective' courses such as 'English Conversation 1~3' or 'English Composition'. During these classes I would teach my students ESL using the communicative method, but I would also show them how *Konglish* was similar to pidgins and creoles by using songs from Bob Marley, Shaggy, and Kunta & Nuoliance, a Korean reggae band. We would sometimes analyze K-pop songs in class to discover linguistic patterns. I also taught courses in the MA in TESL program including courses such as 'Teaching Listening & Speaking' 'Teaching Reading & Writing' 'Second Language Acquisition' and 'Language and Culture'. During these courses I would teach my students, who were Korean English teachers, the history and theories behind first and second language acquisition, but I also cover topics such as 'language and identity' 'language crossings' and 'linguistic nationalism & imperialism' as my students were involved in the slow change of teaching methodology and the increasing influence of English in Korea. At times I was asked to be a guest lecturer

including ‘Anthropology of Music’ New Englishes’ ‘Linguistic Anthropology’ and ‘Linguistic Anthropology of Music’. During these classes I would teach the traditional theories on the topic and then show my research to a mix of foreign students and Korean students and professors. I was able to do this in part by what I was learning at SNU. I was taking some very interesting courses such as ‘언어인류학 / linguistic anthropology’ ‘한국문화연구 / Korean cultural studies’ and ‘지방민속연구 / area folklore research’.

During these classes it was incredibly hard because classes, debates and homework were conducted in Korean, but the readings were usually in English, which gave me an advantage, and in the ‘area folklore research’ course I had the distinct advantage of being a foreigner. The professor said that he usually assigns students to choose a rural area in Korea and compare it to Seoul, but it had caused so many altercations due to intense regionalism that he changed it to different parts of Seoul. I asked him if I could do the original assignment as I would not experience the regionalism due to being a foreigner, and I had a car. He agreed and I travelled all over Seoul and Korea taking pictures of English signs, looking for patterns of where and why it occurred and doing interviews with the owners of the signs.

I have heard people say that if you are an English teacher you do not get immersed in the culture. While it is true that some ESL teachers that I know have been in Korea 15 plus years and still do not speak Korean very well, there are exceptions. I studied Korean language both in classes (Sogang level 1, SNU level 4, Ajou level 5) and on my own. I studied Korean martial arts. I studied Taekwondo in Strathroy for a year, Hapkido in London for four years, got my black belt in Hapkido in Seoul in 1996, and I studied Myue24gi in Suwon. I even started a Hapkido club at Ajou. During these classes I not only learned martial arts, but also the Korean language, culture, and specific, traditional, often Buddhist aspects of Korean society. During my ESL classes I did not just teach ESL, I learned from my students, and after class in the restaurants, cafes and bars, I learned their language, culture, good points, bad points. I started a PhD in Korea, which was taught in Korean. While I did not finish my degree, I attained ‘수룡 / suryong’, which means I can teach at the PhD level. Most of all, however, I joined a

Korean family. It is one thing to learn about a language and culture, do participant observation, then go back home and write a paper about it; it is another thing to become a member of that culture. When I got married to a Korean I was thrust into the middle of everything I loved and hated about Korean society. The generosity that I had experienced in bars, cafes and restaurants, became living in my in-laws' house. The horror that I had endured on the subways, sidewalks and streets, became part of my 'downtime' as well. I could no longer go back to my private room, turn on English TV and escape from Korea. This intense, intimate level of immersion in Korean society gives me an in-depth perspective on Korean society that few foreigners attain.

2.5 Conclusions

In conclusion, China's long influence over Korea has given way to English. Due to British colonialism, American military and economic neocolonialism and modern globalization, English has become integral part of the world, Korea and its universities. A university is a good research site to investigate language ideologies of Korean students as university is one of the few times when the average Korean student has time to reflect on anything, as their previous lives were spent studying in schools and *hagwons* for the university entrance exam, and their future lives will likely be spent working for a company. Sogang is a good research site as I taught, learned and socialized in and around its Seoul campus for 3 years. Ajou is a good research site as I taught, researched and socialized in and around its Suwon campus for over 7 years.

Chapter 3

3 Methodology

Throughout my three “tours of duty” in Korea (Seoul 1996-2000, Suwon 2006-2014, Suwon 2016) I was truly a participant observer. I lived in Korean houses, ate Korean food, learned the Korean language, got sick with Korean illnesses, and fell in love with Korean women. When I first went to Seoul, I was an English teacher. Korea was new for me and I was new for Koreans. It was my first time in Asia and I was the first foreigner my students had ever seen. The second time in Suwon was totally different. I could speak Korean and I had travelled around Korea more than most of my students. I was both an English teacher and a researcher. The third time to Suwon, I was solely a researcher. I was returning to see old friends and collect data on Ajou University and its students.

The ethics clearance for the three times were quite different. At Sogang, I was told that there was no ethics board and professors could even publish without concern over plagiarism. At Ajou, I asked my Korean and American supervisors if my homework collection and interviews were acceptable for university ethics, and they told me it was fine so long as the names were removed before publishing. For the homework and the survey, I told the students that this was for my research and publishing, and if they wanted me not to include their work they could ask me. No one ever did. At the interviews I would start recording and ask students “Is it OK if I record this for my research?” and they would smile, laugh and say “Yes”. The name survey asked only for their English name, which does not occur on any official document in Korea, and students were told if they had any questions or objections they could talk to or email the professor. No students had any questions or objections. For UWO, I went through the very strict REB process. I described my research goals, designed a tentative list of questions for interviews, wrote a letter of information for students to read and sign, received permission from UWO and began doing my research. While taking videos of buildings, in order to record the linguistic soundscape (audible public language), parts of conversations were overheard and unintentionally recorded. These conversations were

not transcribed and only the language of the conversation was noted down to analyze the soundscape.

3.1 English teacher

In Seoul (1996-2000), I was an English teacher. My first class of university students would tell me that I was the first foreigner they had ever seen, and would ask me if I had tried some Korean dish, and if I had not, they would tell everyone that on Friday we would all go out for that dish after class. The oldest male student J.H. would lead us to a restaurant, ask if there was room, and then lead us in to our table. The students would ask me questions about western culture and teach me about Korean culture, like how to eat *samgyeopsal* (pork belly) or how to pour *soju* (clear rice wine). I would bring out my notebook and start asking them how to say certain words and phrases in Korean. At the end of the evening, often early morning, J.H. would pay for my meal, hail a taxi for me and make sure the driver knew where to take me. The next day I would type up my field notes at a *PC bang* (internet café) and email them to friends and family as a way of describing my life in Korea. I was not researching anything specific, but simply keeping a record of what I was learning. I would often include reference to my students' kindness and generosity in helping me get to know Korea.

3.2 English teacher & researcher

In Suwon (2006-2014), I was an English teacher at Ajou University and a researcher at Seoul National University (SNU). I was no longer new to Korea. I could speak Korean and I knew a lot about Korean culture. My students would tell me that they had had many foreign teachers. There was an obvious age gap and I was married with children. Students no longer approached me for Friday night excursions. Instead, I would choose two of my favourite students, one male and one female, and invite them after exams to my favourite restaurant near the university called *Dumesangol*, which is a restaurant that serves traditional food such as *jeon* (flat fry bread) and *makkeolli* (milky rice wine). There was no English on the sign and very little English on the menu. Interviews would be held in a mix of English and Korean because my students were used

to speaking with me in English, but I also wanted to practice my Korean. The student interactions with me were more formal: they did not look after me, try to pay, or make sure I got home safely. I recorded many of my interviews using camcorders and typed numerous field notes. As I was researching English and Konglish at SNU, I gained ethics permission from my supervisors and asked my students to send me their homework via email on those topics, and I conducted one survey on taking an English name.

My first homework assignment asked “What is your opinion of *Konglish*?” Students were asked to give 5 examples of *Konglish* then write one paragraph on whether they thought *Konglish* was a good thing or a bad thing. It was partly to get them to practice the English argument paragraph of giving a topic sentence with a topic and an opinion and supporting sentences with three supporting arguments, and it was partly to get an idea of how many students liked *Konglish* and why or why not. I ‘primed’ them orally to give them some ideas saying, “For example, I think it is a good thing. It is fun. It is easy, and it is part of Korean culture. Or, it is a bad thing. It is not real English. It is mistakes, and it is not useful outside of Korea.” Priming is an important part of being a good teacher. Priming activates schemata, gets the students ready and sets them at ease. For example, instead of just beginning with “Turn to page 2 about the present perfect tense” a teacher should write on the board or tell the students what the plan is for the lesson “First, we are going to talk about life experiences. Then we are going to look at the grammar. Then we are going to listen to a song”. I based the priming examples on conversations I had had with various students over the years and my field notes on their reasons for liking or disliking *Konglish*. Students were given a full week to send in their homework to my email. Of course, priming can have an influence on students, and some students followed the priming examples I had given them, but it sets students at ease in that they have a concrete example of what they are supposed to do, and many wrote about different reasons such as “It helps you learn English” and “It causes communication problem”. I gave this assignment from 2006-2009 and eventually collected 364 paragraphs. From this data I hoped to learn what *Konglish* was (pronunciation, morphemes, vocabulary, grammar, etc.), what commonly known *Konglish* words were, and whether the majority of students liked *Konglish* or not.

My second homework assignment asked “Why do you study English?” Students were asked to write one paragraph on why they studied English. It was partly to get them to practice the English reason and example paragraph, and partly because I was curious to see if there were more reasons than the ones I already knew from past conversations, which I used to prime them: to get into a good school, to get a job, parental pressure. I gave this assignment from 2009 to 2011, collecting 434 paragraphs. From this data I hoped to learn the various reasons and motivations for studying English and which ones were the most common.

My third homework assignment asked “What is your opinion of the spread of English in the world?” Students were asked to write one paragraph on whether they thought the spread of English in the world was a good thing or a bad thing. It was partly to get them to practice the English argument paragraph and partly to find out how many thought this was good or bad and why. I primed them, based on past conversations, to give them some ideas, “For example, I think it is a good thing. It makes it easier to travel, read research and do business. Or, it is a bad thing. It devalues national languages, over-values America, and it can kill weaker languages.” I gave this assignment from 2011 to 2013, collecting 339 paragraphs from students. From this data I hoped to learn whether students viewed the spread of English positively as a chance to learn culture, knowledge, etc. or negatively as a threat to Korean and other languages.

This kind of data collection has some limitations. They were homework assignments for a foreign professor, not naturally occurring conversations, which means that the questions were a product of the researcher’s selection, manipulation, and notions of what is important (Atkinson & Heritage, 1994), and students could have simply searched the internet for information to complete the assignments. However, it was a good way to get a rather large collection of commonly held definitions, attitudes and beliefs about what students thought about *Konglish*, English in the Korea and English in the world. Also, some of the answers were unique and surprising such as “*Konglish* is more accurate” so I believe priming did its job of setting students at ease, giving them a common example and stimulating them to come up with new examples.

In 2014 I received an email from Dr. Karen Pennesi who was researching what it means when immigrants take English names, which sparked an idea of doing a survey on Korean students who take English names. Many of my previous students told me that they had an English name, but it had nothing to do with the meaning or pronunciation of their Korean name. A few had ‘Catholic names’ given to them at baptism, and a few chose names that sounded like their Korean name, but most had just chosen a name they liked for a variety of reasons or their teacher had chosen one for them. I designed a paper survey that first asked for their age, which is a common Korean question so as to set them at ease, then whether they are male or female, then if they have an English name. If they answer ‘Yes’ the survey directs them to the questions “What is it? Why do you have an English name? Who chose your name and why did you/they choose it? Is there any connection between your English name and your Korean name? If yes, what is it?” If they answer ‘No’ the survey directs them to the question “Why do you not have an English name?” The final question for both Yes and No groups is “What do you think of Koreans having English name?” and the survey ends with “Finished! Thank you! ^^” which is often used in texting to mean ‘smiling eyes’. I asked all of my colleagues in the spring semester of 2014 to give the survey to their students and eventually 594 were collected and scanned onto a pdf file (see Appendix 1: Name Survey). The limitations of this survey are inherent in surveys: the oversimplification of social reality, validity and reliability of results (Pedersen, 1992). I created the questions and arranged them onto only one page and students knew they were taking a survey, which can influence their answers. However, I believe the questions were open-ended enough to elicit valid responses and the space given was enough to get a brief idea of students’ attitudes toward taking an English name.

3.3 Researcher

In the final stage in Suwon (2016), I was only a UWO researcher. I was returning to see old friends and to interview their students. When I arrived back at Ajou, I found that 9 out of 11 English teachers were my old friends that I had worked with for seven years. I asked my ex-colleagues if I could ask their students to participate in research. After receiving their oral consent I would accompany them to their class and classrooms,

and at the beginning of class I would introduce myself ask if they were interested in participating, to please talk to me after class.

I interviewed 29 students in groups of 1 to 4 people. I would begin by asking if I could record an interview on my smartphone. I used a semi-structured approach, starting with questions from the Instrument questions (see Appendix 2: Starter Interview Questions), then asking further questions about what the students had talked about in their answers. I conducted my interviews in Korean, but sometimes I would need to ask for translation of some words, and one student switched into English part way through the interview. The benefits of doing interviews is that they are the closest thing to naturally occurring conversation, and students are allowed partial control over the kinds of questions. The limitations are that the students knew they were being recorded and I am an older foreigner, both of which can cause discomfort to Korean students. However, the interviews were conducted in a familiar setting, in either a classroom or a patio garden, and the recording device was a smartphone, which is very familiar to Korean students.

I also had students draw maps. After signing the consent form I would ask them to turn the paper over and draw a map of Ajou University, as best they could, and indicate where there would be a lot of English being used, heard or seen. I hoped to find out what majors were stereotypically associated with English, because the buildings at Ajou University are associated with majors. For example, if I asked a student, “What is your major?” and they said “English literature” I would know that they spend most of their time in Dasan Hall, which is the building for English literature majors. I also wanted to see if their maps would match the data collected on the linguascope.

I conducted different kinds of research in order to analyze the linguascope of Ajou University. I recorded the audible linguistic soundscape by making videos of announcements, music, and overheard conversations in public buildings and streets. I recorded the visible linguistic landscape by videoing and photographing public signs on buildings, posters, vending machines, etc. and photographing student magazines and graffiti.

The audible linguistic soundscape was recorded by video. Videos of buildings were taken in order to record public announcements, music and overheard conversations. Three buildings -- Dasan, Yulgok and Seongho -- were chosen because they were the top three English buildings mentioned in the maps of where students thought English would be used a lot. Four others -- Jeonghap, Paldal, Woncheon and the Central Library -- were chosen because they were not mentioned by the students as points of comparison, and because of ease of access (residences and IT buildings need pass cards). Two other locations were chosen because I knew there would be a large number of students gathering and talking: the Student Union cafeteria and the Student Dining hall. The university metal band 'Spyders' building was chosen as they practice very loudly so it would be easy to hear which language they were practicing in. The 'Road' was chosen because it is the major transportation and shopping hub of Ajou students. I would begin the video by filming the name of the building on the sign outside, then any other public signs, and then I would enter the building and record public announcements, music, and overheard conversations, in order to 'see' which languages were used in which buildings for which purposes.

The limitations of this method is that I did not do this in all buildings on campus, and there is no guarantee that the conversations that I picked up were students in that building and not just passing through. However, the recordings of public announcements, music and conversations would reveal where English is being used in the audible linguistic soundscape: if they were only in Korean, it would index EFL; if they were in a mix of English and Korean, it would index EGL.

The visible linguistic landscape was recorded via videos, photographs and literature collection. Photographs of buildings were taken in order to record public signs, i.e. the largest part of the visible linguistic landscape. The same three buildings -- Dasan, Yulgok and Seongho -- were chosen because they were the top three buildings mentioned on the maps. Four others -- Jeonghap, Central Library, Hospital and Well-being Center -- were chosen because they were not mentioned. I walked around the building and took pictures of any signs that had language in order to analyze which languages were used on which buildings or for which purposes. I would enter the first floor of the building and do

the same to all the signs within sight. The campus in general was also photographed to see if there was a pattern of language usage. Photographs and videos were also taken of the main road just outside the university main gate. Along the first 100 meters of the road I took photographs of each building in order to see which buildings sold which products and had which language. Finally, public literature was collected and photographed to record the visible linguistic landscape targeted specifically to students, and at times, written by students. Three magazines were collected from the buildings that I entered. These magazines are free and are available in the front entrance of most buildings on campus. *Ajou Globe* is an English magazine with articles written by Ajou students about social issues, with no advertising. *AjouDaeHakBo* is a Korean newspaper with articles written by professional journalists about social issues, with advertising. *Job Joy* is a Korean magazine with articles written by professional writers about jobs, fashion, cooking, etc., with advertising. Graffiti was photographed because it is written by students and represents a small, but interesting part of the linguistic landscape (see plate below).

Plate 4, Student magazines



Source: Author

The limitations of this research is that I did not enter every building on campus, or every floor in the building, advertisements are not naturally occurring language, some of the articles are not written by students, and the road is only one street near the university. However, there are many advantages. Photographs of the buildings would reveal which languages were being used and for what purposes. Photographs of the campus in general

would reveal a pattern of English usage, such as English being used on buildings but not on roads, and some signs in a washroom were photographed to show the pattern of language usage (English for the 'MAN/WOMAN' signs but Korean for the detailed anti-smoking campaign) as well as some graffiti in a classroom, which I had never seen in 7 years of being a professor, and it was in English! The *Ajou Globe* articles are written by Ajou students, and articles and advertisements that are not written by students were targeted toward students as the intended audience. Also, the usage of English would index different language ideologies of EFL or EGL, and advertisements and graffiti are often the sites of *Konglish* and linguistic play. Finally, the road is an important extension of the linguascape of the university. It is the major arrival/departure point for students using the bus system and a major destination point for students going eating, drinking or shopping.

3.3 Analytical tools

For these data sets, a variation of Wortham & Reyes' (2015) discourse analysis will be employed:

- 1) *identify indexical signs* through knowledge of English, *Konglish* and elements of Korean society such as English is good for 'TOEIC test' and 'study abroad'
- 2) *show indexical configurations* through coalescing into patterns such as 'TOEIC test-promotion-university admission' index EGL and 'study abroad-travel abroad-tourism' index EFL
- 3) *draw conclusions*: if there are more indexes for EGL then English is no longer considered a foreign language but a domestic, glocalized one

The three homework assignments and the name survey were put through a similar analytic procedure. First, the each assignment was put through a quantitative analysis for attitudes. For homework one 'What is your opinion of *Konglish*?' homework three 'What is your opinion on the spread of English in the world?' and the English name survey questions 'Do you have an English name?' 'Is there any connection between your English name and your Korean name?' and 'What do you think of Koreans have English names?' the number of positive and negative responses were counted as well as how many responders were male and female. The advantage of this kind of research is that it gives a quantitative figure, rather than simply anecdotal evidence, of whether Korean students look favorably or not on English and *Konglish* and if there is a gender difference in these attitudes. Chambers (2009) illustrates this well in his critique of the ethnographic approach:

...the ethnographic approach makes it difficult to generalize beyond specific cases. Unfortunately, this does not always discourage instigators from attempting to do so. The literature is full of examples in which anthropologists and others are not careful enough to limit their observations to the specific case they have studied. Many at least imply

that their results have much wider applicability, and not a few seem to suggest a near universality of their conclusions (p. 1).

The limitations of this quantitative research are the same for surveys -- the oversimplification of social reality, validity and reliability of results (Pedersen, 1992) -- and that they are only quantitative: they do not get to the reasons for the attitude; for that a second method was performed (see table 4 below).

Second, the assignments were put through a combined quantitative and qualitative analysis. The reasons were recorded and counted to identify why Konglish is good or bad, why students study English, why English in the world is good or bad, why they have an English name or not and why having an English name is good or not. This is step one, *identify indexical signs*, in that I noticed that many students wrote ‘Konglish is helpful for learning English’ and ‘Konglish is part of Korean culture’ which were recorded as simplified indexical signs ‘learn E’ and ‘Kor cul’. Then for step two, *show indexical configurations*, indexical signs such as ‘learn E’ ‘hurt Kor’ ‘not Kor cul’ were clustered together under the indexical configuration of ‘EFL’ because they index Konglish as a foreign, invasive phenomenon; while indexical signs such as ‘Kor cul’ ‘Kor thinking’ and ‘convenient’ were configured under ‘EGL’ a familiar, domestic one. In order to see if there was a change over time, the first ten and the last ten assignments were compared, as the assignments were copied and pasted into an MS Word program over time. The advantages of this kind of research are that it shows indexical signs and their configurations, which reveal language ideologies of English is viewed as a foreign, invading language or a familiar, domestic one. Also, step three, *draw conclusions*, can be done as the number of indexes reveals which is the dominant ideology: EFL or EGL. The disadvantages of this kind of research is that the data set is too big for any detailed analysis. To overcome this problem, 100 were systematically selected in ten groups of ten from the throughout the data set to ensure that they were from a variety of students from different majors. Ajou University’s policy is that all students in one class should be from the same major, e.g. all of ‘English 1-23’ are media majors, and all English ‘1-05’ are engineering

majors. Therefore, by selecting ten groups of ten evenly throughout the document, I ensured a variety of assignments from a variety of majors, which is important as the number of male and female students can be drastically different (e.g. engineering classes tend to be male dominated; nursing classes female dominated) as well as attitudes toward English (e.g. engineering students tend to not like English; media class tend to like it). Another disadvantage is that it does not show these language ideologies in context; for that a third method was performed (see table4 below).

Third, a purely qualitative text analysis was performed on selected texts. After reading all the texts, a text that clearly indexed EFL was selected for a more detailed analysis to show the contexts of what was written, why it indexed EFL and the details and contexts of the indexical configuration. Another that indexed EGL was selected for the same reasons, and a text that did not clearly index either one was selected to show how texts can be ambiguous or difficult to categorize as clearly EFL or EGL. Text analysis is a hallmark of linguistic anthropology (Valentine & Darnell, 1999) and with it researchers can

Examine words, sentences, paragraphs, pages, documents, ideals, meanings, paralinguistic features, and even what is missing from the text...to explore for themes and to confirm hypotheses (Brondizio & Van Holt, 2014, p. 549).

The advantage of this kind of research is that it shows the language ideologies regarding *Konglish*, English and taking an English name in their contexts as they were written down by my students. The researcher can see the ideologies indexing EFL or EGL and feel the positive or negative attitudes portrayed in the writing. The disadvantage is that it does not give a quantifiable measurement of which ideology is dominant, EFL or EGL, but that has been covered by the previous two steps (see table 4 below). Details on each assignment will follow.

Table 4, Analytical tools

Data	Attitudes	Reasons	Text analysis
Hmk 1 Konglish	Konglish = good/bad Responder= M/F	Count reasons why Konglish is good or bad, identify indexical signs & show indexical configurations	Show language ideologies regarding <i>Konglish</i> in linguistic context
Hmk 2 Why Eng?	N/A	Count reasons, identify indexical signs & show indexical configurations	Show language ideologies regarding studying English in linguistic context
Hmk 3 Eng in world	Eng = good/bad Responder = M/F	Count reasons why English in the world is good or bad, identify indexical signs & show indexical configurations	Show language ideologies regarding the spread of English in linguistic context
Name survey	Eng name = Y/N Eng name = good/bad Responder = M/F	Count reasons why they have/do not have an English name, why they think having an English name is good or bad, identify indexical signs & show indexical configurations	Show language ideologies regarding having an English name in linguistic context

The first homework assignment on ‘What is your opinion of *Konglish*?’ was analyzed for what Konglish is, the reasons why students like it or not. Different aspects of 302 homework assignments were counted using Excel. When the name on the assignment was obviously male, like Jong-Hyeon or Sung-Man, it was counted as ‘Male (M)’. When a name was obviously female, like Ji-Yeon or Eun-Ju, it was counted as ‘Female (F)’. If there was no name or the name was impossible to deduce male or female, like Ji-Soo or Min-Jun, it was counted as ‘Male/Female/No name (M/F)’. Then the response of ‘Konglish is good/bad’ was counted next to the gender. The totals and percentages were calculated using the ‘sum’ feature of Excel in order to see if Konglish was considered overall to be good or bad and if there was gender difference in these attitudes. In order to see if these attitudes had changed over time, the first 20 and the last 20 were counted because the assignments were collected over a period of four years from 2006 to 2009 (see table 5 below).

Table 5, Konglish attitudes

Category	No.	%	Category	No.	%
Male (M)	1		Total male (TM)	172	
Female (F)	1		Total female (TF)	90	
Male/Female/No name (M/F)	1		Total M/F (TMF)	40	
Konglish good (KG)	1		Total Konglish good (TKG)	141	
Konglish bad (KB)	1		Total Konglish bad (TKB)	161	
Male good (MG)	1		Total Male good (TMG)	80	47%
Female good (FG)	1		Total Female good (TFG)	43	48%
M/F good (MFG)	1		Total M/F good (TMFG)	18	45%
Male bad (MB)	1		Total Male bad (TMB)	92	53%
Female bad (FB)	1		Total Female bad (TFB)	47	52%
M/F bad (FMB)	1		Total M/F bad (TFMB)	22	55%
First 20			Last 20		
Male good (MG)	4	30%	Male good (MG)	4	28%
Female good (FG)	1	33%	Female good (FG)	2	50%
M/F good (MFG)	1		M/F good (MFG)	0	
Male bad (MB)	9	69%	Male bad (MB)	10	71%
Female bad (FB)	2	66%	Female bad (FB)	2	50%
M/F bad (FMB)	3		M/F bad (FMB)	2	

Then 100 homework assignments were selected for a closer, more qualitative analysis. The number of ‘Male (M), Female (F), Male/Female/No name (M/F), Spread of English Good (EG), Spread of English Bad (EB)’ were recorded, as well as ‘Why Good (Why G)?’ and ‘Why Bad (Why B)?’ Specific answers to ‘Why G?’ such as ‘travel (tra), international communication (com), watching international sports (sport)’ were totaled as were the specific answers to ‘Why B?’ such as ‘culture disappearing (cul dis), language disappearing (lang dis), children studying English too early (early). These responses were then totaled and the reasons were configured together as indexing English as a Globalized Language (EGL) or English as a Foreign Language (EFL). For example, ‘natural’ was configured as indexing EGL because the student feels Konglish is a natural, normal, common thing to do with language or to see in Korea, i.e. part of everyday Korean life, whereas ‘hurt K’ was configured as indexing EFL because the student feels Konglish hurts Korean, i.e. it is not part of and very different from Korean language, and ‘fun’ could not definitely be configured as either EGL or EFL, so it was left blank. Finally, the number of EGL and EFL scores were totaled to see which one was the dominant ideology

and the totals of the first 20 and the last 20 entries were calculated to see if there was any change over time (see table 6).

Table 6, Konglish reasons

Why G	natural, kor thinking, ok in kor...	Why B	dif cul, mix L, not E or K...		
EFL		No.	EGL		No.
	learn E	9		convenient	7
	no fear E	2		easy	20
	no translate...	1...		efficient...	2...
Total		34			172
First 10	hurt K	3	First 10	Kor E	4
	learn E	2		com prob	4
	from Jap...	1...		natural...	1...
Total		8			15
Last 10	hurt K	3	Last 10	com prob	9
	learn E	1		confuse	5
	from Jap...	1...		Kor E...	4...
Total		5			24

Then a clear example of each ideology was selected and subjected to text analysis to show the details of how these ideologies work in context. Paragraphs that obviously indexed EFL were collected into a section on ‘EFL indexical configurations’ and ones that obviously indexed EGL into ‘EGL indexical configurations’, and ones that were not clearly either one into ‘Unconfigurables’ in order to show how sometimes it is not clear which language ideology a statement is indexing. In this way I utilized the full continuum of analyses from quantitative to qualitative.

The second homework assignment on “Why do you study English?” was analyzed for language ideologies in a similar way. The 443 homework files were collected via email and pasted into one MSWord document. Then 100 homework assignments were selected systematically (10 groups of 10) from the beginning, the middle and the end for a close qualitative analysis. Reasons were recorded in short form: ‘study abd’ for studying abroad, ‘friend’ for making foreign friends, ‘tra’ for travelling abroad, etc. These reasons were configured as indexing English as a Foreign Language (EFL) or English as a Glocalized Language (EGL). For example, ‘friend’ was configured as EGL

because the student wants to learn English to make foreign friends at Ajou University, i.e. part of everyday Korean university life, whereas ‘study abd’ was configured as EFL because the student wants to learn English for purposes outside of Korea, i.e. it is not part of and very different from Korean language, and ‘bus’ for business could not definitely be configured as either EFL or EGL, so it was left blank. Finally, the number of EFL and EGL scores were totaled to see which one was the dominant ideology and totals from the first 10 and last 10 entries were calculated to see change over time (see table 7 below).

Table 7, Why study English?

Why E	study abroad, friend, tra...				
EFL		No.	EGL		No.
	try	31		job	43
	intl com	25		school	23
	info...	15...		friend...	17...
Total		113			112
First 10		15	First 10		12
Last 10		10	Last 10		13

Again, a clear example of each ideology was selected for text analysis: one that obviously indexed EFL, one that obviously indexed EGL, and one that was not clearly either one.

The third homework assignment on “What is your opinion of the spread of English in the world?” was analyzed for language ideologies in a similar way. The number of ‘Male (M), Female (F), Male/Female/No name (M/F), Spread of English Good (EG), Spread of English Bad (EB), Male Good (MG), Female Good (FG), Male/Female/No name Good (MFG), Male Bad (MB), Female Bad (FB), Male/Female/No name Bad (MFB)’ were counted. In addition ‘Total Male (TM), Total Female (TF), Total Male/Female/No name (TMF), Total English Good (TEG), Total English Bad (TEB), Total Male Good (TMG), Total Female Good (TFG), Total Male/Female/No name Good (TFMG), Total Male Bad (TMB), Total Female Bad (TFB), Total Male/Female/No name Bad (TFMB)’ were calculated using the ‘sum’ feature of Excel, and totals from the first 10 and last 10 entries were calculated to see change over time (see table 8 below).

Table 8, English in the world attitudes

Category	No.	%	Category	No.	%
Male (M)	1		Total male (TM)	176	
Female (F)	1		Total female (TF)	104	
Male/Female/No name (M/F)	1		Total M/F (TMF)	59	
English good (EG)	1		Total English good (TEG)	217	
English bad (EB)	1		Total English bad (TEB)	122	
Male good (MG)	1		Total Male good (TMG)	129	73%
Female good (FG)	1		Total Female good (TFG)	57	54%
M/F good (MFG)	1		Total M/F good (TMFG)	31	52%
Male bad (MB)	1		Total Male bad (TMB)	47	27%
Female bad (FB)	1		Total Female bad (TFB)	47	45%
M/F bad (FMB)	1		Total M/F bad (TFMB)	28	47%
First 10					
	No.	%	Last 10	No.	%
Male good (MG)	4	66%	Male good (MG)	4	80%
Female good (FG)	2	50%	Female good (FG)	3	100%
Male bad (MB)	2	33%	Male bad (MB)	1	20%
Female bad (FB)	2	50%	Female bad (FB)	0	0%

Then 100 homework papers were selected systematically to ensure that they were from a variety of students from different majors. The ‘Why Good (Why G)?’ and ‘Why Bad (Why B?)’ answers were recorded in short form: ‘travel (tra), international communication (com), watching international sports (sport) etc.’ and ‘culture disappearing (cul dis), language disappearing (lang dis), children studying English too early (early), etc.’ These reasons were ‘configured’ as indexing English as a Foreign Language (EFL) or English as a Globalized Language (EGL). For example, ‘there are many educational materials in English (edu mat)’ was configured as EGL because the student has to study books and articles in English for their major, i.e. part of everyday Korean university life, whereas ‘English makes weaker languages disappear (lang dis)’ was configured as EFL because the student feels English destroys foreign languages, i.e. it is not part of Korean life, and ‘English is a good language (eng good lang)’ could not definitely be configured as either EGL or EFL, so it was left blank. Finally, the number of EGL and EFL scores were totaled to see which was the dominant ideology, and the first and last 10 were calculated to see the change over time (see table 9 below).

Table 9, English in the world reasons

Why G	learn Eng, tra, com...	Why B	cul dis, lang dis, hard...		
EFL		No.	EGL		No.
	com	37		edu mat	14
	lang dis	17		one	11
	tra...	17...		early...	6...
Total		130			52
First 10	com	6	First 10		
	lang dis	3			
	cul dis...	2...			...
Total		14			0
Last 10	com	1	Last 10	edu mat	5
	lang dis	2		cul exch	1
	power...	1...		exc info...	2...
Total		11			12

Again, certain exemplary assignments were selected for text analysis, and one clear example for EFL, EGL and neither one were analyzed to provide a full spectrum of analysis from quantitative to qualitative.

The survey on taking an English name was analyzed for attitudes concerning the taking of an English name. The responses of 100 systematically selected surveys to the question “Do you have an English name?” were recorded as ‘Male Yes (MY), Male No (MN), Female Yes (FY), Female No (FN)’. The totals of each were calculated using the ‘sum’ feature of Excel. The responses to the question “Is there any connection between your English name and your Korean name?” were recorded as ‘connection no (Con N) / connection yes (Con Y)’ and totaled. Finally, responses to the question “What do you think of Koreans having English names?” were recorded as ‘English name good (ENG) / English name bad (ENB) / English name neutral (ENN)’ and these were totaled (see table 10 below).

Table 10, English name attitudes

Category	MY	MN	FY	FN	Con N	Con Y	ENG	ENB	ENN
Totals	25	39	12	24	32	5	57	12	19

Then for a closer look at the reasons, responses to the questions “Why do you have an English name (Why E name)? / Who chose your name (Who chose)? / “Why did they choose it (Why chose)?” were recorded as ‘hagwon, class, teacher / teacher, self, international friend / liked the name, meaning, pronunciation, etc.’ Responses to the question “What is the connection between your English and Korean name (What con)?” as ‘pronunciation (Pron) or meaning (Mng)’ and answers to the questions “Why do you not have an English name (Why no E name)?” were recorded as ‘not needed, no chance, not travel, etc.’ (see table 11 below). The data were then reanalyzed as to whether the responses reflected an ideology that English is a Foreign Language (EFL) or English is a Glocalized Language (EGL). For example, ‘prefer Korean’ or ‘forgns pron’ suggests that English is a Foreign Language, as preferring Korean indicates that the student finds Korean more familiar than English, which indexes English as unfamiliar and foreign, and having an English name for foreigners to pronounce indicates that the English name is for foreigners not for the Korean student, which indexes Korean as unfamiliar and foreign to foreigners and vice versa. This echoes Pennesi’s (2016) research on Canadian immigrants not taking an English name or not anglicizing their names as a form of resistance to the ideology of assimilation to Canadian culture. On the other hand, ‘teacher’ and ‘self’ suggests it is a domestic, glocalized language as it was a Korean person choosing a name for a class in a Korean school, which indexes English as a Glocalized Language (see table 11 below).

Table 11, English name reasons

Why Eng name	No.	Who chose	No.	Why chose	No.	What Con	No.
Hagwon	14	Teacher	14	Like	3	Pron	3
Class	5	Self	11	Meaning	2	Mng	2
Teacher	3	Intl friends	2	Pron	2		
...			
Why no E name		Why good		Why bad			
Not needed	30	Forgns pron	15	Not needed	11		
No chance	19	needed	8	Identity	1		
No travel	3	Learn Eng	3				
...				
EFL		EGL					
Not needed	30	Hagwon	14				
Forgns pron	15	Teacher	14				

Learn Eng	3	Self	11				
...	...						
Total	67		65				

Finally, certain exemplary responses for EFL, EGL and neither were selected for text analysis.

The interviews were analyzed for language ideologies using the ‘old school’ method of reading and taking notes, then indexes were recorded with Excel. The entire interviews were translated and transcribed into English by the researcher. These transcripts were printed out, then read, reread and searched for indexes of English as Foreign / Glocalized Language (EFL/EGL), International English (IE) or Glocalized English (GE) as well as whether language ideologies have changed over time because the interviews represent the most recent data. Handwritten notes of ‘*EFL’ were jotted down next to statements such as, “If I work in Korea I won’t use English but if I work abroad...” and other statements that definitely indicate ‘English is a Foreign Language.’ Notes of ‘*EGL’ were jotted down next to statements such as, “...my mom made me study English since I was a child and she had a ‘complex’ (*Konglish*) she taught me a lot of English so I read textbooks but I like more interesting ‘pop song’ or American ‘drama’.” Statements such as these show that English is becoming part of Korean society as children are learning it at a very young age and initiating English acquisition by themselves through media, hobbies, friends, etc. not just through the education system. Another major indicator of English not being a foreign language is the presence of *Konglish*, which is a major Koreanization of English, or arguably an Anglicization of Korean. For example, the English word ‘complex’ has replaced the Korean word ‘병 pyeong (disease)’ and its definition reduced from ‘1, ADJ consisting of many different and connected parts; 2, ADJ mathematically denoting numbers containing a real and imaginary part; 3, N a group of buildings on the same site; 4, N psychological abnormal mental state or behavior; 5, V to make an atom or compound form a complex to just ‘psychological abnormal mental state or behavior.’ The obvious EFL or EGL indexes were copied and pasted into an Excel file to see which ideology was dominant. The advantage of this method is it shows quantitatively which ideologies is more prevalent; the disadvantage is it does not show any detail or context. For this, certain parts of the

transcript were transcribed into *Hangeul* by a paid Korean translator to ensure accuracy, and text analysis was done. Sections indexing EFL, EGL and neither were included (see table 12 below).

Table 12, Student interviews

Excerpt from transcript	EFL	EGL
In Korea you have to study English from childhood		1
If I work in Korean I won't use English	1	
She had a 'complex' (Konglish)		1
...
Totals	52	130

The advantage of this method is that it qualitatively shows the context of the index and gives more details of the ideologies; the disadvantage is it does not show the context in the linguascape as a whole.

Maps were analysed for where students thought English was being used a lot and why. If a building was circled or had some sort of indicator that it had a lot of English, it was recorded in Excel under 'Building'. The 'Reason' was recorded such as 'foreign students (frgn stds), exchange students (exc stds), English literature students (Eng lit stds), CNN, etc.' These were recorded as indexes for EFL, EGL or neither. EFL included 'foreign students' and 'exchange students' because these index that the English usage is about foreigners. EGL included 'English literature students, English classes' and 'English café' because these index that English the usage is about Koreans. 'CNN' and 'no reason' were not recorded at either EFL or EGL. The totals for EFL and EGL were calculated with the 'sum' function and the buildings were ordered with the highest to lowest amount of English usage (see table 13 below).

Table 13, Maps of buildings and English

Building	Reason	EFL	EGL	Tot
Yulkok hall	Frgn stds	1		1
Dasan hall	Eng lit stds		1	1
Garden	Exc stds	1		1
...
Totals		30	34	67
Dasan hall				35

Yulkok hall				9
Seongho hall				7
...				...

The advantage of this method is it quickly shows which buildings student think have a lot of English and why, which are based on language ideologies, which in turn quickly and quantitatively shows indexes of EFL/EGL; the disadvantage is it does not show the context of these indexes, nor does it verify if these buildings actually have a lot of English. To this end, scores were arranged from highest to lowest to see which buildings were considered the most likely to have English, so the scores could be verified against videos (audible) and photographs (visual) data.

Photographs were analyzed for the usage of Korean, English and *Konglish*, and indexes for EFL, EGL, IE or GE. Photographs saved under files with the building name: Campus, Dasan, Hospital, Jeonghap, Library, Seongho, Wellbeing, Yulgok. A separate file for ‘Washroom’ was also made since all washrooms were assumed to be the same in all buildings. Using Excel, the total number of signs that contained ‘School Info in Korean (SI K) Public Info in Korean (PI K) Company name in Korean (Co K) in English (SI E, PI E, Co E) in both languages (SI B, PI B, Co B)’ were counted in order to see if there was a large number or percentage of English signs in certain buildings as students said. ‘School Info’ included specific information about the building or Ajou University, for example, (Pr. Cho, Young-Pil); ‘Public Info’ included information not specific to the school, for example ‘TOILET’; and Company names included Coca-Cola, Sprite, etc.’ Qualitative notes were taken on interesting features, for example public ‘information painted onto the road was all in Korean’, ‘Wondu coffee menu was entirely *Konglish* in *Hangeul*’, etc. Totals were calculated in order to see which language pattern was dominant among Korean, English or Both. Occurrences of ‘Korean only’ were calculated as indexing EFL because there was no English at all. ‘English only’ signs were recorded as EGL as the writers of the sign posters assumed everyone could read the English, including Koreans. Signs with ‘Both’ languages could at first thought of as indexing EFL if one assumes that Koreans would read the *Hangeul* and foreigners would read the English, but a closer look reveals that they actually index EGL as the English is targeting

Koreans, not foreigners. This will be explained in more detail below, and in chapter 5 ‘The linguascape’ (see figure 7 below).

Figure 7, Building photos

1	Bldg	SI K	SI E	SI B	PI K	PI E	PI B	Co K	Co E	Co B	Notes
2	Campus			3	1		1	8	2	3	road K, T shirt E, Protect the Grass K,
3	Dasan	3		13	1	1	1		2	5	School signs K top left E bottom right
4	Hospital	4		4			2	4	1	3	
5	Jeonghap	4		10	2		4		1	1	Lecture hall sign B, attendance K, Fire
6	Library	5	1	7	1	1	7		4	8	Coca-cola and Sprite E, CoE Ajou Dyn;
7	Seongho	2		17	3	3	2			4	so hwa ki (fire extinguisher), jeong su
8	Washrm				2		1				sex harassment K, no smoking K, no s
9	Well bng	1		8	2			1			
10	Yulgok	8	10	23		1	2	3		1	TOILET, global lounge, OREMOS POR
11											
12	Totals	27	11	85	12	6	20	16	10	25	Notes: SIB is misleading as there is a
13	Both	130									CoB Coca-Cola E big K small, Powerai
14	Kor	55									PIB NO SMOKING / STOP E details K
15	Eng	27									Wondu coffee menu all E in hangeul
16	EFL	55									Korean only signs: 미안미안Myanmar,
17	EGL	157									

The advantage of this method is it gives a quick, quantitative measurement of how much English can be seen, which can be compared with what the students said and drew in the interview; the disadvantage is that it does not show the context of the signs or indexes. To that end, certain exemplary photos were selected for closer analysis, especially when both languages were used in specific patterns. For example, the fire extinguisher in Jeonghap had ‘Both’ languages could at first thought of as indexing EFL if one assumes that Koreans would read ‘소화기’ (sohwagi) foreigners would read ‘FIRE EXTINGUISHER’, but a closer look reveals there is English only on the label, none in the instructions on how to use it, which where all in Korean. The advantage of this method is that it shows that there is something else going on here: English is being used to target Koreans, not foreigners, and it involves language ideologies, which index EGL.

Detailed notes were then taken on the ‘Road’ video and photographs to gain a fuller picture of the linguistic landscape around Ajou University. The name of each business was recorded on Excel, and the amount of English was estimated out of 100% in order to determine on which business English is likely to occur. For example, the ‘Kududuseon senteo’ sign was estimated at 1% English because there was only one English word and it was written in *Hangeul*, whereas ‘A Twosome Place’ was estimated

at 40% English as the large sign bearing the name was in English but there were numerous smaller signs in Korean. Notes were taken on which signs were in English, in *Hangeul* or another languages. The data were then reanalyzed to detect any ideology that English is a foreign language or not. For example, a low percentage of English on public signs suggests that English is a Foreign Language, whereas a high percentage suggests it is not. Specific examples were selected for a closer analysis, especially when both languages were used. For example and ‘Jeju heuk daeji’ is a pork restaurant with a traditional Korean dish and the sign is in *Hangeul*, but they have the English borrowing ‘babekyu’ (BBQ) in *Hangeul*, and the Korean beer name ‘Hite’ in English, suggesting the ideologies ‘*Hangeul* is good for traditional food’ and ‘English is good for beer’ (see figure 8 below).

Figure 8, Road (videos & pictures)

<i>Place</i>	<i>% E</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Campus Plaza	40%	(big signs in English, small signs in Korean), ‘ <u>Ajou University</u> ’ logo 50K-50E, ‘CAMPUS PLAZA’ 100% E
<u>Kududuseon senteo</u>	1%	<u>Dojang</u> (stamp) only E is in <i>Hangeul</i> ‘ <u>senteo</u> ’ (center)
A Twosome Place	40%	A TWOSOME PLACE, (<u>BgE/SmK</u> = big simple signs in English/small detailed signs in Korean), ‘dessert cafe’ ‘thank you’, smaller menu in K
<u>Jeju heuk daeji</u> (pork rest)	2%	Song in Korean, in <i>Hangeul</i> ‘ <u>babekyu</u> ’ (bbq) balloon ad only one E: ‘ <u>hite</u> ’
‘CU’ market	40%	(<u>BgE/SmK</u>), ‘ <u>BGF litaeil</u> ’ (BGF retail), CUS for You on umbrella
McDonalds	50%	M, McDonalds, ‘ <u>angeuri sanghai beogeo</u> (angry shanghai burger’ in <i>Hangeul</i> , Coca-Cola

The advantage of this method is it shows which kinds of stores have English and which ones do not, which can index EFL if a ‘traditional’ store has only *Hangeul*, or EGL if a Korean stores uses English to attract Korean customers. The disadvantage is it gives no context of the indexes or their change over time.

To this end, one product, alcohol, was chosen and analysed over time to follow the introduction of English and its further spread over time. 소주 / *soju* or ‘burnt wine’ is a staple in the diets of soldiers and *salaryman*. It was brought to Korea by Mongolian invaders of the 13th century. Traditionally it is a strong alcohol (25°) made from distilled rice, but recently it is being made from sweet potatoes and tapioca, and its strength has

been reduced (19°). There is a high amount of etiquette surrounding soju: younger ones must pour or receive with two hands and turn their faces away from elders while drinking; elders should drink first; whenever a cup is empty it should be filled by another person, etc. It is usually drunk straight in a small, clear shot glass accompanied by the shout, ‘원샷/ *one shot!*’ which means ‘drink it in one shot’ not the measurement. ‘맥주/ *maekju* / beer’ was first introduced to Korea in the early 20th century, and when I arrived in 1996 there were three choices: Hite (owned by Jinro-Hite), Cass and OB Lager (both owned by Oriental Breweries; Robinson & Zahorchak, 2009). The same etiquette applies for beer, which is often mixed with soju to produce ‘폭탄주 / *poktanju* / bomb’ or boiler maker, with different names and different actions for each. For example ‘토네이도 / *tornado*’ means to drop a shot glass of soju into a glass of beer, swirl it until the liquids are mixed and spinning, drink it and hold the cup above your head saying the name of the drink or emitting a loud glottal fricative. ‘막걸리/ *makkeolli*’ is a milky rice wine of medium strength (10~15°) and is not usually consumed with the same gusto as beer and soju. It is often accompanied by food, especially ‘전/ *jeon*’ a Korean pancake made with flour and seafood, chives, or potato. These three alcohols make up the bulk of the Korean made alcohol market, as most of my Korean students did not drink red wine, though there is a Korean wine company called Majuang. Using Berlin’s (1992) idea of a taxonomy tree the alcohols were divided into ‘traditional’ and ‘foreign’ and based on notes and photographs, the usage of English on the labels was compared.

Plate 5, Beer makkeoli & soju



Source: author

Videos of the road and building videos picked up some Korean songs. One of them was identified as **넌 is 뭔들** (You is Everything) by Mamamoo. The lyrics of the song were downloaded and analysed. Excel was used to record which parts had English and where the English occurred: in the Name, Title, Chorus, Verses, Intro and Bridge (see figure 9 below).

Figure 9, Languages in You is Everything

	Kor	Kong	Eng
band name	0	0	100
song name	70	0	30
intro	36	0	64
chorus	81	1	18
verse	85	1	14

The advantage of this method is that it adds insight into the linguascape surrounding university students and it shows the domains of English within K-pop songs; the disadvantage is that it is only one song and thus it cannot represent a pattern. For this problem, previous research was used to compare the patterns of how English was being used, (e.g. simplified, repeated, used as vocables and transformed into Konglish, etc.) and why it was being used (to talk about love, sex, swearing, Black English, etc.). Specific examples were given to show these patterns and transformations. Again the data were then reanalyzed to detect any ideology of EFL or EGL. For example, a low occurrence of English in the songs indexes EFL, whereas a high percentage of English and Konglish indexes EGL.

Videos were analyzed for where English can be seen and heard on campus. Using Excel and MS word, videos were saved under files with the location name: Road, Library, Seongho, Yulgok, Dasan, Jonghap, Woncheon, Student Union, Spydery, Student Dining, Paldal. The videos were watched and the number of songs and conversations were counted: Korean song (KS), Korean conversation (KC), English song (ES), English conversation (EC) and 'Other.' The data were then totaled according to the ideology that English is a Foreign or Glocalized Language or not. KS and KC were totaled under EFL and ES and EC under EGL (see figure 10 below).

Figure 10, Videos

1	Bldg	KS	KC	ES	EC	Other
2	Dasan		2			
3	Jonghap		2			
4	Library					
5	Paldal		4			
6	Road	2	1			
7	S Dining		5			one KC was me...
8	S Union		2			African L
9	Seongho		1			
10	Spyders	1		1		E was metal
11	Woncheon		2			
12	Yulkok		2			2 Chinese? Indonesian?
13						
14	Notes: In Yulkok there was an international conference					
15						
16						
17	Totals					
18	KS	3		EFL	24	
19	KC		21			
20	ES	1		EGL	3	
21	EC	2				

The advantage of this method is it gives a quantitative account of where English is being used on campus; the disadvantage is it does not account for why it is being used there. So again, certain exemplary videos were selected for closer analysis, especially when both languages were used in specific patterns. For example, while the band Spyders was playing music the ballad was sung in Korean, the metal song was sung in English indicating the ideology ‘English is good for metal’. The advantage of this method is it is more qualitative and can show why English being used for certain purposes in the context of a song, poster or *japangi* (vending machine); the disadvantage is it does not show these purposes within the linguascope of the campus as a whole.

Finally, the student magazines were analysed for usage of Korean, English, Konglish, Chinese and language ideologies. Using Excel, the total number of pages of the magazine was recorded, then the number of pages containing Korean (K), English (E), Konglish (Kg) and Other. Then, the percentage of English on the front covers (Frnt), articles (Art), advertisements (Ad), websites (webst) and back covers (back) was estimated. Since the magazines were written by Koreans for Koreans, any instances of English were considered indexes of EGL, as were instances of Konglish; while instances

of Korean were counted as EFL. Finally, notes were taken on any interesting occurrence (see figure 11 below).

Figure 11, Literature

1	Type	Tot	K	E	Kg	Other	Frnt	Art	Ad	webst	back	Notes
2	Ajou dehakbo	12	12	12	8	Chn3	1	1	3	100		Chn: 1 trad hangeul script, 2 mi (mi) chin !
3	Job joy	113	110	102	63	Chn4, VN1	80	3	20	100	10	VN: tra; Chn: vit, food, TOIEC test!, 'small'
4	Ajou Globe	42	21	42	13	none	99	99	3	100	10	Ajou Globe is the English mag. *C4 Hangeul 6 + name 15
5												
6	EFL	143										
7	EGL	240										

The advantage of this method is it gives a quick quantifiable count of how much English is being used in which magazines, in which parts, and which ideology is prevalent; the disadvantage is it does not show the context of these ideologies. To contextualize these data, a closer look at certain pages was taken. For example, there was a lot of English on the front pages and advertisements, so the front page and one advertisement was chosen and were analyzed as to when Korean, English and Konglish were being used and why. Also, Chinese was analyzed such as the word 美친 / *michin* / 'crazy' which combines Chinese, Korean and perhaps English.

3.3 Conclusions

This research uses a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data and analysis. It is quantitative in that it is a collection of Korean students' writing of over 127,000 words, over 500 surveys, and over eight years. It is qualitative in the participant observations, field notes and how I asked for and analyzed the quantitative data. I do not believe that one is better than the other, nor do I believe that one can exist without the other, and I believe that it is important for social scientists to be able to use both kinds of data in their analyses. With this data set I am set to analyze over 15 years of changes in language ideologies. In the next chapters, I will show *Konglish* is a form of translanguaging which I call a Globalized English (GE) within the learning context of English as a Globalized Language (EGL), which differs from New/World Englishes (N/WEs) and English as a Native Language (ENL). I will show how some texts index EFL and others EGL, and I will analyze student interviews and the linguascape of Ajou University to

show the GE in use in the visible linguistic landscape and the audible linguistic soundscape. Finally, I employ the Pyramid Continuum to show the emergent nature of individuals and conversations by showing how learners and native speakers can progress from GEs to EFL/ENL to International Englishes (IEs) over time and how conversations can spontaneously move through these levels.

Chapter 4

4 Translanguaging & *Konglish* as Glocalized English

My first field note in Korea:

J.H. approached me to introduce a younger girl to me. “Bruce, she is my... *Junior*.” He seemed to know it might not be English. “Do you say *Junior* in English, or is that *Konglish*?” She is in same major. In Korea we say *Junior, Hubae*.”

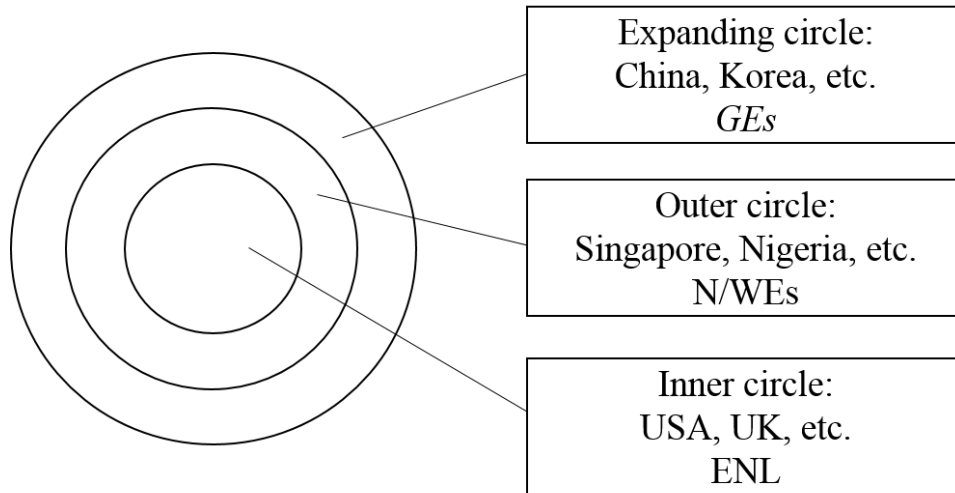
B.L.: “What’s *Konglish*?”

J.H. “It’s a combination of Korean and English” (Korean field notes, Sep, 1996).

It was a dark night on the low mountain near the university. We were waiting for the gathering of students who wanted to go drinking with the teacher. I learned three things from this brief encounter. One, there is a thing that students called *Konglish*, which they said was a combination of English and Korean. Two, it was much more than simply a combination of English and Korean, rather it had new words like *Junior* that do not exist in English. Three, there is a reaction, usually embarrassment, in the use of *Konglish* because the students seem to know that it is not ‘real’ English.

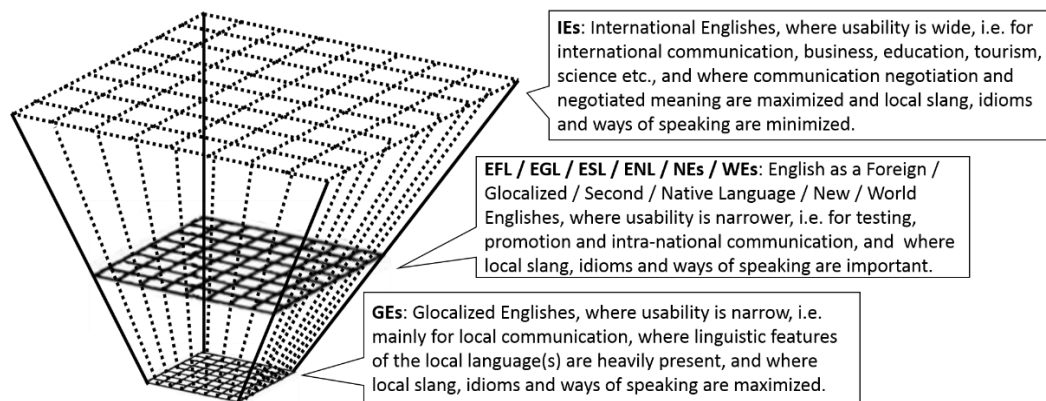
In this chapter I analyze field notes collected during my time at Sogang University (1996~2000) and at Ajou University (2006~2014) to show how *Konglish* is not simply a combination of English and Korean lexical items, but it is a form translanguaging which occurs at all linguistic levels. The result of this analysis is the definition and description of a new ‘category of language’: Glocalized Englishes (GEs). See figure 12 below.

Figure 12, *Konglish* & other GEs (based on Kachru, 1983 and Brown, 2007)



I will also show evidence of various language ideologies concerning *Konglish* and English. These ideologies index or point to a hierarchy of languages, which I represent with a Pyramid Continuum model, where *Konglish*, *Chinglish*, *Janglish* and other GEs are at the bottom with limited usability, International Englishes (IEs) at the top with the widest international usability, leaving English as a Foreign Language (EFL), English as a Globalized Language (EGL), English as a Second Language (ESL), English as a Native Language (ENL), New Englishes (NEs) and World Englishes (WEs) in the middle with moderate usability (see figure 13 below).

Figure 13, Levels of the pyramid continuum



Finally, I will show that there are many instances of language play where students purposefully and playfully globalize English.

4.1 Phonetic translanguaging

BL: Why do you want to go to Vancouver?

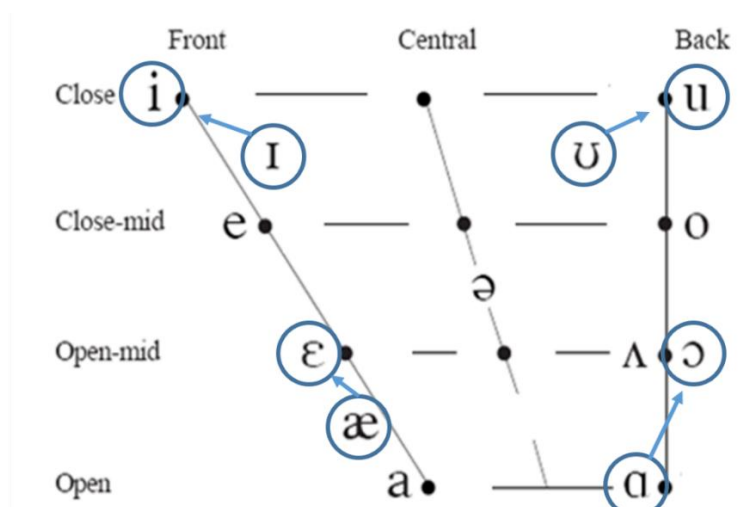
DJ: Because Bancouba is pamous por Locky mountain (Fall 1997, Sogang U).

Translanguaging occurs at the phonetic level. Phonetic localizations involve changes to vowels and consonants in “how speech sounds are produced [and] what their physical properties are” (Mihalicek & Wilson, 2011, p. 102). As the previous field note shows, Koreans have trouble pronouncing [f] [v] and [ɹ] changing them to [p] [b] and [l]. The lax vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] as in ‘ship’ and ‘took’ are changed to the tense vowels [i] and [u] as in ‘sheep’ and ‘toque’. A summary of the vowel and consonant localizations can be seen in the table and figures below.

Table 14, Vowel localizations

<i>English vowel</i>	<i>GE vowel</i>
ship [ɪ]	sheep [i]
back [æ]	beck [ɛ]
bought [ɑ]	boat [ɔ],
took [ʊ]	toque [u]

Figure 14, Vowel localizations



Modified source: <http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/IPA/ipachart.html>

Table 15, Consonant localizations

English consonant	GE consonant(s)
fan [f]	pan [p]
van [v]	ban [b]
thought [θ]	sought [s] or taught [t]
then [ð]	den [d]
Zen [z]	Jen [dʒ]
suit [s]	shoot [ʃ]
rice [ɹ]	lice [l]
boring [ɹ]	bowling [l] and/or boating [r]

Figure 15, Consonant localizations

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar
Nasal	m			n	
Plosive	p b			t d	
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ
Approximant				ɹ	
Trill					
Tap, Flap				ɾ	
Lateral fricative					
Lateral approximant				l	
Lateral flap					

Modified source: <http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/IPA/ipachart.html>

4.2 Phonological translanguaging

An American professor of English literature working at Sogang approached me and proudly gave me a hand out he had prepared entitled “Stop that Konglish!” on which he had a collection of phrases and short sentences such as “He is orangie jjok. I want to make bing money. etc.” (Fall 1997, Sogang U).

Translanguaging occurs at the phonological level. Phonological localizations involve changes to English phonological rules i.e. “the distribution of sounds in a

language and the interaction between those different sounds” (Mihalicek & Wilson, 2011, p. 102). All of the entries from the professor were full sentences, but some of the ‘mistakes’ were not based on grammar or vocabulary, but pronunciation. For example, the second example in the handout ‘bing money’ is the result of assimilation of [g] in ‘big’ with the nasal [m] in money resulting in the velar nasal [ŋ]. I also began to think pronunciation was part of *Konglish*. I saw signs like “ALL NATURAL GRAZING” and laughed as I realized the mistake in spelling between the L and R due to the difficulty in pronouncing [l] and [r] because in Korean it is two allophonic variations of the one phoneme [r] written as ㄹ. Other examples include ‘lun-chie’ (extra syllable ‘lunch’), ‘ha-deu’ (extra syllable ‘hard’) and ‘sengyou’ (changing the [θ] to [s] and [ŋk] to [ŋ] in ‘thank you’). All of the previous sounds are pronounced this way partly because of the Korean phonetic inventory and phonological processes and partly because of the Korean education system. For example, H.M. Sohn (1999) mentions another addition of syllables to English words in the form of an eu/i insertion rule:

When foreign words are introduced into the Korean lexicon as loan words, the Korean sound pattern including the canonical syllable structure (CGVC) forces the high vowel ɪ or i to be inserted in the foreign words to break consonant clusters or especially in the words final position (p.191).

The result is words like ‘lunch’ and ‘hard’ become ‘lunchie’ and ‘hardeu’ which could be the natural phonological change to English creating a Korean accent, but it could also be the result of the early childhood education system using *Hangeul* (the Korean writing system) to teach children English. For example, when teaching the alphabet ‘A, B, C...’ to Korean children a Korean teacher will often use *Hangeul* ‘어|ㅇ, ㅂ|, ㅅ|’ which is good for making children feel comfort and familiarity toward English, but there are phonological changes. ‘A’ becomes two syllables [e-i] and ‘C’ [si] changes to ‘she’ [ʃi] due to palatalization/assimilation.

It would be a mistake to think that all of these processes are mechanical and unconscious; rather, there is a lot of ‘phonological play’. For example, the most interesting feature about ‘sengyou’ is that my students often said it this way playfully,

purposefully bending English to sound more Korean, and with a big smile on their face. Another example is in the following graffiti (see plate 5 below) that I photographed at Seoul National University, which combines the English word ‘idea’ with the final letter ‘a’ replaced with the Chinese character 魚 which means ‘fish’ and is pronounced ‘어/uh’ and is arguably shaped like the letter ‘A’ all surrounded by the shape of a fish. Thus, *Konglish* is arguably much more than just borrowing and loanwords. It is a type of language play I call ‘logographic play’.

Plate 6, 'ide-uh'



Source: author

4.3 Morphological translanguaging

I began to notice when *shortdari* was being used and its amusing effect. It is usually used to tease girls with the statement, “You are *shortdari*.” The boy who said it would laugh in triumph and the girl would laugh with a bit of a hurtful expression and maybe smack him on the arm or shoulder. I began to notice that the average Korean does have short legs in relation to the torso and I when I showed pictures of my family to my students, they would say “Oh, I envy them. They all have *longdari*” (Fall 1998, Sogang U.).

Translanguaging occurs at the morphological level. Blends, or the combination of two words (Mihalicek & Wilson, 2011, p. 541), can involve combining part of a Korean word with part of an English one, or combining two English parts in a new way. Korean-English blends include words like *shortdari*, which is the English ‘short’ plus the Korean

dari ‘leg’. The term reveals many cultural values and presuppositions: ‘having *shortdari* is bad,’ ‘having *longdari* is good,’ also ‘most Koreans have *shortdari*,’ and ‘most westerners have *longdari*.’ Even the name *Konglish* is a combination of Korean and English morphemes (Ko+nglish). English-English blends include words like *porkcrane*, which is English ‘fork’ and the English ‘crane’ which means ‘backhoe’ in English. Clipping, or a way of shortening words (ibid.), is also common. Clipping includes *helseu*, which is a shorter version of the English ‘health club’. Clipping plus blends result in new words and so does the making of acronyms, which are formed from the first sounds or letters of words. Clipping and blends include *coseu*, which is a shortening of ‘counter’ and ‘strike’ blended together. Acronyms include *AS* from ‘after service’ which means warrantee service in English (see table 16 below). However, there is a large amount of linguistic play in morphological *Konglish*, which warrants a re-examination of the theoretical definition. The second example in each level of the table below shows a process that is slightly different from the standard definition described by Mihalicek & Wilson (2011). *Sogeting* takes morpheme from Korean *soge-hada* ‘to introduce’ and a morpheme that does not exist in English: ‘-ting’. *Buspia* takes ‘bus’ and combines it again with a non-existent morpheme ‘-pia’ likely from the word ‘utopia.’ *Aeocon* is a lengthening of ‘air’ to two syllables *a-eo* then a clipping of conditioner to ‘con’ then a blending of the two remaining pieces into one word. *Doraji* is the first syllable of *do-so-gwan* ‘library’ then the first and third syllable of the now Koreanized three syllable *ra-u-nji* ‘lounge.’ *DS* is not really an acronym as it is only one word, but it is a shortening & acronym of the Koreanized five syllable *di-seu-ka-un-teu*. The large amount of linguistic play makes it difficult to exactly categorize these examples (see table 16 below).

Table 16, Morphological localizations (based on Mihalicek & Wilson, 2011)

Morphological process	Konglish	Origins	English meaning
Kor-Eng Blends	<i>shortdari</i> <i>sogaeting</i>	short & <i>dari</i> ‘legs’ <i>sogaehada</i> ‘to introduce’ & -ting	short legs matchmaking
Eng-Eng Blends	<i>porkcrane</i> <i>buspia</i>	fork & crane bus & utopia	backhoe ?
Clipping	<i>helseu</i> <i>aeocon</i>	health club/to exercise air conditioner	health club/to exercise air conditioner

Clipping & blends	<i>coseu</i> <i>doraji</i>	counter strike <i>dosogwan</i> ‘library’ & <i>raunji</i> ‘lounge’	counter strike library cafeteria
Acronyms	<i>AS</i> <i>DS</i>	after service <i>diseukaunteu</i>	warrantee service bargaining

4.4 Semantic translanguaging

One of my Sogang students asked me during class, “Teacher, what is meeting in English?” I paused, for a long time, trying to figure out what she was asking. She seemed to realize that I did not understand her question and offered more explanation, “I know one person and you know one person and we introduce them each other. We call it *meeting*.” I slowly answered, “I think it means ‘blind date’ or ‘match-making.’” “Ah, blind date. Yeah. I got it.” Later, in a different class, some students were talking about *sogeting* in their discussion group. I asked, “What is *sogeting*?” “For example, I know one person and you know one person and we introduce them each other.” “Oh, like *meeting*!” “No. *Sogeting* is one person, one person (holding out index fingers and bringing them together). *Meeting* is for example three boys and three girls go on date and rotation.” “Oh wow. We don’t have that in English. We don’t *do* that in English (June 1996, Sogang U.)!

Translanguaging occurs at the semantic level. Examples of semantic localization include ‘borrowing’ and ‘loanwords’ and often include changes in the scope of definition. Semantic extensions occur when the appropriate contexts for a word increase (Mihalicek & Wilson, 2011, p. 545). Semantic reductions occur when they decrease (ibid. p. 546). Semantic elevations occur when a word takes on a grander or more positive connotation (ibid. p. 547); semantic degradations are when a word acquires a more pejorative meaning (ibid. p. 547). Also there are some with more complexity including ‘Distant False Friends’ where the original meaning has changed drastically, ‘Close False Friends’ where the meaning has changed slightly and ‘Koreanized English’ where new English

words are created and used in Korea (Shaffer, 2010, p. 171). Shim (1999) also noted lexico-semantic differences in codified Korean English:

- i. 'growths' as a countable as in 'hills and valleys that are covered in fresh green *growths*' ,
- ii. 'day by day' used as 'everyday' as in 'We go to school *day by day*'; and
- iii. 'on life' meaning 'alive' as in 'Gardens come *on life* again (pp. 250-252).'

However, the amount of language play involved in semantic Konglish again makes categorization slippery. The first examples in the table below show classic examples of the previous definitions; the second examples shows a process that is slightly different from the standard definition described by Mihalicek & Wilson (2011) and Shaffer (2010). Consider the word *haendeul* which is used instead of the word 'steering wheel.' It is not really an extension because it no longer includes the original English meaning of 'handle.' For this Koreans use the Korean word *sonjabi*. Like many new *Konglish* words it is the result of lexical gaps as a new item or technology enters Korea and a new word is created to fill the gap. Others include *consenteu* (electrical outlet) and *handeupon* (handphone/cellphone). However, there are also lexical gaps to be filled in English when there is a cultural concept that English lacks. For example in Korea, China and Japan, there is a very important relationship between younger and older students. First students must meet, respect and literally obey the second, third and especially fourth year students in the same major. In turn, the older students must help the younger students with their classes, social relationships and assignments. In Korean, older students are called '선배 / 先輩 / *seonbae*' and younger students are called '후배 / 後輩 / *hubae*'. This cultural category does not exist in English, so when translating these words, Korean students and professors use 'senior' for older students and 'junior' for younger ones, resulting in utterances, "Bruce, this my senior," or "My senior will meet us later." Nothing like this exists in English (see table 17 below).

Table 17, Semantic localizations (based on Mihalicek & Wilson, 2011 and Shaffer, 2010).

Semantic change	Konglish	Konglish meaning	English meaning
Extensions	<i>seutail</i> <i>haendeul</i>	fashion, music, religion, etc. steering wheel	fashion handle
Reductions	<i>deurama</i> <i>apateu</i>	dramatic TV series apartment complex	dramatic event, feeling, etc. rented rooms of various sizes
Elevations	<i>contencheu</i>	Phenomena of pop culture	contents of a book
Degradations	<i>motel</i>	drive in hotel for sex	drive in hotel
Distant False Friends	<i>seukeuraep</i>	to clip and file	scrapbook
Close False Friends	<i>hipeu</i>	buttocks	hip
Koreanized English	<i>hochikiseu</i> <i>junior</i>	sir name / brand name? someone younger in my major	Stapler ?

What make categorization even slipperier is the large amount of linguistic play at the semantic level. Take the word *apateu*, which seemed at first to be a shortening of ‘apartment’, but I soon found out that it meant “an apartment complex with gigantic tombstone-esque buildings standing in a row, surrounded by a fence, with a security guard” (see plate 6 below). This is not really a reduction of its meaning from ‘any rentable room(s)’ to ‘apartment complex’ because of the powerful language ideologies involved. These complexes usually had names on them. Sometimes it was the name of the company that built them, for example ‘Samsung’ or ‘Daewoo’; sometimes it was English names like ‘Olympic Town’ or ‘The Hill’, and sometimes they were given *Konglish* names like ‘Humansia’ or ‘Remian’. Social status was a major factor in that the Korean dream was to live an *apateu* in *Kangnam* (rich area) and drive a *Grandeur* (type of car). Living in an *apateu* means success, convenience and wealth in Korea. Which floor you lived on is also important. The *loyal cheung* or ‘royal floor’ are the middle floors depending on how tall the building is. For example in a 24 story building the *loyal cheung* is from 8 to 12 because they are not too low, so no one can look inside from the street, and not too high, so you do not have to wait for the elevator. To simply call *apateu* a shortening or a reduction is to absolutely miss the cultural richness and complexity of this *Konglish* word. These words all indicate the language ideology ‘English is high status.’

Plate 7, 'apateu'



Source: www.japantimes.co.jp

4.5 Syntactic translanguaging

A, I asked my student what his hobbies were. He replied “I like to watch mobie” I joke with him “only one?” The female student sitting with us laughed. “Ah, mobies” he said, but no matter how often I point it out it seems to be a stubborn habit, and since it’s not a big deal, and I’m tired of correcting it, I leave it alone in beginner classes (Winter 1998, Sogang U.).

B, At my part time job proofreading textbooks, I crossed out ‘as possible as you can’ and fixed it with ‘as fast as possible / as fast as you can’ but the secretary refused to believe it was wrong because a Seoul Nat’l U professor had written it in last year’s national text book (Summer 1997, Seoul.).

C, I saw two trucks today. One said ‘I’m cappuccino’ another said ‘Falling in Coffee.’ Beautiful! (Summer 1999, Seoul.)

Translanguaging also happens at the syntactic level. Examples of *syntactic localization* include changes in “how sentences and other phrases can be constructed out of smaller phrases and words” (Mihalicek & Wilson, 2011, p. 196). Other examples include not marking the plural/3rd person ‘-s’ (“Many student study hard”), deleting subjective pronouns (“Where is Jane? Go to toilet”), generalizing the ‘-ing’ verb ending (“I’m having a headache”), changing present perfect to simple past (“I’m here since

3pm”), changing past to present tense (“Yesterday I go to Seoul”), mixing gerunds and infinitives (“He is interested to learn English”). J.R. Kim (2006) showed how these changes are common to New/World Englishes. R.J. Shim (1999) also noted morpho-syntactic differences in codified Korean English:

- i. non differentiation of definite and non-definite articles as in ‘He is *a/the* man who can help other people’
- ii. non-count nouns as count nouns as in ‘Although it is *a hard work*, I enjoy it.’
- iii. change of types in sentence elements as in ‘make a trip = trip (v)’ (pp. 252-254).

Field note A represents interference, which means that the “native language of learners exerts a strong influence on the acquisition of the target language system” p. 66. The examples from J.R. Kim and R.J. Shim may also be the result of interference, but consider the second and third field note. In field note B the secretary would not accept that the Korean professor’s English was incorrect. This is a clear example of language ideology, not interference, interlanguage, creolization, or pidginization. It is an index of English as a Glocalized Language not English as a Foreign Language as she clearly values the Korean professor’s sentence over the foreign professor’s one. Field note C shows linguistic play in that no attempt at English accuracy seems to matter so long as the message of ‘Falling in coffee’ (Falling in love with coffee?) and ‘I’m cappuccino’ (‘I would like a cappuccino’ is conveyed. The following photos should show that little to no adherence to English grammar was intended, just the ideology that ‘English is good for selling products’ (see plate 7 below).



Source: author

4.6 Pragmatic translanguaging

BL: OK, homework (gesturing ‘give it to me’)

MS: Teacher. Sorry.

BL: You didn’t do the homework?

MS: Yes (Fall 1997, Sogang U.).

Translanguaging involves pragmatics, “the ways people use language in actual conversations... [and] how context helps to determine whether a particular utterance is appropriate or inappropriate” (Mihalicek & Wilson, 2011, p. 270). The previous field note illustrates the different method of handling negative questions. Korean speakers follow the literal negative meaning of the negative grammatical construction of negative questions:

A: You didn’t do the homework? B: Yes (That’s right/I didn’t do it)

Whereas English speakers follow a more complex pattern of pragmatics/discourse:

A: You didn’t do the homework? B: No (That’s right/I didn’t do it)

B: No. I did it. (That’s wrong/I did it)

Other examples would include the cheer ‘paing/haing’ (fighting) which Koreans use to cheer on their team, my student’s attempt at politeness, “Professor, you *have to* sign this

letter of permission,” and a textbook entitled “What Native Speakers Do Not Say!” in which chapters are organized via mistakes that Koreans make. They are mostly based on grammar and vocabulary except for the first lesson “I met my father” which argues that ‘met’ is only appropriate for first time meetings, and the last lesson “You didn’t do the homework?” (Holt, Middleton & Park, 2008, p. 6). R.J. Shim (1999) also noted the following pragmatic differences (my analysis provided in brackets):

- i. You had better hurry up (‘had better’ is pragmatically too strong; should be ‘should’).
- ii. Why don’t you meet my brother? (‘why don’t you’ only used in certain contexts; should be ‘would you like to’).
- iii. I want you to help me with this (‘want’ is too strong; should be ‘would like’) (pp. 254-255).

Finally, there is an ideology that ‘English has no polite forms’. Many Koreans have told me that English has no polite forms like Korean does. Linguistically Korean puts polite endings on verbs: 안녕하세요? = high;안녕하세요? = mid; 안녕? = low. So because English does not do this they think it has no polite forms, though it does: Hello professor. How are you this afternoon? = high; Hello. How are you? = mid; Hey. Whassup? = low. This ideology puts Korean in a morally higher position than English, and English speakers.

4.7 Discursive translanguaging

BL: Because all the readings in this course are in English it must be difficult for you.

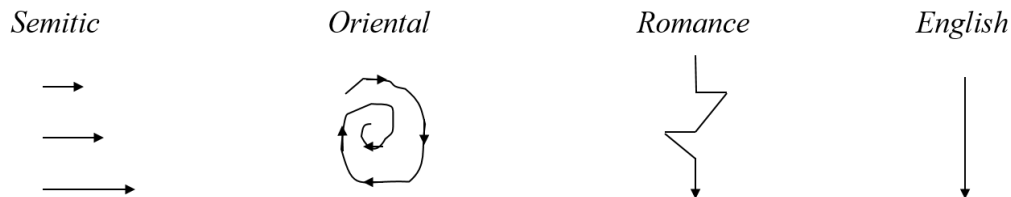
HS: No, it’s easier.

BL: Easier? Why?

HS: Because in English you can always find where the thesis is, but with Korean professors you have to search. It’s hidden in the middle, or the end, or... (Fall 2009, SNU).

Finally, translanguaging happens at the level of discourse, which involves the highest level of written and spoken organization “beyond the sentence... to study larger chunks of language as they flow together” (Linguistic Society of America, 2012). Examples of discourse localizations would be having the thesis of an essay *assumed* in the plethora of information given around the topic (Kaplan, 1966), but *hidden* to a native English speaker as they expect the thesis to be in the introduction and the conclusion of an essay (Reid, 2000). There has been a long debate on how people from different cultures think. Kaplan (1966) sketched little diagrams to illustrate these differences: Semitic writers state the thesis via three different stories; Oriental writers do not give a thesis but give enough information around the topic that the thesis can be deduced; Romance writers state the topic, give one side of the story then the other side and give the thesis last; English writers state the thesis, give three proofs and state the thesis again (see figure 16 below). It is also debatable because first year students who are native English often do not write like this, but I include it because my Korean students often write like this in their homework assignments and my Korean peers at SNU told me that English publications are easier to read than Korean ones because the thesis is easy to find.

Figure 16, Kaplan’s drawings (based on Kaplan, 1966)



4.8 Resistance to translanguaging

It would be a mistake to think that English is being enthusiastically borrowed everywhere; rather, there is also resistance to translanguaging. In some cases, such as the concepts of *han* and *jeong*, a new *Konglish* word is *not* invented to fill the lexical gap, and the reason is also due to language ideology. The concept of ‘한/恨/*han*’ is described by theologian Suh Nam-dong as a

“feeling of unresolved resentment against injustices suffered, a sense of helplessness because of the overwhelming odds against one, a feeling of acute pain in one's guts and bowels, making the whole body writhe and squirm, and an obstinate urge to take revenge and to right the wrong--all these combined” (B.W. Yoo, 1988, p. 221).

However, *han* is much more than that. It has a centuries-old bitterness. A brief summary of the number of foreign invasions should give a deeper understanding of the term:

Table 18, Foreign invasions of Korea

Date	Country	Details
1592	Japan	Hideyoshi Totoyomi invades on way to China (Turnbull, 2008).
1627	China	Jin of China makes itself as tributary overlord (D.K. Kim, 2014).
1636	China	Manchu Qing makes itself as tributary overlord (Swope, 2014).
1866	France	French bombardment for executing French missionaries (Roux, 2012).
1871	USA	USA land and naval force to establish trade relations (K.B. Lee, 1984).
1887	Britain	British send troops to stop agreement between Russia (Lensen 1989).
1910	Japan	Japan effectively annexes Korea (Hoare and Pares 1988).
1945	USA	USA takes over the south; USSR takes over the north (Lee et al. 2005).
1950	China/ USA	North Korea invades the south, pulling in USA and China, resulting in a ceasefire in 1953 and American military presence to this day.

Thus most of my older Korean students told me that foreigners can never understand *han*. This language ideology made me angry quite often because after a short explanation I believe I understood it quite well. There is also the concept of 정/情/*jeong*, which is define by Choi & Choi (2001) as

...the emotional links among individuals connected to each other by feelings of we-ness and exhibiting the humanistic side of their selves... some kind of lingering feeling attached to persons, objects, places, or anything that the Cheong-feeling person has experienced or come into contact with (p. 69).

It is often translated as ‘warm-heartedness’ (Berkowitz & Lee, 2004; Kim & Moon 2011) or ‘human-heartedness’ (Kim Helgesen & Ahn, 2002; Yu & Egri 2005). However it is more complex than that. The following themes were associated with *Jeong*:

1. Historicity-Time: long period of time, reminiscence, childhood, etc.
2. Co-residence-Space: sharing good and bad times, togetherness, closeness, etc.
3. Heartedness-Personality: warmth, softness and feeling at ease, caring, etc.
4. “Concealing-defects-Relationship:” understanding, acceptance, trust, etc. (Choi & Choi, 2001)

It is also combined with prefixes such as *mo-jeong* (mother-*jeong*), *bu-jeong* (father-*jeong*), even *miun-jeong* (hate-*jeong*) that old married couples can develop. Again, older Koreans would tell me that foreigners did not have *jeong*. Again this angered me since I could understand *jeong* based on the Christian borrowing ‘agape’ which is used to describe the Christ-like ‘love’ we are supposed to show one another. These indicate a language ideology that was actually told to me on a number of occasions ‘Foreigners (English speakers) will never understand Koreans.’

Similar resistance to translanguaging can be seen in words that were not *Konglish* at all but *Janglish*, which also carried with it a language ideology. Words like *otobai* ‘motorbike’ and *orai* ‘all right’ which is only used when helping a person backing up a car i.e. “It’s all right. You’re fine. Keep coming,” were taught to me, in the context of me learning the language, and were followed by an explanation that they come from Japan, which brought with it a kind of shame, or bad feeling, and sometimes these words were being purged from the language. For example, the first time I pulled into a gas station on

my new *otobai* I realized I did not know how to say “Fill it up” in Korean, so I asked “*Kireum modu juseyo* / Please give me all gas,” which issued the response “*Mantang?*” I paused and said, “*Ne* / Yes!” After which the young man filled up my tank and charged me \$5. I later told my Sogang U. student how I had learned the word and he said with a frown, “That comes from Japan.” I later figured out the word *man* meant ‘10,000’ but can mean ‘full’ and *tang* meant ‘tank.’ I happily used this word for 3 years, but when I came back to Korea the second time, I pulled into a gas station on my newer and bigger *otobai*, requested *mantang* and was met with the response, ‘*Kadeug ieayo?* / You mean full?’ with a pause as if he were not going to fill it up until I said it properly. I paused and said, “*Ne. Kadeugyo* / Yes. Full” After which the young man filled up my tank and charged me \$10. I later told my Ajou U. student what had happened and he said with a frown, “*Mantang* comes from Japan.” This is a reaction to the invasion and occupation of Japanese forces from 1910 to 1945 and how they changed the location and names of major buildings and structures in Korea in a direct effort to disrupt the *pungsu* ‘fengshui’ of Korea in order to say “We rule you.” For example, the Japanese moved the main gate of *Kyoungbokkung*, the king’s palace, so that it at the end of the main road in Seoul, and they changed the signs for 승례문 / 崇禮門 / *Sungnyemun* ‘Gate of Exalted Ceremonies’ to 남대문 / 南大門 / *Namdaemun* / ‘Great South Gate’. I noticed that gate had been relocated and the name is being changed back while driving around on my *otobai* which had not been purged, but the older generation still bear the emotional and sometimes physical scars of that occupation, especially in the hunched over posture of the older women. These indicate the language ideologies ‘the Japanese are bad / Japanese is bad’.

4.9 International Englishes

My last field note in Korea:

KM: Teacher, I understand you well, and I understood my other (international) classmates, but when I went outside I couldn’t understand the bus driver, or other people in the street (Fall 2015, Ajou U.)

One of my students at Ajou told me this after returning from Vancouver. At the time, I felt sorry for him. I said that it takes a long time to master a second language, but the longer I thought about it the more I felt that it was not his fault for not understanding the bus driver, it was the bus driver's fault for not recognizing that they were speaking to an international person and the quick, slurred pronunciation would probably lead to the same result with a British speaker, just as I could not understand some British bus drivers (or some EFL teachers). This idea was reinforced later when an American professor at Sogang said that people in his hometown did not recognize where he was from because his accent had changed. He concluded that it was due to his being an English teacher, but it is also due to his having to talk to EFL teachers and business people from various countries while living in Seoul. Also, at a presentation for Sogang students to study in Australia, the presenter acknowledged that many people thought that the Australian accent was too difficult to understand, but she asked, rhetorically, if her accent was 'not too hard to understand'. She had modified her language to be internationally intelligible. Finally, the following brief statement about improving English shows an important language ideology about learning language which is linked to hierarchy and body language.

영어 실력을 항상 위해서 콩글리시 쓰지말라고 하는거 갖고

Some people say that people shouldn't use Konglish to improve their English (Student interviews: HJ)

The body language corresponding to 'improve their English' was a hand moving upward as if going up a ladder. Therefore, these language ideologies indicate that there is a 'low' level of *Konglish* which is good for local communication, and a 'higher' level of English beyond the native speaker which is more easily understood for international communication.

4.10 Conclusions

The previous analysis shows that *Konglish*, *Chinglish* and *Janglish* are Glocalised Englishes (GEs) that are developing as a result of translanguaging between English and

local languages. Translanguaging can easily be seen in vocabulary and grammar, but careful analyses show that it occurs at all other linguistic levels. GEs are used in the Expanding Circle, which means they are not the result of British colonialism, do not have a long literary history, and have a limited usage with the geographic area from which they originate. There is evidence of positive language ideologies such as ‘English has high status, is good for sales and luxury’, and negative ones such as ‘English has not polite forms and English speakers will never understand Korean language and culture’. There are also ideologies that can be positive or negative: ‘English as a Foreign Language’ vs. ‘English as a Globalized Language.’ These ideologies index that there is a hierarchy of language with GEs at the bottom with usability limited to local communication, ESL, EFL, ENL, WEs and NEs in the middle, and IEs at the top with the widest international usability. There is also evidence of language play such as ‘sengyou, ide-uh, and Falling in Coffee’ which are beautiful, purposeful and playful glocalizations.

Chapter 5

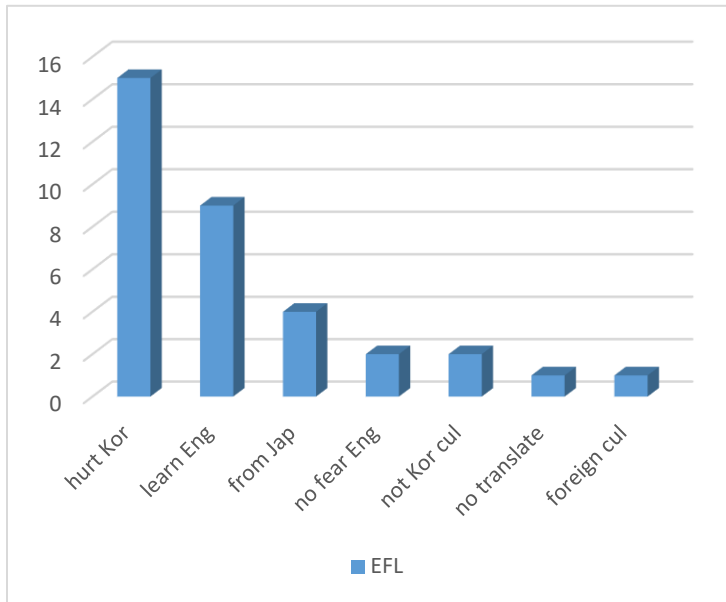
5 Indexical configurations of EFL & EGL

Most research on English ideologies in Korea focus on English as a Foreign Language (see J.S.Y. Park, 2004, 2009c, 2010; Park & Bae, 2009; J.K. Park, 2009; Park & Abelman, 2004). In this chapter I will demonstrate that there are many different language ideologies regarding English and *Konglish* that coalesce into indexical configurations that index both English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and English as a Glocalized Language (EGL).

5.1 EFL indexical configurations

There were a few indexical configurations of EFL in the first homework assignment ‘What is your opinion of *Konglish*?’ The most common one was ‘hurt Korean’ (*Konglish* damages the Korean language) followed by ‘learn English’ (*Konglish* can help you learn English) and ‘from Japan’ (*Konglish* originates in Japan as a mixture of Japanese and English). Others include ‘no fear Eng’ (it helps you not to fear English) ‘not Kor cul’ (it is not part of Korean culture) ‘no translate’ (there is no translation of *Konglish* words into English or Korean) ‘foreign cul’ (it is foreign culture).

Figure 17, EFL in 'What is your opinion of *Konglish*?'



The most common indexical configuration for EFL was '*Konglish* hurts Korean'.

Consider the following paragraph:

In my opinion, *Konglish* is bad thing. Recently, English is becoming more and more important in our life, for example such as employment and test. It is likely to cause destruction of Korean. Also, *Konglish* is similar to secret language, it's hard to communicate with person that is poor at *Konglish*. Like I said before sentence, it's not only destruction of Korean but also confusing of communication. As a result, using *Konglish* is bad thing. Specially, when it use of thoughtlessly (Ajou U, Eng1-2, male).

Here is the student has the language ideology '*Konglish* can destroy Korean' as if it were a foreign invader i.e. configured under EFL. However, in literally all paragraphs with indexical configurations of EFL there were also ones for EGL. For example, in the beginning of the paragraph the students says that 'English is important in our life' which

indexes EGL. The same happens with the second most common ideology ‘it helps you learn English’.

I think Konglish is Good. It's like a skating. Who can skate at once?
Human can be Lose his balance or hurt by ice. Konglish is too. Konglish is not real English, but we can know how original words are transformed. It is useful to learn English skill. Second, I think the Konglish is Culture. Japan has Japlish, Singapore has singlish, Germany has Germanish. All country has own English. So we don't have too worry about Konglish. Third, we can be familiar with English. Although it's Konglish, we use this skillful word everywhere. If can be familiar with Konglish, It can erased frightening about English (Ajou U, Eng 1, male).

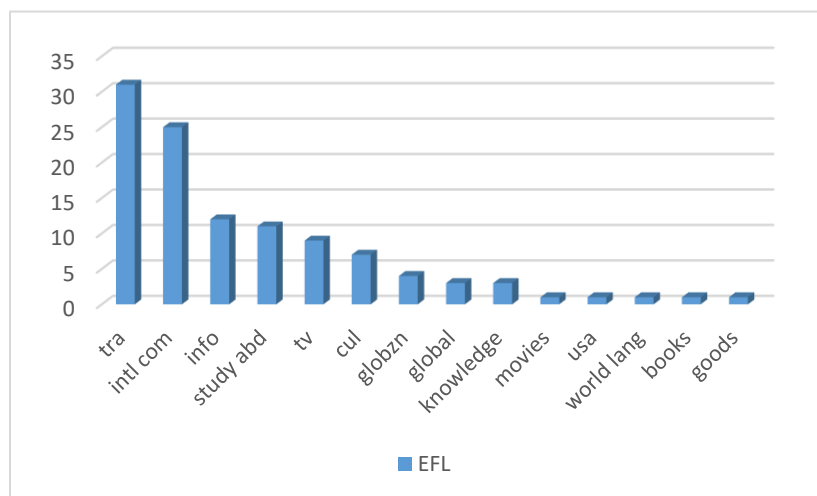
In most of the paragraph the student says repeatedly that Konglish helps you on the way to ‘real English’ (EFL) but other parts hint at EGL such as ‘all country has own English’ and ‘Konglish is not real English’. The same can be seen with ‘Konglish is from Japan’.

I don't like Konglish, and I think it must be excuted from korea. Though I'm using Konglish unconsciencely, it has no merit. It's replaceable as correct english. And many of them is came from Japan's weird - also kind of grotesque - english. There's no nationalism or mentalism to keep usikng Konglish. To conclude my opinion, wheather is easy to use or not in korea, Konglish must be removed becau se there isn't any kind of our cultural spirit or reasonable thing (Ajou U, Eng1, no name).

The student clearly does not like Konglish and the reasons are ‘it’s from Japan’ so ‘it has no nationalism or mentalism of Korea’ (EFL) but the statement “I’m using Konglish unconsciously” suggests that *Konglish* is deeply ingrained in the student’s mind (EGL).

The second homework assignment on ‘Why do you study English?’ had many indexical configurations of EFL. The most common was ‘tra’ (for travelling abroad) followed by ‘intl com’ (for international communication), ‘info’ (for getting information on the internet’ and ‘study abd’ (for studying abroad). Others include ‘tv’ (for watching TV), ‘cul’ (for learning other cultures), ‘globzn’ (because of globalization), ‘global’ (because English is a global language), ‘knowledge’ (for learning knowledge in books and articles), ‘movies’ (for watching movies) ‘usa’ (because USA is powerful), ‘world lang’ (because English is a world language), ‘books’ (for reading books or textbooks), and ‘goods’ (because many foreign goods have English).

Figure 18, EFL in 'Why do you study English?'



The following excerpt from a student paragraph gives a clear example of ‘travel’ as an indexical configuration for EFL.

The last is for travel. I hope to tour a lot of another country, for example, USA, UK, France, Canada, Greek, German, China, Japan... so on. But, as you know, they don't use Korean. Most of them usually use English, even though their native is not English. Because English is the global language. So for my smooth tour, I study English harder and haredr... (Ajou U, Eng1-34, male).

Here the student clearly says that English is foreign language that is useful outside of Korea for international communication and a 'smooth tour' i.e. EFL. However, it is not always so clear for international communication .

Now we are living in the world of globalization and internationalization. First, we can see easily foreigners in Korea. For example, they sometimes ask us of how to go to somewhere. Also, when I become a nurse, I may meet foreign patient. Second, books used in university are written in English. In my case, almost medical terminologies are English, so we must learn English to study our major. Finally, there are no special reasons to study English. We think that studying English is natural. We have studied English from elementary school. We are still learning and studying English in university by educational system established. In conclusion, we are living together in the world, so we must communicate each other. To survive in the world of globalization and internationalization, we must have an ability to speak, write and listen in English essentially (Ajou U, Eng 1-35, female).

Here the student begins speaking of English for 'international communication' and 'globalization', both of which are indexial configurations of EFL. Then they talk about English in books in Korean universities and English being 'natural' both of which index EGL. The same can be seen for 'getting information'.

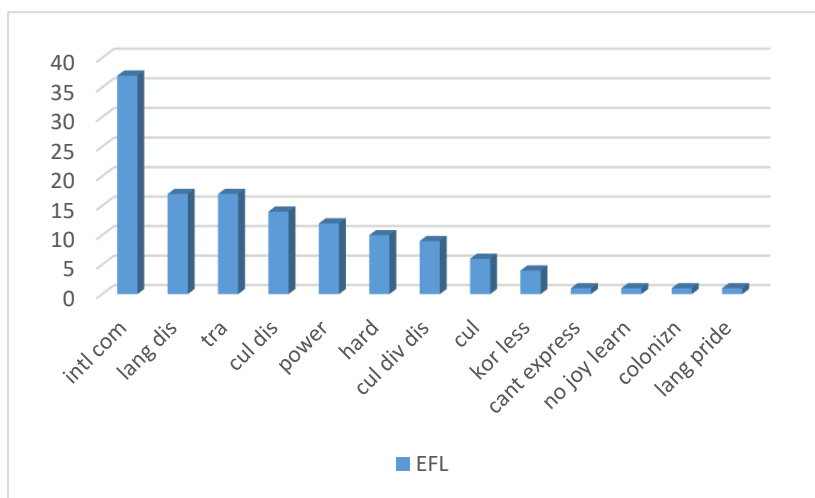
I have studied English because English is world trend. Nowadays English becomes like an official language. I think studying official language is essential base to grow international competitive power. If I can use English masterfully, I would work every country. And I think If I can use English masterfully, I can get information of good quality. The world's biggest search engine 'Google' and the world's biggest video site 'Youtube' are based on English. And some nursing textbooks are based on English. So I have to study English to get information. Lastly, I think If I want to get job at Korea, I must use English masterfully. At Korea, from a child to an adult, all the

people study English. Because English becomes like an official language, everywhere like companies demands English skill. So I have to study English to get good working place. Therefore I must study English hard. That is why I study English hard (Ajou U, Eng 1-35, female).

Here the student states that English is good for getting information from Google and Youtube (EFL) but then states that some nursing textbooks in Korea are written in English and Korean companies demand English skills (EGL).

The third homework assignment on “What is your opinion of the spread of English in the world?” also had many EFL indexical configurations. The most common was ‘intl com’ (English is good for international communication), followed by ‘lang dis’ (English makes weaker languages disappear), and ‘tra’ (English is good for travel). Others include ‘cul dis’ (it makes weaker cultures disappear), ‘power’ (it is the language of powerful countries), ‘hard’ (it is hard to learn), ‘cul div dis’ (it makes cultural diversity disappear), ‘cul’ (English language is English culture), ‘kor less’ (Korean will become less) ‘cant express’ (you can’t express things in English) ‘no joy learn’ (there is no joy in learning it), ‘colonizn’ (it is a type of colonization), ‘lang pride’ (it destroys language pride) (see figure 19 below).

Figure 19, EFL in 'What is your opinion of the spread of English?'



This paragraph shows the EFL indexical configuration ‘English is good for international communication.

Today, Most of nation use english language. So some nation decide to english use standard language. But this phenomenon is bad decision. First, it is destroy nation's culture. if citizen do not use nation's language, They lose their nation's spirit. And existing language is disappear slowly. Second, if english use standard language, older generation collision new generation. Because older generation use long time their language so don't adapt to new language. Finally, this decision cause monetary problem. For example Korea don't have a good command of English. if english is standard language, Korea find a so many people to have a good command of English. In the process, be formed a lot of loss. So, my opinion is english do not using standard language (Ajou U, Eng 1, no name).

The student has the language ideology that ‘language is the nation’s spirit’, which is a typical, nationalist ideology of the older generation of Koreans: ‘one race, one language, one nation’. This implies the language ideology, ‘Korean is the nation’s spirit’ and ‘English is not’ (EFL). Then they write about English causing a generation gap between young people who know English and old people who do not, which implies that English is becoming an integral part of Korean youth culture (EGL). The next paragraph shows the language ideology of ‘English causes language disappearance’.

Globalization of English is bad for three reason standardization of languages, thinks and cultures. First, English destroy all languages. In Korea early English education is spread. But children receive early English education do not know Korean well. Accordingly someday Korean is become extinguished. Second, if language is dominated by English, also way of thinking is changed to western. In Korea students was polite to their teacher. But now they deal with their teacher as intimate friend. Third, people who have mindset of English make western culture. Then they force to inclusion of culture to people who are unaccustomed to

English. For these reasons globalization of English is harmful (Ajou U, Eng 1-27, male).

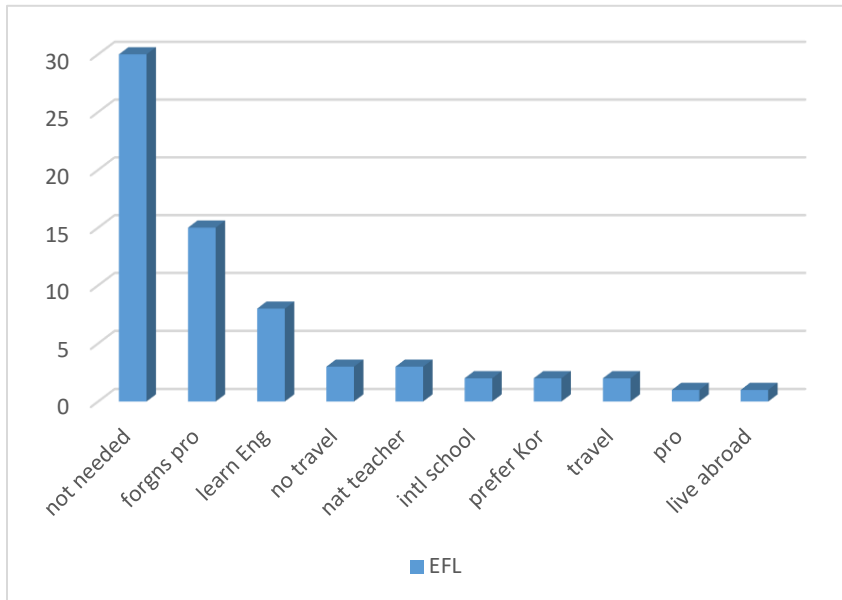
This student begins with an EFL indexical configuration of English as an invading force that ‘destroys other languages’ through ‘westernization’. Then they mention that children who start learning English early cannot learn Korean properly, which means English is a big part of the lives of Korean children, which is an index for EGL. Finally, this paragraphs shows the EFL indexical configuration of ‘English is good for travel’.

I think English in the world is good thing. Nowadays many country use English as an official language. Many nations as well as Korea speak English in daily life. So if we travel nations that English is not mother tongue, we don`t experience inconvenience in communication. For example, When I have traveled China Shanghai, I communicate with many chinese by speaking English. And we watch American drama and Hollywood movie in emergency. When we watch American drama and Hollywood movie Suddenly English subtitle is disappeared, We can still watch without embarrassment because we can listen English. So I think English in the world is very good thing (Ajou U, Eng 1, male).

The student begins by stating ‘English is convenient for travel’ because you can travel to other countries like China without having to learn Chinese (EFL), but then they mention watching English ‘American drama’ and ‘Hollywood movie’, which likely means they are watching these in Korea (EGL).

There were many indexical configurations of EFL in the name surveys. The most common three were ‘not needed’ (an English name is not needed for living in Korea) ‘forgns pro’ (it is easy for forgeiners to pronounce), and ‘learn Eng’ (it is useful for learning English). These were followed by ‘no travel’ (I have had no chance to travel), ‘nat teacher’ (for native speaker teacher), ‘intl school’ (for international school), ‘prefer Kor’ (I prefer Korean name), ‘travel’ (for travel), ‘pro’ (for pronunciation), ‘live abroad’ (for living abroad) (see figure 20 below).

Figure 20, EFL in name surveys



The following entry shows how English names are good for going abroad but not needed for living in Korea, which is an indexical configuration of EFL.

Q: What do you think of Koreans having English names?

A: I think that is great. However if they only live in Korea, I think they don't need to have an English name (Ajou U, 2014, Name survey).

The next entry reveals the language ideology that 'English foreigners cannot pronounce/remember Korean names', which is configured under EFL.

Q: What do you think of Koreans having English names?

A: Having English name is good! Because then foreigners are easy to call name (Ajou U, 2014, Name survey)!

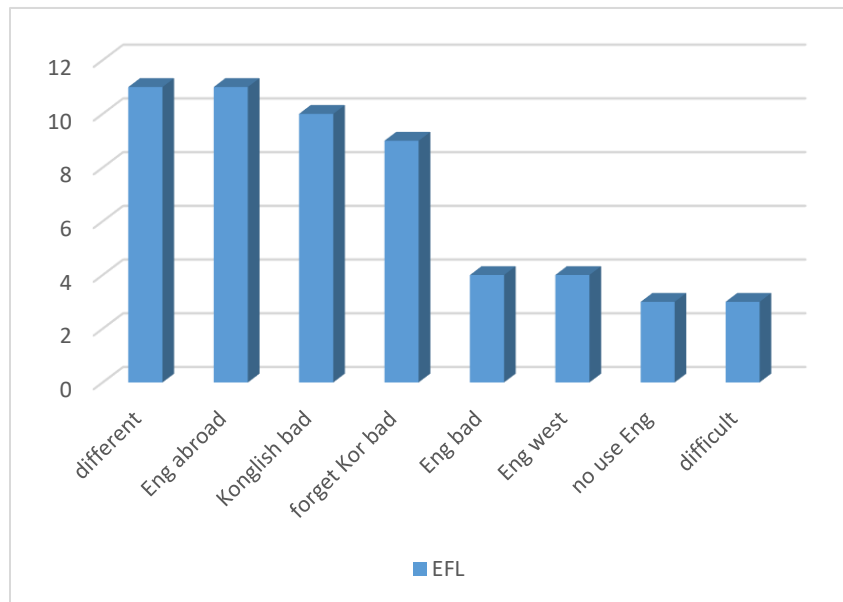
The next entry shows an indexical configuration of EFL 'to learn English'.

Q: What do you think of Koreans having English names?

A: It is good to have English name. It helps people speak English more (Ajou U, 2014, Name survey).

There were numerous indexical configurations of EFL in the interviews. The most common were ‘different’ (English is different), followed by ‘Eng abroad’ (English is for studying/travelling abroad), ‘Konglish bad’ (Konglish is bad) and ‘forget Kor bad’ (forgetting Korean is bad). Others include ‘Eng bad’ (using English is bad), ‘Eng west’ (English is western culture), ‘no use Eng’ (we should not use English), and ‘difficult’ (English is difficult) (see figure 21 below).

Figure 21, EFL in interviews



Many times students would say that English and Korean are different, but this segment beautifully shows how they are different in both language and culture.

Honesty there's a little difference between Korean and guys and other guys
 Who studied abroad in other countries
 They think different, because
 Like being friends, it's really different
 Friends in America, Friends in Korea is very different
 In America, if you are friends
 We do not really talk about our deep inside
 Like we keep it in
 Like we just wear a mask

And do not really talk about it
We just hang out, and that's fun, that's it
And in Korea we often, there's more skinship
In Korea more than in America
Cause in Korea there's a term called 'jeong' (Ajou U, 2016, PG).

Here the student explains some differences between Americans and Koreans in terms of friendship using a Konglish word 'skinship' and a Korean word 'jeong'. 'Skinship' is a combination of 'skin' and the suffix '-ship' which means 'touching a lot among friends'. 'Jeong' was already explained in the section 'Resistance to translanguaging'.

Interestingly he uses the pronoun 'we' to describe both American and Koreans. The next entry shows an indexical configuration of EFL 'English is for studying/travelling abroad'.

B

취직하면 영어 쓸거예요?

When you find a job, will you use English at the job?

CI

만약에 한국에서 취업하면 사실 영어 많이 안쓸거한테

If I work in Korea I won't use English

만약에 해외취업하면 기본 적으로 쓸거 ...

but if I work abroad ... (Ajou U, 2016, CL).

Here you can see that English is seen as being only useful for working abroad, not in Korea, which indexes EFL. The next entry shows the index of 'forgetting Korean is bad'

한국에서 영어를 쉽게 접할 수 있다는 것에 대해 좋게 생각을 하고

If you know a lot of English in Korea, it's good.

왜냐하면 그걸 통해 사람들이 영어에 흥미를 느끼게 되니까 좋다고
생각해요.

Because there is more interest in English

하지만 그것 때문에 한국어의 지위가 낮아지거나 한국어를
까먹는다고 생각하지 않아요.

But if you forget Korean it's not good but I don't think we forget Korean
because of English

아까 말했던 것 처럼 우리는 이미 한국말을 잘하고 있고...

As I said before, we have to speak Korean. We have to know Korean
(Ajou U, 2016, YM).

The previous segment is about not forgetting Korean language; the following segment is
about not forgetting Korean culture.

특히 외국에 가서 적응을 잘한 친구가 있고 못한 친구가 있는데

At first my good friend went abroad to learn English

적응을 잘한 친구는 확실히 영어실력이 향상돼서 발음이나 말하기도
잘하지만, 특히 자신감이 엄청 많아져서 돌아왔어요

Their pronunciation and speaking got better, especially their confidence,
but

한국에서는 겸손한 문화를 미덕으로 치지만

Korean culture of modesty and virtue

외국에 갔다 오고 나서는 옷도 더우면 바로 나서부터 입고

He came back and his fashion and he forgot little things

문화의 파장 같은 것? 저희 누나도 외국에 2년 동안 다녀왔는데

He changed his culture abroad? For 2 years he went but

놀러갈 때도 평소에는 친구들과 강남을 갔는데 이제는 외국인 친구가
많이 생겨서 이태원을 가고

On weekends he goes to kangnam or itaewon and makes many foreign
friends

패션도 거기에 맞춰서 바뀌고 '마인드'가 바뀌는 것 같아요.

He thinks too much about foreign culture. There his fashion matches,
'mind' also (Ajou U, 2016, DH)

This is a common complaint about and from Korean students who go abroad: when they come back they do not fit in. This indicates that Korean and English language and culture are incompatible and indexes EFL.

The ideology of ‘foreigners cannot pronounce Korean names’ came up a lot in many of my field notes. One of my first students told me that his previous teacher had given all his students English names and asked if I wanted to use them for our class. I said that I would try hard and learn their Korean names. One of the most interesting examples came from a colleague who related a story of one her students’ name.

LD: I had this student introduce herself like, “My name is J.Y. but you can call me by my English name, Genebepe.”

BL: What’s that?

LD: Exactly! That’s what I said. It’s Genevieve! But she said Genebepe!

BL: Wow. The Korean name is easier.

LD: Totally (Oct 1996, Seoul).

Two language ideologies are present here. One is ‘Foreigners cannot pronounce Korean names’ because the student thought that her ‘English’ name would be easier for the foreigner even though it was not English, which reveals the second ideology ‘All foreigners speak English’ which would be configured under EFL.

There is also a language ideology related to the spread of English in the world that ‘learning English is a waste time and money’ or more precisely ‘Koreans should be learning knowledge, not English.’ On one occasion, a colleague entered the office where the ESL professors were having lunch and stated, “Did you hear? KAIST invented a robot that can teach English. They’re calling it the Job Terminator” Most of us didn’t respond until he pointed out that it’s going to kill ESL jobs. I later interviewed my students and they said “Yes. It’s called the English teacher terminator” (see plate below).

Plate 9, ESL teacher terminator



Source: <https://www.semanticscholar.org>

This sentiment was echoed, not by a student, but by a Korean professor at a conference, where he said, “Google has invented a voice translator. Now we will not have to waste so much time learning another language.” This would definitely be configured under EFL.

Another EFL language ideology was ‘being bilingual is good, but being bicultural is bad’. The first time I heard this voiced by a Korean student was 2007 in my office at Ajou University when one of my students who had lived in the UK for a few years talked about his time there. I asked him if he felt weird coming back to Korea but he said “No. My English is good. But I am pure Korean.” And he held up two peace signs. I would configure this under EFL.

Finally, there is an EFL language ideology concerning the Korean writing system: *Hangeul*. As discussed in chapter one, *Hangeul* is a very linguistically elegant system. It is the best I have seen. The language ideology comes into play when almost all of my interviewee-students would tell me “King Sejong invented the Korean language, which is the most scientific alphabet in the world and it can handle any other language’s pronunciation.” I would try to explain how King Sejong did not invent the Korean ‘language’ but the ‘writing system’, and ask them if they knew why it was scientific. None of them knew. They replied that they had just memorized that from a textbook. I would explain how it could not ‘handle’ the pronunciation of all languages, not even English, as it does not have a character for ‘f’ or ‘v’ or for ‘th’ or ‘z’. This would cause

them to be silent and sad and cause me to wonder if I should hold my tongue. The sadness I think is caused by the language ideologies ‘*Hangeul* is scientific’ and ‘English is not’ which would be configured under EFL. I later found out from a colleague’s wife that Korean students have to memorize a paragraph written by dictator Park Chung-Hee in a textbook that states, “Koreans are always kind to foreigners. Korea is the only country with four distinct seasons. *Hangeul* is the most scientific writing system, etc.” I never saw the textbook personally, but my older students told me that they too had to memorize it, but it is not in the newer textbooks. The ideologies still remain in the collective Korean mind as can be heard in the interviews and seen in this ‘visit Korea’ ad:

Plate 10, Korea has four distinct seasons



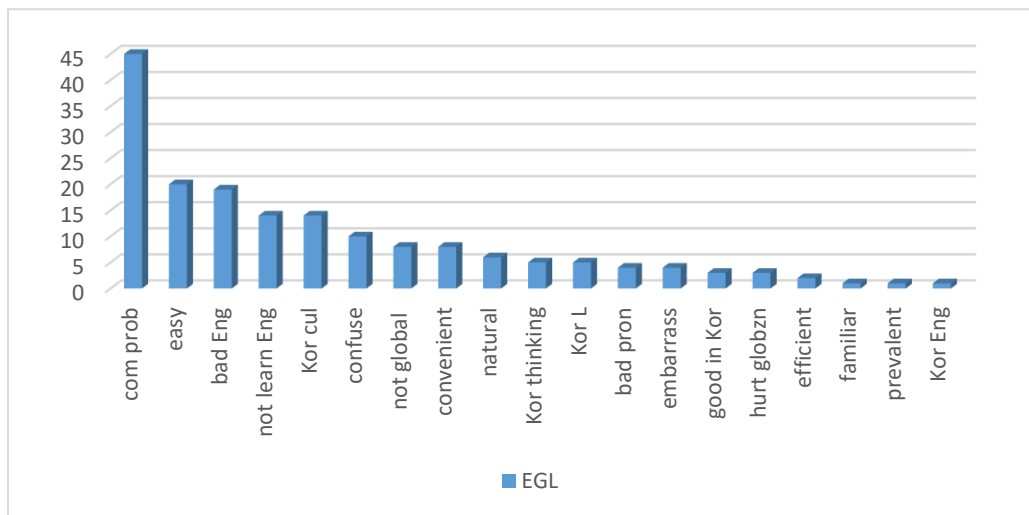
Sources: <http://askakorean.blogspot.ca/2011/10/four-distinct-seasons-only-in-korea.html>

5.2 EGL indexical configurations

There were numerous indexical configurations of EGL in the first homework assignment, “What is your opinion of *Konglish*?” The most common one was ‘com prob’ (*Konglish* causes communication problems), followed by ‘easy’ (*Konglish* is easy), ‘bad English’ (it’s bad English), ‘not learn Eng’ (it’s not learning English), ‘Kor cul’ (it’s Korean culture) and ‘confuse’ (it causes confusion). Others include ‘not global’ (it’s not a global language), ‘convenient’ (it’s convenient), ‘natural’ (it’s natural), ‘Kor thinking’ (it’s Korean thinking), ‘Kor L’ (it’s part of Korean language), ‘bad pron’ (it’s bad pronunciation), ‘embarrass’ (it’s embarrassing), ‘good in Kor’ (it’s good in Korea), ‘hurt

globzn' (it hurt globalzation), 'efficient' (it's efficient) 'familiar' (it's familiar), 'prevalent' (it's prevalent), and 'Kor Eng' (it's Korean English).

Figure 22, EGL in 'What is your opinion of Konglish?'



The following paragraph demonstrates how many Korean students think Konglish is bad because it causes communication problems, which means it is not internationally understandable, which is an indexical configuration of EGL.

Konglish is not good for Korean. Recently, many people who live in Korea are using *Konglish*. But it is not good for Korean. Because Korean is going to lose faith when they are in conversation with foreigner. If conversation is in business, using *Konglish* will be more dangerous. And *Konglish* is not good for education of speaking for children. They may be not able to know correct words forever. On the other hand, we can say that Korea has interesting culture, but when tourists come to Korea from other country, they can confuse because of *Konglish*. Thus, I think that *Konglish* is not good (Ajou U, Eng 1, no name).

The next paragraph mentions how 'Konglish is easy' as well as some beautiful examples of how it is 'familiar' and 'convenient'.

I like Konglish, that It is friendly feeling. Sometimes Konglish, mixed Korean word and English word, can be accurately represented more than only Korean word or English word. For example, '원룸(one-room)', that it means bed-sitting room. And It may be just me, but Konglish is simple and easy to remember. In addition, the farfetched mixing of words has a sense of humor. So I love Konglish because of Its own uniqueness and charm (Ajou U, Eng 1, male).

The next paragraphs exemplifies how '*Konglish* is bad English' as it is 'mixing' it has 'another meaning' which is 'strange' and the student recognizes that *Konglish* glocalized as it was 'time consuming' to explain the meaning of *Konglish* words.

In my own opinion, I think Konglish is not good because it is not helpful for students to communicate internationally. Thus, Students should avoid using Konglish. Commonly, Konglish is made by mixing Korean words and English words, but it has another meaning. For example, there are "Morning call" (wake up call), "Salary man" (salaried worker), "Eye shopping" (window shopping). The meanings of individual words are correct in English, but the combinational meanings are strange. When I traveled abroad, I realized that most of the people in other countries don't know the exact meaning, and I had to briefly explain the expression. It was time consuming. After that, I have been trying to avoid Konglish, but It is very difficult because of an old custom. Conclusively, I think that we have to use English (not Konglish) as the proverb "When in Rome, do as the Romans do" (Ajou U, Eng 1, no name).

Finally, the next paragraph shows how *Konglish* can be connected to Japan and colonization.

I think Konglish is one of the bad phenomenon in Korea. Because usually Konglish is vestiges of Japanese imperialism. That's Why we need to remove Konglish. 80 years ago, we were dominated by Japan during World War II. They plundered our country and wanted to teach their

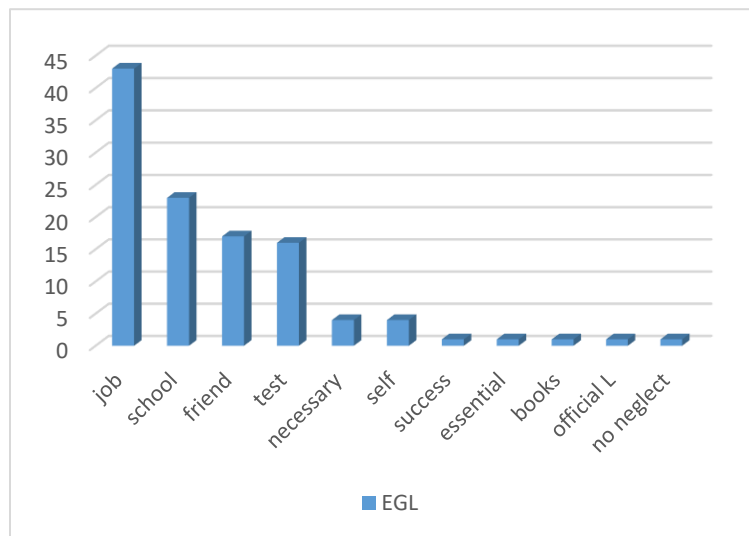
culture and language. But the problem was they did not only teach Japanese but also teach wrong English. Konglish originated from Japanese's wrong English. For example, 뽀스 (pantie), 오무라이스 (omelet) are Japanese' wrong pronunciation and 아파트 (apartment), 텔레비 (television), 뺏다 (bat), 모타 (motor), 깡통 (can) are also kinds of wrong pronunciation. Nowadays, we are not anymore their colony. I think therefore we have to eliminate Japanese remnants by our self. And The most important fact is Konglish sometime prevent your English pronouncing skill. We can pronounce English well because Our oral organ systems are not that bad. Therefore we don't have to mispronounce like Japanese (Ajou U, Eng 1, male).

The student has chosen some interesting words. The first example they wrote '뽀스' in Hangeul, which is pronounced 'bbanseu' but they wrote 'pantie' in English, which is *Konglish* for 'underwear' (in English, 'panties' are for women and 'underwear' is for all sexes). Only a few of my older 'salarymen' students ever used the words 'bbanseu' and all of my university students used the word 'pantie' so this vestige of Japanese vestment has been eliminated. The second example '오무라이스' is pronounced 'omuraiseu' and is a combination of 'omelet' and 'rice' and is still being commonly used and eaten. The third example '아파트' is pronounced 'apateu' but it is not exactly from Japanese, as they pronounce it 'apato'. The examples '텔레비, 뺏다' and '깡통' pronounce 'telebi, batta' and 'ggangtong' are likely from Japan and are being replaced by the words 'tibi' (TV), 'bateu' (bat) and 'kaen' (can). The student has the language ideology 'Japan / Japanese is bad' as well as the language ideology 'pronunciation is due to the physical structure of the mouth' in his statement "Our oral organ systems are not that bad."

The second homework, "Why I study English" had many indexical configurations of EGL. The most common was 'job' (to get a job) followed by 'school' (for school), 'friend' (for making friends) and 'test' (for tests). Others included 'necessary' (it is necessary), 'self' (for my self), 'success' (for success), 'essential' (it is essential), 'books'

(for reading books), ‘official L’ (it is an official/world language) and ‘no neglect’ (so I do not neglect anything) (see figure 23).

Figure 23, EGL in 'Why do you study English?'



By far the most common reason for studying English was ‘to get a job’. However, the students usually did not say where they are looking for a job. You can assume that they are looking for jobs in Korea then studying English is an EGL indexical configuration. One student specified where.

The reason why I study English is very simple. English is an international language. In 21st Century, lots of people in many country using English. Many global conferences, treatises and information are made by English. A lot of multinational corporations like AIG, Sony, BMW, Samsung required a high English skill to their workers. So the learning English extend my range of knowledge and give a job that I want to have. That is why I study English (Ajou U, Eng 1, M/F).

This student specifically states that they are hoping to work for a multinational corporation such as ‘AIG, Sony, BMW, Samsung’ all of which have offices in Korea, i.e. configured under EGL. The second most common reason was ‘for school’ which usually involves reading English books and articles for courses. Here the students is more specific.

Doing English well is very attractive. It is very useful in communicating to foreigner. We will accept easily many information which don't get in Korea to this communicating. And, it is helping me to feel instinctively literatures, movies... etc. Many literatures, movies (especially movies) made by English. But, many Korean don't read English (and hate English). So they are translated by Korean. In this process, they lose their feeling that feel from word selecting... etc. I love to read books and see movies. So I feel them in the raw. In this reasons, I want to do well English (Ajou U, Eng 1, male).

This student voices a common language ideology 'Korean translations are bad' or inferior to the English originals as seen in "...they are translated by Korean. In this process, they lose their feeling that feel from word selecting". This was a common complaint from my students at Ajou University as well as my colleagues at Seoul National University and will be dealt with in more detail in the section 'EGL in field notes'. Next, there is an argument that tests like TOEIC and TOEFL are made by foreign companies so they should index EFL, but consider the following paragraph:

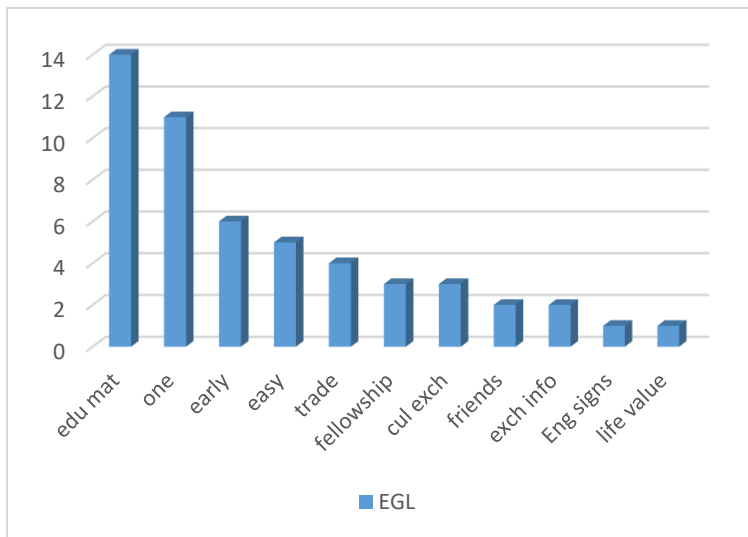
English is a subject that is tested in many exams such as the college entrance exam, employment examination, and other numerous tests in our society. Therefore, I have to study English. English is one of the most significant elements that evaluate one's business capacity. Thus, most Korean companies seek employees who are proficient in English. For such reasons, good English skills are absolutely necessary in order to live well. So I'll try my best in studying English to be a successful man in my career (Ajou U, Eng 1, male).

This is a good example as to why I consider 'test' to be configured under EGL as the student clearly explains that Korean schools use these tests on Korean students, and Korean companies use them on their potential Korean employees.

The third homework assignment on "What is your opinion of the spread of English in the world?" also had many EGL configurations. The most common were 'edu

mat' (English provides educational materials), followed by 'one' (learning one language is more efficient than learning many) and 'early' (early English learning is bad). Others included 'easy' (English is easy), 'trade' (English is good for trade), 'fellowship' (it enables fellowship), 'cul exch' (it is good for cultural exchange), 'friends' (for making friends), 'exch info' (for exchanging information), 'Eng signs' (there are many English signs in the world) and 'life value' (to improve your life value).

Figure 24, EGL in 'What is your opinion of the spread of English?'



The first paragraph clearly states that 'English provides educational materials'. The student is quite positive, and others were neutral or negative, but all index EGL.

English as a global language, gives us generous education opportunities. We can share new expertise, because the majority of the papers is in English. In English-speaking countries, we can receive a good class that own country can not give. We can exchange various opinions by people who have experienced different cultures. English helps people to have an eagerness to learn regardless of country (Ajou U, Eng 1, M/F).

The next paragraph shows an example of the efficiency of having a worldwide language.

It is many advantages that English has spread throughout the world. English can tie the world to the one. So, we can share the culture, custom

and ideas. English can also make united terms. For example, technical terms, legal terms and chemistry terms can be integrated. In addition, we don't have to study for many languages. It is convenient that we would study only one language. In summary, the prevalence of English in the world is useful for us (Ajou U, Eng 1, M/F).

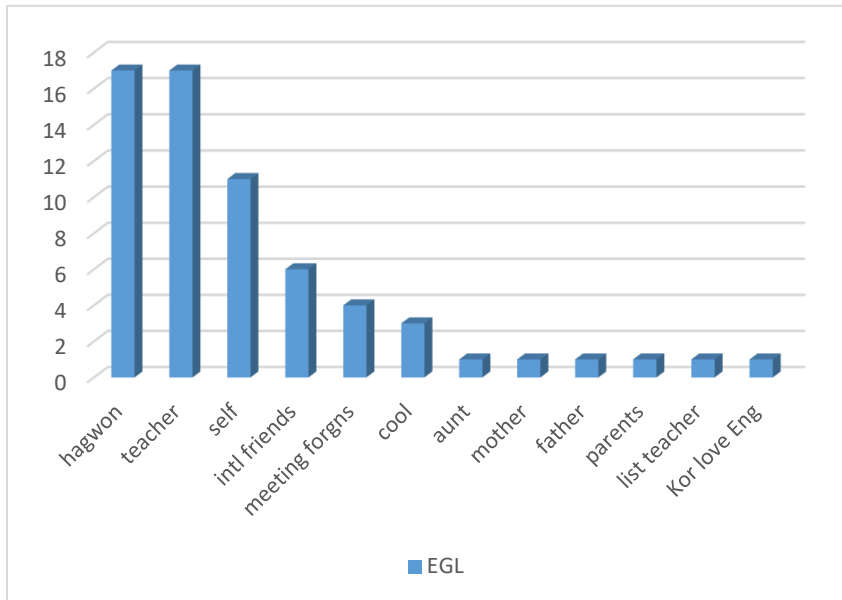
This idea that learning 'one' language is more efficient could be configured under a foreign, invading EFL force, but I would argue like English can 'make united/integrated terms' for all fields of knowledge, and English gives a chance to 'share the culture, custom and ideas' is leaning towards an inviting ideology of EGL than an invading one of EFL. The notion of early study abroad was quite negative as can be seen in the following paragraph.

I think English is bad thing. English has become the standard for evaluating the ability of a person. Parents teach English to children early. People can neglect their native language. So, I think English bad thing (Ajou U, Eng 1, male).

Even though the students thinks that the spread of English is bad, it is the parent who teaches English to children at an early age, which indexes that English is deeply ingrained in the fabric of the lives of Korean parents and children, i.e. EGL.

There were numerous indexical configurations of EGL in the name surveys, the most common being the reasons for taking an English name: 'hagwon', 'teacher' and 'self'.

Figure 25, EGL in name surveys



The following entries show how a *hagwons* (‘academies’) and teachers chose English names for no apparent reason. The *hagwon* teachers choosing the names is configured under EGL as a Korean teacher chooses an English name for a Korean student in a Korean *hagwon*, but the reasons could be configured under EFL as there seems to be no reasons for the choice.

Q: Why do you have an English name?

A: In an English academy. Teachers called me “steve”

Q: Who chose your name and why did you/they choose it?

A: Academy teacher. I don’t know why (Ajou U, 2014, Name survey).

Q: Why do you have an English name?

A: I went to English academy at 10-year-year old and made my English name.

Q: Why chose your name and why did you/they choose it?

A: I chose one on a list (Ajou U, 2014, Name survey).

The next entry shows how the choice was done by the student themselves, which indexes EGL.

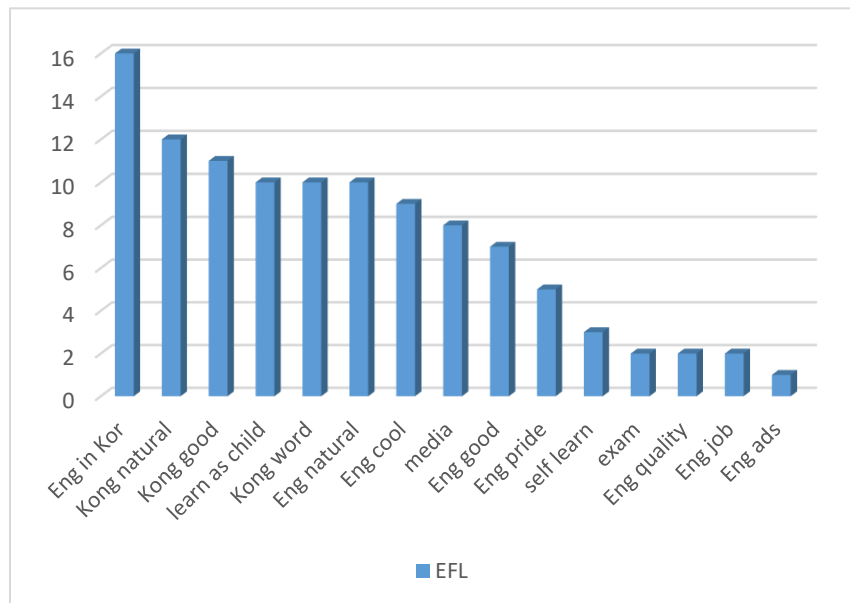
Q: Who chose your name and why did you/they choose it?

A: I've been looking forward to being nurse, getting my future goal.

Nicole have meaning that I will win. So, I choose it (Ajou U, 2014, Name survey).

There were many indexes of EGL in the interviews, the most common being 'Eng in Kor' (English is everywhere in Korea) followed by 'Kong natural' (*Konglish* is natural) and 'Kong good' ('Konglish is good'). Others included 'learn as child' (we learned English as a child), 'Kong word' (there are many *Konglish* words), 'Eng natural' (we speak English naturally), 'Eng cool' (English is cool), 'media' (English is in the media), 'Eng good' (English is good), 'Eng pride' (they became proud because of their English), 'self learn' (I do self-study / I get self confidence) 'exam' (we study English for exams), 'Eng quality' (English is associated with high quality), 'Eng job' (we need English to get a job), 'Eng ads' (there is a lot of English in ads).

Figure 26, EGL in interviews



The first entry shows that English is embedded in Korea both in daily life, which has a positive connotation, and in school life, which has a negative one.

어렸을 때는 말하는 것을 좋아했는데

When I was a child I really liked

외국인이랑 만났을 때 대화하는 것도 되게 좋아하고

when I met a foreigner I was really happy to talk

그런데 이제 고등학교에 올라가게 되면서 외국인과 말을 할 기회가 별로
없어지니까

But when I went to high school there was no chance to speak

공부만하고 이제...

Only study (Ajou U, 2016, SH).

The next segment shows how English and Konglish are natural in the unconscious lives of Koreans.

English and konglish are so ‘common (English)’

이상하다는 느낌은 전혀 못 받아요.

I get no strange feeling

저도 그렇게 쓰고 있고, 자연스럽게

I use it too, naturally

콩글리시인줄도 모르고 쓰고 있어요.

I don't even know it's Konglish (Ajou U, 2016, HY).

The following excerpt shows the extent that learning English as a child has both negative and positive effects.

저 같은 경우에는 엄마가 ‘컴플렉스’를 가지고 계셔서 어렸을

때부터 저에게 영어를 가르쳐주려고 하셨는데

In my case too, my mom made me study English since I was a child and
she had a ‘complex’

저를 학원에 보내진 않고 영어 동화를 많이 읽어 주셨어요. 그러다

보니 영어에 대한 흥미가 생겨서 ‘팝송’이나 미국 ‘드라마’를

I didn't go to institutes and my mother read a lot of English books to me so

I became interested in ‘pop song’ or American ‘drama’.

보면서 스스로 공부를 했던 ‘케이스’예요. 그러다가 영문 쪽에
관심이 생겨서 영문을 복수전공으로 선택하게 되었어요.

It’s my own self-study ‘case’. My interest in English literature went up.
사실 말씀하신 것처럼 왜 영어를 안쓰는데 ‘토익’을 하라고 하는지
잘 모르겠어요.

Like you said, I really wonder why people, even though they don’t use
English, continue to value ‘TOEIC’ (Ajou U, 2016, CL EG).

The student begins by describing the ‘English fever’ rampant in Korea by mentioning her mother had a ‘complex’. This *Konglish* word connotes mothers who are worried about the children’s future, education, and career, who commonly force English on their children by sending them to English *hagwons* (private institutes), doing English *kumon* (paper booklets for self-study), and sometimes doing surgery on their children’s tongues in the false hopes that it will help their English ‘r’ pronunciation. Like ‘English fever’ it reveals a very negative part of EGL: putting so much pressure on studying English that it becomes a disease. Then, in an about face, she states that she did not have to go to *hagwons* (English institutes) but her mother read to her, in English. In my experience this is not common; and in my opinion, it is rather beautiful. This reveals a more positive part of EGL. In the same sentence she uses two *Konglish* words: *pop song* and *drama*. *Pop song* means ‘American pop music’, which includes hip hop and rap music available on Korean radio or the internet, and *drama* means ‘daytime TV drama’ available on Korean cable TV or on demand TV. Then she uses an English borrowing ‘case’ with a small phonetic change from one to two syllables, followed by a statement that she became more interested in English literature, which is available in Korean bookstores, websites and libraries. This could be configured under EFL in the sense of learning an exotic culture, travelling abroad, etc. or it could be configured under EGL in that English books are available in literally all Korean bookstores, websites and libraries. The final statement ‘they don’t use English’ is configured under EFL, but the following phrase ‘continue to value TOEIC’ is under EGL in that English is a marker of success and a tool for promotion in Korea.

The next excerpt shows how English is embedded in not only the school life of Korea, but in the work life as well.

한국에서는어떤 회사에 들어가던 좋아하는 일을 하고 싶어도

In Korea if you go to a company no matter what job you like

영어를 어느정도 해야한다는 ‘컷라인’ 도 있고

There is also a ‘cutline’ of how much English you have to know

여기 학교에서도 역시. 외국에서 공부하고 싶어도

In schools too. If you want to study abroad too

토익이나 토플에 ‘컷라인’ 이 있어서

In TOEIC TOEFL there is a ‘cut line’

어쩔 수 없이 잘 해야해요

You have no choice you have to do well (Ajou U, 2016, HY).

Here the student explains that there is a certain level of English is required in school and in work in Korea (EGL), not only abroad (EFL). They repeatedly use the *Konglish* word *cut line*, which means ‘cut off line’ in English: the line that indicates which test takers pass or fail. This is commonly used for TOEIC, TOEFL and university entrance scores where a university or company requires a certain score to be admitted or hired. For example UWO requires “minimum score required on the TOEFL is 550 on the paper-based with a 5 on the TWE”

(http://welcome.uwo.ca/admissions/admission_requirements/english_language_proficiency.html). Thus Western’s ‘cut line’ would be 550 on TOEFL, 5 on the TWE.

A common EGL indexical configuration was wanting to ‘learn English language, not English culture’. I had a conversation with a *hagwon* director visiting Ajou from Vancouver who told me that his company had done a survey that showed Korean mothers want their children to learn English but not western culture. This would be configured under EFL, but I was surprised a few years later when I interviewed Ajou students.

BL: What are some differences between Eastern and Western countries?

S: Korean student American student no difference (2007, Ajou U).

I thought there were still many differences but this would be configured under EGL.

A common complaint from my students at Ajou University as well as my colleagues at Seoul National University was ‘Korean translations are bad’... who would often cite mistakes in the Korean translations during their presentations in MA/PhD courses. The search for ‘information’ in English could be configured under EFL as students are reaching to the outside world to gain knowledge and information unavailable to them in Korean; however; ultimately they are searching for that information in order to have success in a Korean program in a Korean university course, so it is EGL.

Finally, there is my interview with a male and a female student with two very different EGL indexes about English. After sharing a *pajeon*, a few cups of *makkeolli* and some good conversation in Korean and English.

BL: Why do Koreans sometimes use English in daily conversation?”

KB: The boy said, “Korean *ajumas* are crazy about English. What’s it called? English fever? They send their children to *hagwons* and make them do *kwahwei* (private lessons) so that they can get a good job. There’s a lot of competition in Korea. It’s all to get a good job.”

BL: What do you think?

JY: I think English is a kind of fashion. It’s different. It’s new. English is cool (Ajou U, summer 2009).

The first index is about numerous types of English learning in Korea, so it would be EGL. As for the second one, obviously speaking English to be ‘cool’ can only be configured under EGL.

5.3 Unconfigurables

Not all data collected fits into tidy little categories designed by the researcher. This section will address statements that can neither be categorized as indexical configurations of EFL nor EGL.

The first homework assignment ‘What is your opinion of Konglish’ had certain paragraphs that were difficult or impossible to categorize. For example:

Konglish is break no square. But hard change in quality is not all that. Some Konglish is easy we life. Because we native speaker equally do not say. Therefore Korean easy speak in behalf of a little Korean seem speak need. For that reason Konglish is ought not to run out (Ajou U, Eng 1, male).

This is a beautiful example of how *Konglish* can be full sentences, or even a full paragraph. According to Reid (2000) an English paragraph should have the opinion in the first sentence with proofs to follow. This student begins with perhaps a translation of a Korean idiom ‘square peg in a round hole’ or perhaps their own ideas, which in either case offers no opinion. It is followed by beautiful, but somewhat incomprehensible positive attitude “Konglish is easy...” and perhaps a recognition that it is not English “native speaker equally do not say”. Finally, we see perhaps a positive attitude “Konglish is ought not to run out”. The paragraph is (perhaps) a beautiful example of Kaplan’s (1966) circular, Oriental thought, i.e. *Konglish* can be discourse.

The second homework, ‘Why do you study English’ also had unconfigurable paragraphs. For example:

... First, In Korea, English Test (TOEIC, TOEFL...) is powerful means assessing English ability. So, many companies need employees having high English test score. And English ability is very important capacity in Korea companies as well as in oversea companies. This is the opportunity to go work abroad. If I enter a company. I will have a lot of chance that work abroad and achieve high position in company...If we study English hard, we will get a great job and gain our own experience that provides a wider perspective on the problem. So, who ask me “why you study English”, I reply “because of my future” (Ajou U, Eng 1, male).

In this case it is not so clear whether the student is hoping to ‘work abroad’ configured under EFL, or ‘achieve high position in company’ configured under EGL, assuming it is a Korean company. Though it is not 100% clear every time I would argue that studying English for a ‘test’ should be configured under EGL because these tests are given by Korean schools and companies to Korean students for success in Korea, or it could be both simultaneously.

The third homework, ‘What is your opinion of the spread of English?’ also had unconfigurables. For example:

In my opinion, I think the expansion of English throughout the world is good thing. Today, We are living in the era of globalization. As a result, people can enjoy traveling many countries for highly-advanced traffic communication. So, many cultures that mixed various country's cultures are appearing. Thanks to this expansion of English, Communications between countries and groups are getting more easy in the world. For example, When we go on a trip to Japan, We can communicate Japanese for using English. Thus, many people can communicate each other due to English. In addition, Expansion of English can easily accept other cultures. On the other hand, Using English can promote Korean traditions to other countries. Therefore, Extension of English in the world is good thing (Ajou U, Eng 1, female).

In this paragraph the student is clearly positive about the spread of English but the reasons are not clearly EFL or EGL. The statement ‘many cultures that mixed various country's cultures are appearing’ indexes EGL, but then ‘When we go on a trip to Japan, We can communicate Japanese for using English’ is an EFL index, and ‘Using English can promote Korean traditions to other countries’ is more like Korean as a Globalized Language.

The following entries in the name survey could not be configured under EFL nor under EGL.

Q: What do you think of Koreans having English names?

A: I think who have to need English name and who don't have to don't need English name.

A: If someone needs English name, he or she will have it. So having English names is case by case (Ajou U, 2014, Name survey).

Many entries like this show the ideology of individual freedom with phrases like 'in my case' or 'case by case'.

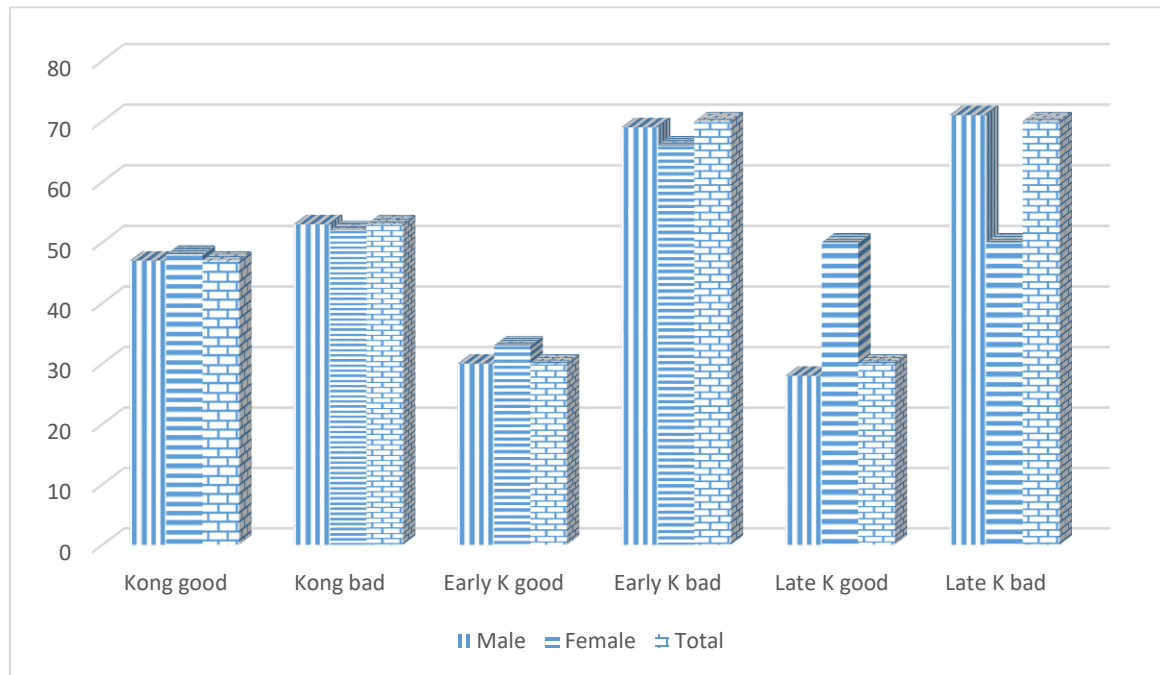
5.4 Conclusions

In conclusion, there are many different ideologies surrounding English and *Konglish* and many indexical configurations of EFL and EGL. This section will look at the quantitative data and conclude which ideology is stronger and what changes are occurring.

Results from first homework assignment on 'What is your opinion of *Konglish*?' revealed a bias for males, a slight dislike for *Konglish*, and a growing likeness for *Konglish* among females. There was a total of 172 males, 90 females and 40 male/female/no name. This result shows the result of Korean's preference for males in either abortion rates (Chun & Das Gupta 2009) or rates of sending them to university. Approximately 47% of the total males think it is good and 53% think it is bad; 48% of the total females think it is good and 52% think it is bad. Thus there is not much difference between males and females, but slightly more students think *Konglish* is bad. An interesting finding about this data, however, is that literally 100% of all examples of *Konglish* given were words, not phrases or sentences. This may be partly due to the way I set up the assignment using words as examples of *Konglish*, but the overwhelming majority of words over phrases and sentences suggests that most Korean students think *Konglish* is vocabulary. An analysis of the change over time shows an increase in females liking *Konglish*. A sample of the first 20 homework paragraphs shows a largely negative attitude toward *Konglish* (70%) equally spread among males (69%) and females (66%). However, a sample of the last 20 shows almost the same negative attitude in males

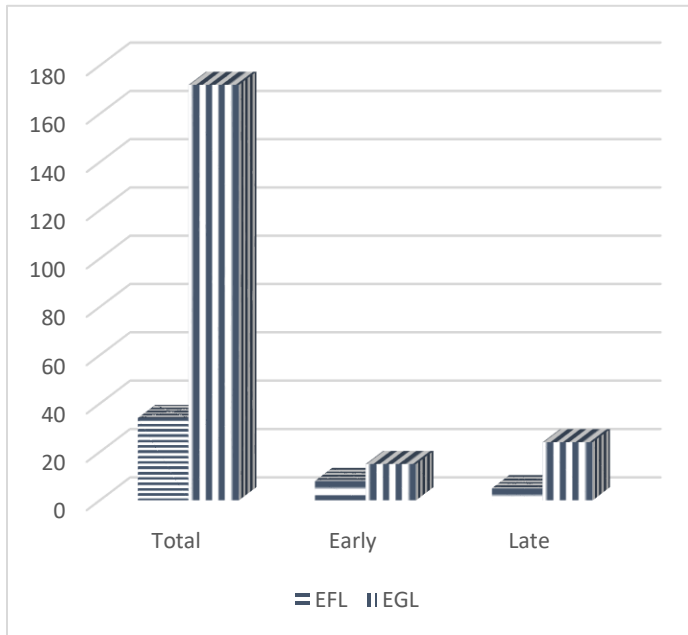
(71%), but females are equally positive/negative (50%). This indicates that like the shifting ideologies about Chiac, female students are shifting their ideology about *Konglish* and are developing a more positive attitude toward it (see figure 27 below).

Figure 27, Konglish attitudes



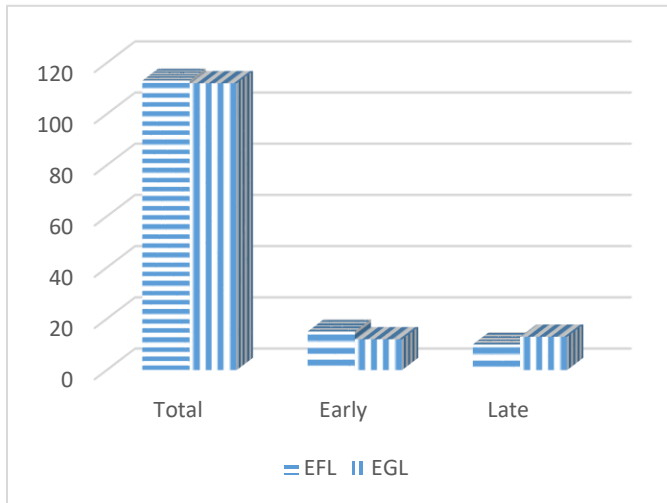
An analysis of the reasons as to why *Konglish* is good or bad revealed a growing majority of EGL configurations. There was an overwhelming majority of EGL configurations in the totals: EFL at 34; EGL at 172. There was a change over time with the early configurations slightly favoring EGL (8 vs 15), and the late configurations heavily favoring EGL (5 vs 24). This would indicate that Koreans are shifting their ideology and increasingly viewing English as a more familiar, glocalized part of Korean society (see figure 28 below).

Figure 28, Konglish EFL / EGL



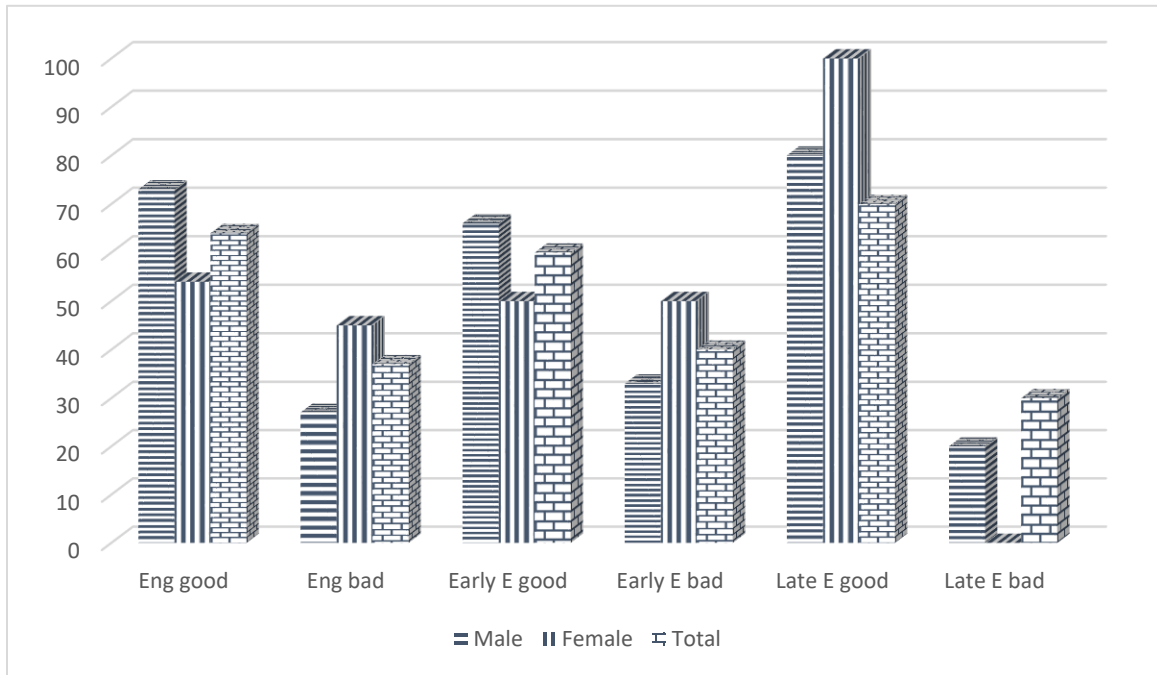
The second homework assignment on ‘Why do you study English?’ revealed almost an exactly even split between configurations of EFL and EGL. However, the analysis over time shows an increase in EGL configurations. The first 10 show a slight majority in EFL configurations and the last ten show a slight majority in EGL configurations. This would indicate that Koreans are shifting their ideology and increasingly feeling that English is becoming more common, familiar, domestic language in Korea (see figure 29 below).

Figure 29, Why study English EFL / EGL



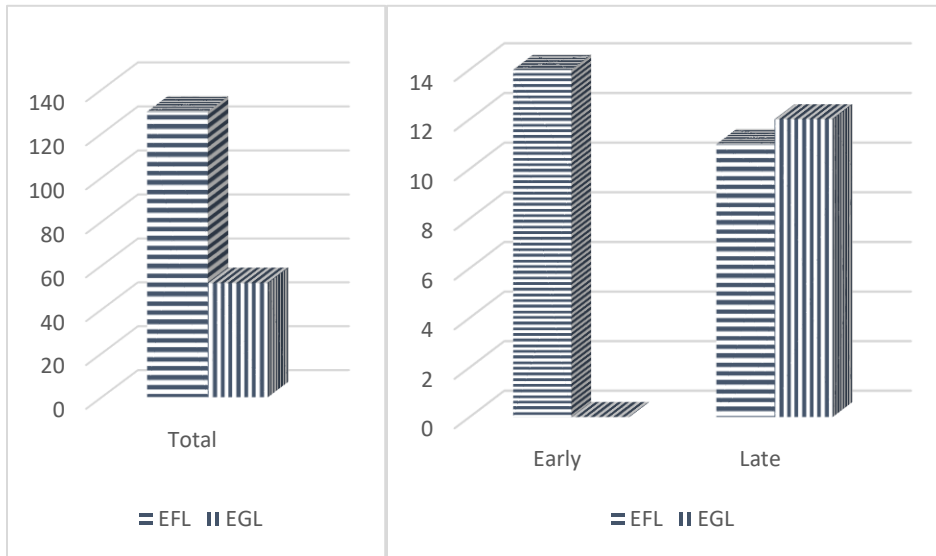
The third homework assignment on “What is your opinion of the spread of English in the world?” showed a drastic change over time in the attitude toward English. Overall, there were more male students who liked the spread of at 73% good vs. 27% bad, whereas the females were about equal at 54% good vs. 45% bad. When we compare the first ten and the last ten entries we can see a drastic difference. The first ten females were the same as the overall calculation, around 50-50, but the last ten show a stark difference: 100% of the females were ‘good’ with 0% ‘bad’. This indicates that there is a rising positive feeling about the spread of English around the world among female Korean students and a major shift in ideology about English from that of being a negative, foreign force to a positive, local one (see figure 30 below).

Figure 30, English in the world attitude



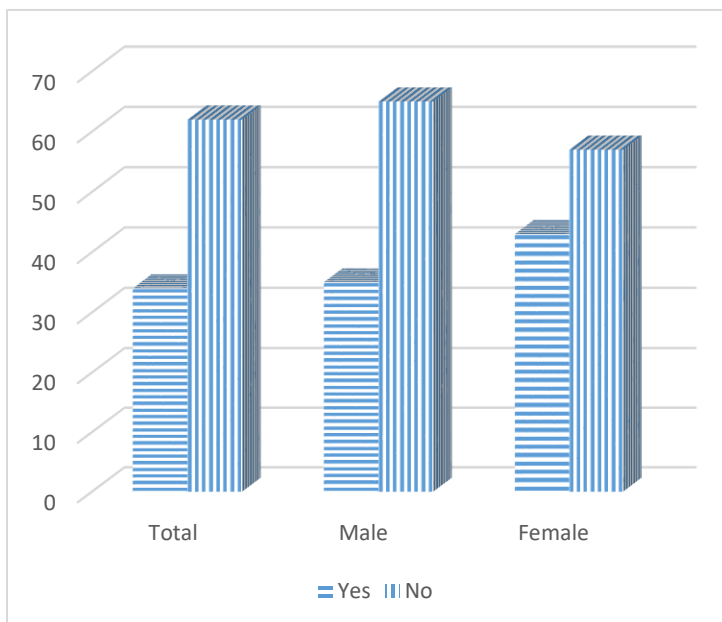
An analysis of the reasons shows the same drastic change. Overall, student responses to the spread of English around the world were configured under EFL (130) not EGL (52) and when we compare the first ten and the last ten entries, we see another drastic contrast in that the first ten are all configurations of EFL and the last ten are an almost equal mix of EFL and EGL. This would indicate that students are shifting their ideologies and seeing English as becoming more familiar, domestic and glocalized (see figure 31 below).

Figure 31, English in the world reasons EFL / EGL



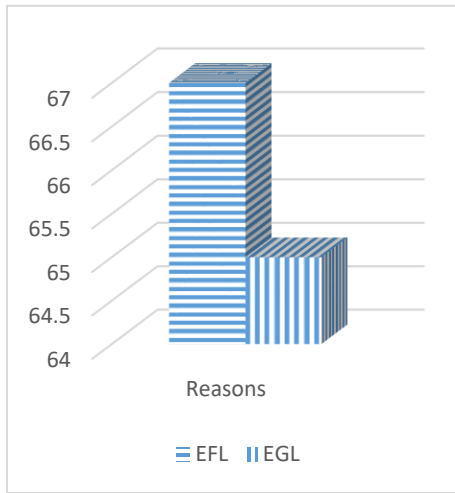
The surveys on ‘Taking an English Name’ revealed a large majority of EFL configurations. There was a slight difference between males and females to the question “Do you have an English name?” as most students did not take English names, but more females (43%) took English names than males (35%). This may indicate that female students are more leaning toward the ideology of EGL (see figure 32 below).

Figure 32, Do you have an English name?



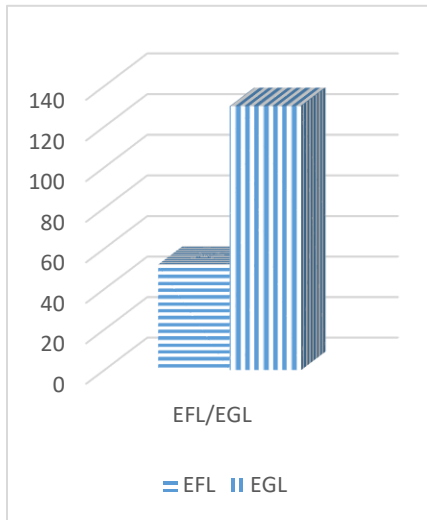
The reasons for taking an English name or not resulted in a large majority of EFL configurations. Most Korean students did not take an English name (EFL) because they feel it is not needed (EFL), but if it is needed it is mostly for the Korean education system (EGL) or sometimes for foreigners to pronounce (EFL), which resulted in a large majority of EFL configurations (see figure 33 below).

Figure 33, English name survey EFL / EGL



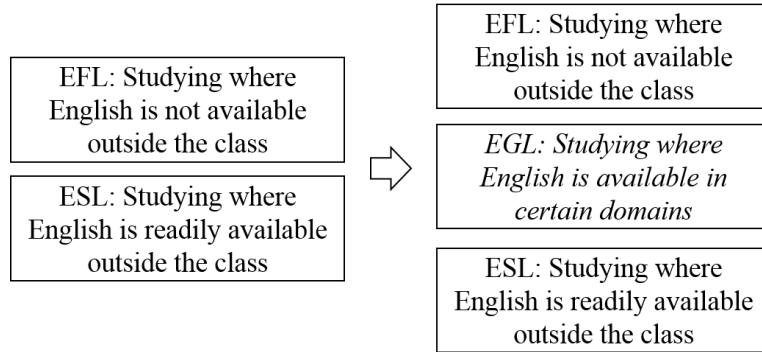
The analysis of student interviews resulted in a majority of EGL configurations. Indexical configurations of EFL totalled 52; EGL totalled 130. This would indicate that in naturally occurring conversation, English is seen as a familiar, domestic language (see figure 34 below).

Figure 34, Student interviews EFL / EGL



In sum, analysis of my students homework reveals a growing positive attitude toward *Konglish* and a growing majority of indexical configurations of English as a Glocalized Language not as a Foreign Language. This growing positive attitude is reminiscent of the growing prestige of Chiac. However, for ideologies surrounding the taking of English names this is not case, as there was a majority of EFL configurations. This indexes the language ideology of ‘language is separate from culture’ in that they want to speak the English language, but not be seen as part of English culture by taking an English name. In student interviews there was a strong majority of EGL configurations. Thus in Korean university life at least, ideologies about English are changing from it being a strange, foreign language to that of a familiar, domestic language. In light of this, I argue that the simple binary ESL (studying English where it is available outside the classroom) and EFL (where it is not available outside the classroom) be expanded to include EGL: Studying English where it is available in certain domains (see figure 35 below).

Figure 35, The emergence of EGL



There are some limitations to these conclusions in that Ajou University is a mid-level university. When I taught at Sogang University, my students had higher levels of English and came from an upper-middle class background. If I had done this kind of text analysis of their homework I predict there would have been more EGL configurations as English would be an even bigger part of their lives. If I had done this kind of research at a ‘countryside’ university there would probably be less EGL configurations as English a smaller part of life in the countryside of Korea, unless the area is a popular spot for MT’s (*membership training* which is *Konglish* for a group vacation of students in the same major) which drastically increases the occurrence of English, especially in signs (Lawrence, 2012). Further research in these universities would be useful for confirming these conclusions.

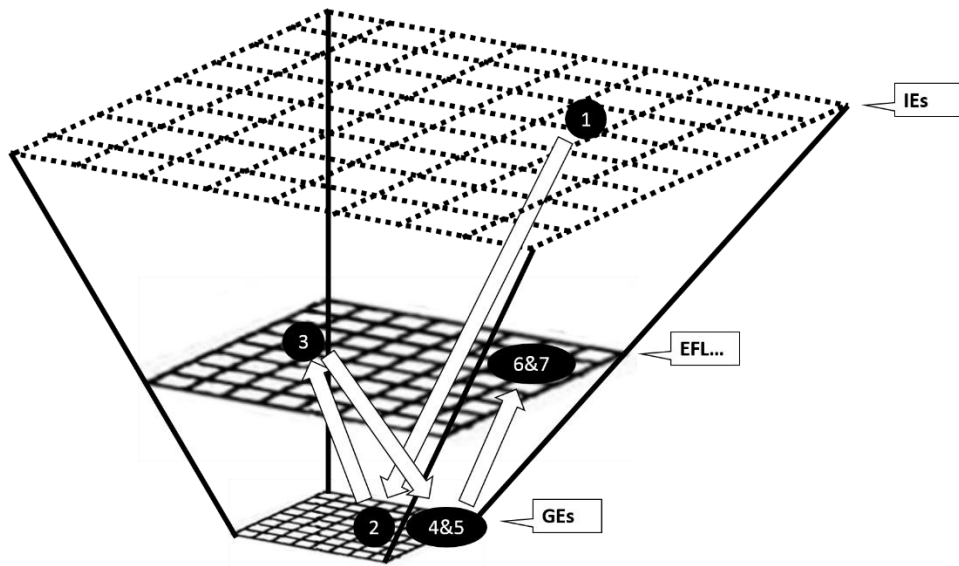
Finally, the Pyramid Continuum model can be used to illustrate the ideology of the value of movement within speech. The following transcript from student interviews conducted in 2016 shows how the pyramid continuum model can follow the emergent nature of conversations and the value of being able to move from one language and one prestige level to another. This student said he had lived in America for four years and during the interview he switched into English. I asked him if living in the US had changed his identity. His response was beautiful on many levels.

Mmm yeah I was influenced a bit
 Like I think more ... vast...And more open
 Friends in America friends in Korea is very different

In America...We do not really talk about our deep inside
And in Korea...There's more skinship...
Cause in Korea there's a term called 'jeong'
Which can't be translated in English ...
Like Korean guys are more loving ...
And in America they're like individualistic ...
So I am like in the middle
I sometimes go westernized
I sometimes go Koreanized (Ajou U, 2016, WT PG).

He illustrates how a Korean can not only be bilingual and bicultural, but also how it can be easy. Here the pyramid of English model becomes useful to show movement. He starts off the conversation trying to use IE (1), but makes a singular-plural mistake that is typical of the GE of Korea: 'friends in Korea is very different' (2). He then uses the word 'we' to identify himself with American ENL (3). Then he mentions talking about 'our deep inside' which is likely an IE word for the GE word *mind* (4). Then he uses the *Konglish* word *skinship*, which a compound skin+ship, which means 'touching a lot' (5). He follows with an explanation of a Korean word that is the stereotypic case of 'a word that cannot be translated' (an index of EFL)(6) for which he offers the word 'loving', which contrasts with the stereotypic 'individualistic' westerner (another EFL index)(7). His response was the best example from my data set that illustrates how quickly a person can index different things in the pyramid continuum and how it is movement that is considered valuable, not just remaining on the top. This movement indexes the newer 'Asian global' (Kang, 2012) identity, not the older 'Korean elite' (see figure 36 below).

Figure 36, Movement in the pyramid continuum



Chapter 6

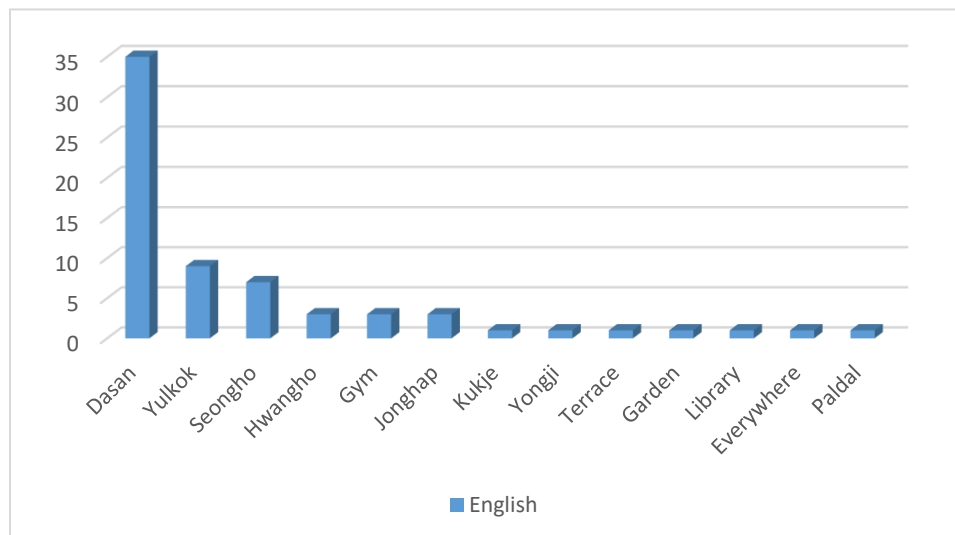
6 The linguascope

As explained in chapter one, the linguascope is a combination of the linguistic soundscape, which languages can be *heard* in public spaces such as announcements, music, overheard conversations and, the linguistic landscape, what languages can be *seen* such as signs, newspapers and graffiti. The data from the linguistic soundscape include videos of certain buildings on campus and the main street in front of the university gates. Data from the linguistic landscape include photographs of buildings, the street, public literature and graffiti. These were compared with the maps the interviewed students had drawn.

6.1 Maps

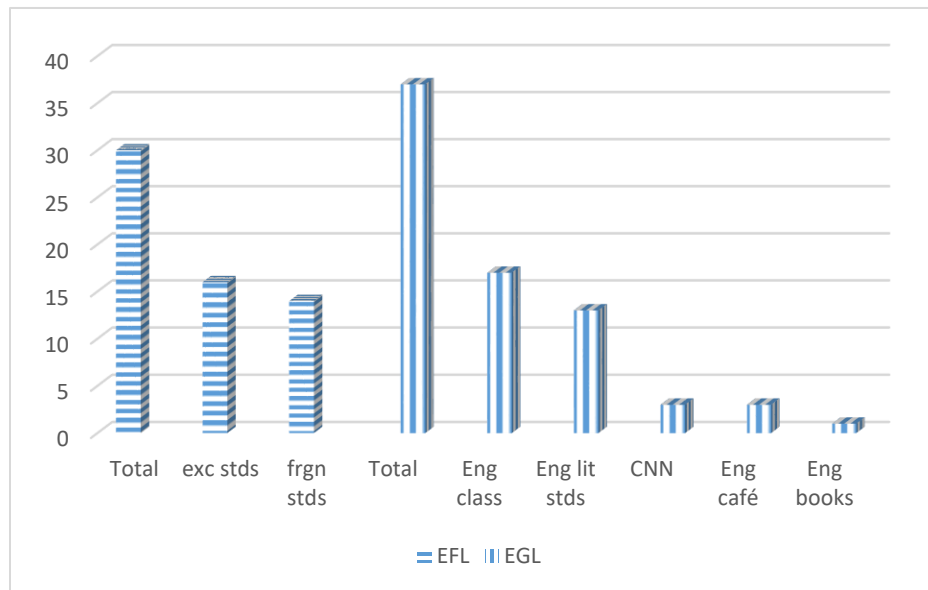
The maps that were drawn by students revealed that they thought there were many places on campus that had a lot of English. The building thought to have the most English was Dasan Hall followed by Yulkok Hall and Seongho Hall. These results will be compared with the data from the linguistic soundscape and landscape (see figure 37 below).

Figure 37, Maps of English in buildings



The reasons that students wrote for English being in the buildings were mostly indexical configurations of EGL, the most common being ‘Eng class’ (English class) followed by ‘Engl lit studs’ (English literature students). Others included ‘CNN’ (the TV that constantly plays CNN), ‘Eng café’ (the English Café event held once a semester) and ‘Eng books’ (English books). Configurations of EFL were ‘exc stds’ (Exchange students) and Frgn stds’ (Foreign students) (see figure 38 below).

Figure 38, EFL / EGL reasons in maps



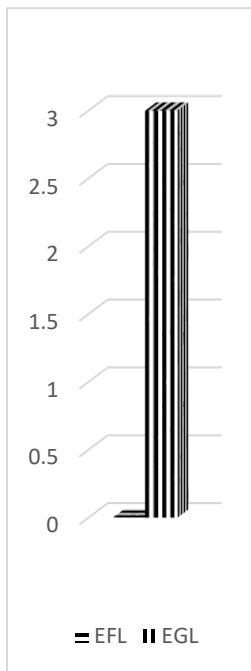
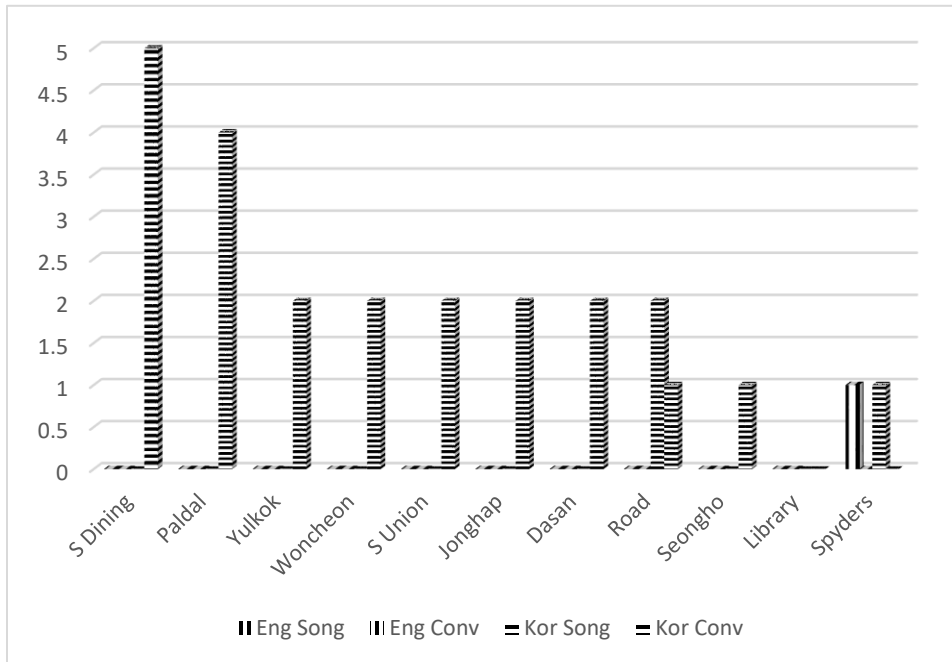
Finally, the top three buildings that students indicated would have a lot of English (Dasan > Yulkok > Seongho) were analysed according to EFL / EGL configurations in the reasons given for that building having a high occurrence of English. Dasan had a majority of EGL configurations, (12 EFL / 23 EGL), Yulkok had mostly EFL (6 EFL / 3 EGL) and Seongho had mostly EGL (1 EFL / 5 EGL). Therefore, Ajou students thought that Dasan and Seongho had English for Koreans, while Yulkok had English for foreigners.

6.2 Linguistic soundscape & pyramid continuum

The linguistic soundscape is the languages that can be heard in public spaces through announcements, music and overheard conversations. My sample consists of videos of buildings on campus and the main road in front of the campus.

For the video analysis, any announcement, song, or conversation was counted as Korean or English, then the English was analyzed as EFL (e.g. foreign students talking to each other) or EGL (e.g. a Korean company making an ad using English for Korean customers). Video analysis revealed that Dasan, Yulkok and Seongho Halls did not have as much English as predicted by the student maps. CNN was indeed on the TV in Dasan, but the sound was off. Yulkok and Seongho Halls had only Korean conversations. There was one English conversation in Yulkok, along with perhaps a Chinese and Indonesian one, but it was due to an international conference, so it was not actually students having the conversations. The languages overheard were almost always Korean. A nice surprise was a conversation in a language I did not recognize spoken by a group that appeared to be exchange students from Africa. It was surprising because I did not know Ajou had expanded its student exchange program to Africa. The only place where English was heard was in the Spydery lounge where an English metal song was sung by a Korean band, to be sung in front of a mostly Korean audience (i.e. EGL) (see figure 39 below).

Figure 39, EFL / EGL in videos



Three Korean songs were heard, two on the road and one outside of the Spyders lounge. These were counted as ‘Korean songs’ but a closer look reveals the domains of English. One song was identified as ‘You is Everything by Mamamoo. I downloaded the lyrics and translated them with the original on the left (*Konglish* bolded and in italics) and

translation on the right (English and *Konglish* bolded to see where it occurs) (see table 19 below).

Table 19, *넌 is 뭔들* (You is Everything) by Mamamoo

<p>[Intro] Come on Hey Mommy Come on Hey Daddy 이리와서 애들 좀 봐 Come on Hey Sister Come on Hey Brother 누가 애들 좀 말려줘</p>	<p>[Intro] Come on Hey Mommy Come on Hey Daddy Come here and look at the kids Come on Hey Sister Come on Hey Brother Somebody stop the kids</p>
<p>[verse 1] 귀여운 척 섹시한 [<i>sexy + han</i>] 척 이쁜 척 그런 거 안해도 날 알아보는 너 센스매너 [<i>senseu maeneo</i>] 말투표정 행동 하나까지 섬세한 널 알아보는 나 우리 둘 사이 딱 한 뺨 사이 매일 아침 난 너의 목소리로 눈을 뜨고 우리 둘 사이 딱 맞는 타입 [<i>taip</i>]</p>	<p>[verse 1] Trying to be cute / sexy / pretty If I don't do it You recognize me Sense manner expression Detail to each action I recognize you One cheek between the two of us Every morning to your voice I open my eyes Perfect type between us</p>
<p>[chorus 1] Come on 거기 미스터 [<i>miseuteo</i>] Come on 이리와봐 천천히 아주 조금씩 (3 조용히 속삭여줄래) Hey 거기 미소가 예쁜 남자 바로 너 너어어어 아아아아 날 미치게 하는 그런 남자 몸매도 얼굴도 시선강탈 Hey Mr 생각이 멋진 남자 바로 너 너어어어 아아아아</p>	<p>[chorus 1] Come on there mister Come on come here Slowly, little by little (3 Whisper quietly) Hey There is a pretty smiling man there You-u-u-u- a-a-a-a A man who drives me crazy Body and face catch my eyes Hey Mr You are the cool thinking guy</p>

<p>나 지금 너 땀에 혼란스러 제발 누가 나 좀 말려줘</p>	<p>You-u-u-u- a-a-a-a I am confused because of you now Please somebody stop me</p>
<p>[verse 2] 월화수목금토일 난 매일매일 너를 생각해 넌 나를 생각해? Word up Moon star A형 B형 AB O형 <i>플러스 [peulleoseu] 마이너스 [maineoseu]</i> 상관없어 S극과 N극처럼 어떤 공식이든 끌려 단지 그냥 너라서 우리 둘 사이 딱 한 뺨 사이 매일 밤마다 너의 자장가로 잠이 들고 우리 둘 사이 딱 맞는 <i>타입 [taip]</i></p>	<p>[verse 2] Mon Tue Wed Thu Fri Sat Sunday I think of you every day Do you think of me? Word up Moon star A type B type AB O type <i>plus minus</i> I don't care Any formula, like the S pole and the N pole, Just because it's you One cheek between the two of us Every night I sleep with your lullaby Perfect <i>type</i> between us</p>
<p>[verse 3] I like eye contact 입술을 꼭 깨물어 (Your Lips) 너의 두 눈이 스칠 때면 (Two Eyes) 숨막히는 이끌림이 날 어지럽게 해 나 너만의 영원한 소녀 <i>팬 [paen]</i> 넌 is 뭔들 모든 게 넌 is 뭔들 완벽해 That's right (That's right) 우리 사이 자꾸 떠오르네 문득 너라면 난 is 뭔들 24시간 1분 1초가 조마조마해 조금이라도 널 놓칠까 봐 24시간 지금 이순간</p>	<p>[verse 3] I like eye contact I bite my lips tight (Your Lips) When our eyes suddenly meet (Two Eyes) The breathtaking draw makes me dizzy. I am your eternal girl <i>fan</i> You is everything, everything, perfect That's right (That's right) Between us I keep thinking of you, I is everything 24 hours 1 minute 1 second I'm nervous because I might not catch you. 24 hours this moment now</p>
<p>[chorus 2] Come on 나를 봐봐 Come on 넌 is 뭔들 이젠 우릴 말리지마 Hey Hey Hey Yeah</p>	<p>[chorus 2] Come on Look at me Come on you is everything Do not stop us now Hey Hey Hey Yeah</p>

<p>Hey 거기 미소가 예쁜 남자 바로 너 너어어어 아아아아 날 미치게 하는 그런 남자 몸매도 얼굴도 시선강탈 Hey Mr 애매모호 피아노 맨 [man] 바로 너 너어어어 아아아아 나 지금 너 땀에 혼란스러 제발 누가 나 좀 말려줘 Come on 넌 is 뭔들</p>	<p>Hey There is a pretty smiling man there You-u-u-u- a-a-a-a A man who drives me crazy Body and face catch my eyes Hey Mr obscure piano man That's you You-u-u-u- a-a-a-a I am confused because of you now Please let somebody stop me Come on you is everything</p>
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Here you can see that English occurs in parts of the song but not in others. The name of the band is 100% English, and the name of the song is 30%. The intro is 64% English, but the chorus is only 18% and the verses only 14% (see table 20 below). Konglish is found a little in the chorus and verses but is almost always used to talk about dating (sexy-han, sense manner, mister, plus, minus, type).

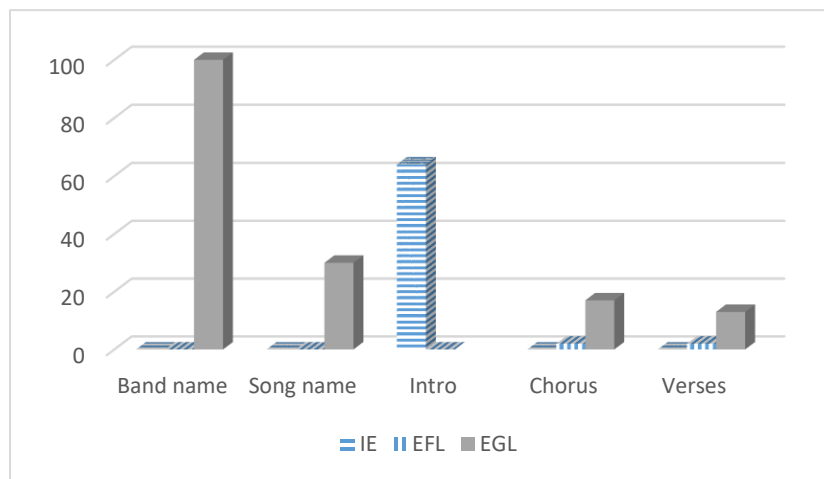
Table 20, Korean *Konglish* & English in K-pop song

Location	Korean	<i>Konglish</i>	English
Band name	0%	0%	100%
Song name	70%	0%	30%
Intro	36%	0%	64%
Chorus	81%	1%	18%
Verses	85%	1%	14%
Total	79.5%	3%	17.5%

This is an analysis of only one song, but it resembles my earlier research on English borrowing in K-pop that showed that English was being borrowed heavily in the chorus, intro and title of songs, but only lightly in the verses (Lawrence, 2010b). The challenge is analyzing whether the English is EFL, EGL or IE. On one hand, there is the argument that this is a Korean band, owned by a Korean company, singing for a Korean audience in which case *all* English words would be EGL. This is obviously the case for Korean alcohol, T-shirts and baseball caps. However, with K-pop it is not so clear. K-pop has

recently enjoyed more international success, largely due to the success of ‘Kangnam Style’, so it may be argued that parts of the song might take international audiences into consideration. The intro for example, contains internationally intelligible English that has a Korean accent (IE). The verses and chorus contain some phrases like “word up” which is Black Vernacular English (i.e. a type of ENL). The majority of the English is Koreanized, for example “A type B type AB O type” refers to blood type, which Koreans believe has an influence on personality and the type of person one should date, similar to the Western belief in ‘signs’ (Leo, Pisces, Sagittarius). This pattern can be represented visually showing the previous table indexical configurations of ‘IE’ (International English) EFL (mostly Black English Vernacular) or EGL (the remaining English and *Konglish*). Overall there is a majority of EGL, a large occurrence of IE in the chorus and some EFL in the chorus and verses (see figure 40 below).

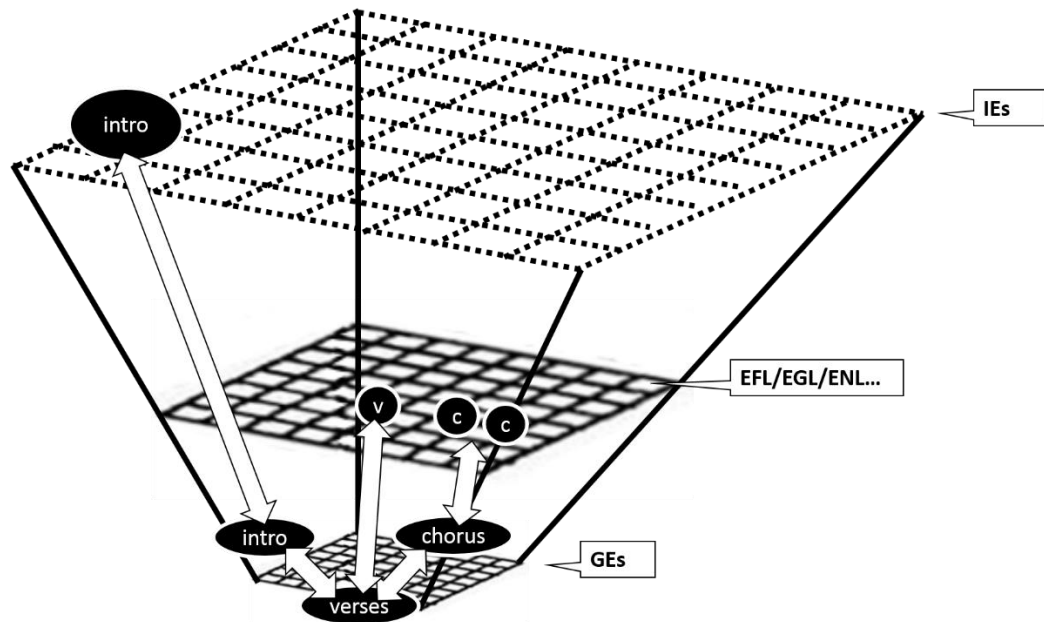
Figure 40, IE / EFL / EGL in ‘You is Everything’



This pattern can be applied to the Pyramid Continuum model. The song starts off with a ‘hook’ in the IE level as the English is internationally intelligible but contains a Korean accent. It is represented with a large circle representing approximately 60% content. It immediately drops to the local Korean / GE level for the verses. The song moves back and forth between verses and choruses, rising only occasionally to the EFL/EGL/ENL level with English words and phrases like “Come on (EFL)”, “Moon star (EGL)” and “Word up” (Black Vernacular English, which is a type of ENL)”. This is represented by one small circle for the verses (approximately 10%) and two small circles for the chorus

(approximately 20%), remaining mostly in the GE level represented by large circles (see figure 41 below).

Figure 41, The pyramid continuum of a K-pop song



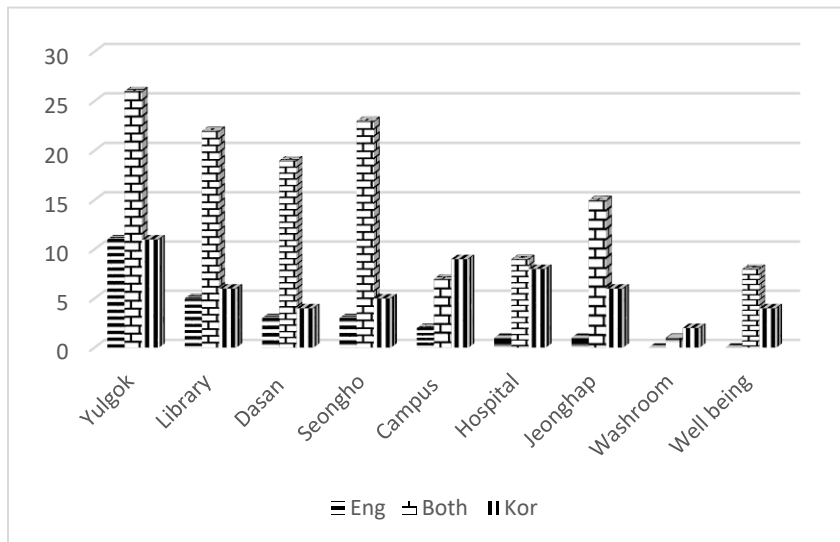
In sum, not much English was heard in the linguistic soundscape of Ajou University, even in places where students indicated there would be. What little English that was heard occurred in music: one English metal song and some K-pop songs. Within K-pop, English can be heard a lot in the name of the band, the name of the song and the intro, and a little in the chorus and verses. *Konglish* was also heard a little in the chorus and the verses mostly referring to dating. The domains of English in the linguistic soundscape therefore would be in K-pop band names, song names and intros, and somewhat in the choruses. Although this conclusion is made by only one song, it echoes my previous research on borrowing in K-pop (Lawrence, 2010b).

6.3 Linguistic landscape & pyramid continuum

The linguistic landscape refers to the languages that can be seen in public spaces including signs, products, advertisements and graffiti. My sample consists of photographs and videos of buildings, road signs, products, magazines and graffiti.

Photographic analysis of buildings revealed that English occurred the most in Yulgok Hall, followed by the Library, then a tie between Dasan and Seongho, which did not exactly follow the pattern predicted by the students (Dasan > Yulgok > Seongho), but matched the top three. By far the highest occurrence was ‘Both’ languages. Yulgok Hall also had the highest number of items in the linguistic landscape using ‘Both’ languages followed by Seongho then the Library (see figure below).

Figure 42, English, Korean & Both in Buildings



A sign with both languages might be configured under EFL, as the signs could be considered to be there for the large number of foreign and exchange students at Ajou, but further analysis showed that this is not the case. Seongho Hall, which had the highest number of ‘English’ and ‘Both’ signs, has a lot of English classes attended by Korean students, i.e. EGL (see ‘Maps’ section). Seongho Hall had the next highest number of ‘Both’ signs, which is also EGL because it has a lot of English language and English literature classes attended by Korean students. The next is the Library, which is for all students (neither EGL nor EFL) and then Dasan, which could be configured as EFL due to its having large numbers of foreign/exchange students.

A closer look at pictures of ‘Both’ signs reveals a leaning toward EGL. Consider this photo of a fire extinguisher in Jeonghap Hall. The label has ‘FIRE EXTINGUISHER’ in English, but all the instructions on how to use it are in Korean. This is a configuration of EGL as the English is not intended for the odd foreigner to read, and you cannot assume that Koreans would read the Korean and foreigners would read the English because then the instructions would also be in English. This is a Korean company making a product for a Korean customer putting English on the label to index that the product is modern and sophisticated (Takashi, 1990) i.e. EGL (see plate 10 below).

Plate 11, Fire Extinguisher



Source: author

Another example can be seen in the poster in Dasan Hall. The title of the poster is in large English letters ‘Internship Program: Follow your dreams to the world with Dongwon’ and the logo and website are in smaller English letters, but all of the details of the program are in *Hangeul*. This is configured under EGL in that it is a Korean company, putting up a sign with enough English to hook the attention of Korean students (see plate 11 below).

Plate 12, Internship Program



Source: author

Even English only signs cannot be absolutely configured under EFL. Consider the following two photos. The company name ‘Coca-Cola’ is clearly labelled on the machine and the cans in the machine in English, but the types of coffee are all written in *Hangeul*: 에스프레소 / *eseupeureso* / ‘*espresso*’, 아메리카노 / *amerikano* / ‘*americano*’, 핫초코 / *haschyoko* / ‘*hot choco*’ etc. Everything else in the context of the one English company name is pointing towards EGL. Also, the ‘English’ washroom signs in every building on campus are labelled with the singular ‘MAN’ and ‘WOMAN’ as can be seen in this rather amusing picture of a non-smoking campaign that shows both words in one photo. The words are in singular not plural, which is a typical grammatical pattern in World Englishes (Platt et al., 1984) and in *Konglish*, and they are in a context that would never be seen in an inner circle country where climbing over the stall would be the rude action, not smoking. These must be configured under EGL as these are Korean distributors and companies putting up English signs for Korean customers and smokers (see plate 12 below).

Plate 13, Coca-Cola & Washrooms



Source: author

One of the few photographs that actually can be configured under EFL is the following photo of a schedule on a door in Yulkok Hall, which entirely in English most likely made for all the foreigners on the computers behind the door it was posted to (see plate 13 below).

Plate 14, Insurance Schedule

Insurance Schedule
(Every Thursday, Global Lounge)

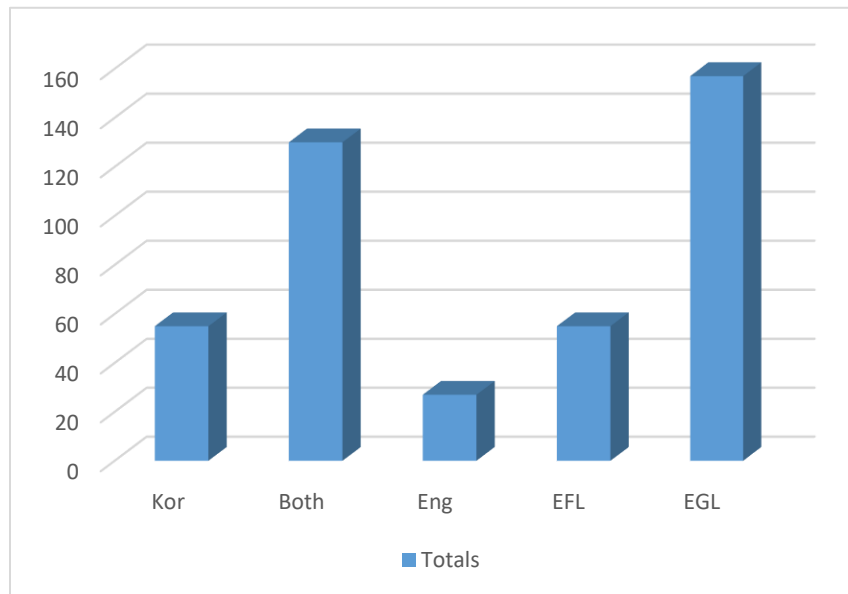
Afternoon (2p.m.~4p.m.)	Morning (10a.m.~12p.m.)
March 3 rd , 17 th	March 10 th , 24 th
April 7 th , 21 st	April 14 th , 28 th
May 6 th , 19 th	May 12 th , 26 th
June 2 nd , 16 th	June 9 th , 23 rd

Source: author

Therefore, after analyzing ‘Both’ language signs, I would argue that they coalesce under EGL, not EFL. In addition, ‘English only’ signs have also undergone enough changes

that they might also coalesce under EGL, but even without including them, the number of ‘Both’ signs outweighs Korean only and English only signs on Ajou University campus. This co-occurrence suggests that Ajou is using English to index globalization, cosmopolitanism and neoliberalism in Korea (J.S.Y. Park, 2004, 2010) (see figure 43 below).

Figure 43, EFL / EGL on buildings



Videos of road signs revealed two patterns of language ideologies: ‘English is good for western pleasures (western alcohol, coffee, cake and make-up)’ and ‘Korean is good for local pleasures (shoe shining, Korean/Japanese food, song rooms and bookstores)’. The overall percentage of English on signs was low (25%). However, signs that had a high percentage of English (60% or over) were associated with western alcohol (Havana 100%), coffee (Ediya & Nine o clock 70%), cake (Chou cake 70%), or make-up (Watsons 60%). Signs that had a low percentage (5% or lower) were associated with shoe shining (Kududuseon senteo), Korean or Japanese restaurants (Jeju heuk daeji, Japanese rest., Han, The Jinkuk, Sonagi), song rooms (Segyemekjujeonmujeom), or bookstores (The Book’s). Like in the K-pop song, the English on signs was in the titles not the details; it was a ‘hook’ in capital letters not an explanation in cursive. Surprisingly ‘McDonald’s’ and convenience stores like ‘CU Market’ and ‘GS 25’, which I thought

would have a lot of English, had only 40~50% English on their signs, but the products were totally different (see table 23 below and appendix 3 for more details).

Table 21, Road signs

<i>Place</i>	<i>% E</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Havana bar	100%	HAVANA, BAR, The MACALLAN SINGLE MALT (only 3 big signs)
Ediya coffee	70%	EDIYA COFFEE, ESPRESSO, BLOSSOM, size up, ‘keo pi (coffee)’ ‘hwaiting (fighting)’ etc in <i>Hangeul</i> , (BgE/SmK)
Chou cake	70%	Chou Cake House, Fresh Cream Cake, POST, OPEN, CLOSE, ‘tiramisu’ ‘chize (cheese)’ etc. in <i>Hangeul</i> , (BgE/SmK)
Ziller net/Nine o clock	70%	ziller o net, NINE O’ CLOCK, COFFEE COMPANY 2F, TAKE OUT, HOT/ICED, ‘amerikano (Americano)’ ‘net’ in <i>Hangeul</i> , not much language but most in English
Watsons	60%	watsons (make up), LUNA, pre SUMMER battle, Cheer Up Festival, Get it Beauty, NEW, 10-20& OFF, ‘peolokaounsil paunde (procouncil found)’ ‘aipaletu (eye palette)’ etc. in <i>Hangeul</i>
...
Segyemekjujeonmujeom	5%	SELF BAR, CLUB S, SENSE COIN, ABSOLUTE, MUSIC STUDIO, (BgE/SmK)
Sonagi	5%	Crispy, Set Menu, A Set, B Set, C Set
The Jinkuk	3%	The Jinkuk, TAKE OUT, GRAND OPEN, (BgE/SmK)
A rok bil ding	3%	Parking, ‘bil ding (building)’ ‘pi ja pa king (pizza parking)’ etc. in <i>Hangeul</i>
The Book’s	2%	THE BOOK’S, ‘aipon (Iphone)’ ‘wonpiseu (one piece)’ etc. in <i>Hangeul</i> , (BgE/SmK)
Han	2%	OPEN CLOSE, Nasi Goreng, ‘loboka (robo-car)’ ‘polli seteu (poly set)’ in <i>Hangeul</i>
Jeju heuk daeji (pork rest	2%	Song in Korean, in <i>Hangeul</i> ‘babekyu’ (bbq) balloon ad only one E: ‘hite’
Japanese rest.	1%	ADT (alarm system), Hiragana, Chinese, <i>Hangeul</i> signs
Bus	1%	‘ka de (card)’ in <i>Hangeul</i>
Kududuseon senteo	1%	Dojang (stamp) only E is in <i>Hangeul</i> ‘senteo’ (center)

Videos and photographs of products inside convenience stores both on and off-campus yielded the overarching language ideology ‘English is good for youth’. Products had labels with either Korean only (K), English in *Hangeul* (EH), English in the Roman alphabet (RE), or in Chinese (C). An estimation of the percentage of products with those ‘languages’ was made after the initial recording (see table 24 and plate 14 below).

Table 22, Language usage in Korean convenience stores

<i>L % on products</i>	<i>Specific patterns</i>
K 90%	Most products have Korean somewhere on the labels, but certain products will have Korean only: fruit, vegetables, <i>ramyeon</i> (ramen noodles), meat, fish, <i>banjan</i> (side dishes).
EH 65%	Certain products will have some English on the labels written in <i>Hangeul</i> : ice cream, chocolate bars, cereal, chewing gum, cleaning products.
ER 60%	Certain products will have some English on the labels written in the Roman alphabet: t-shirts, cellular telephones, hair products, sports equipment, cigarettes, Korean beer. Certain products will have only English: hats, t-shirts, sports equipment, imported beer, whiskey and wine.
C 10%	Certain products will have labels with some Chinese: <i>hanyak</i> (traditional medicine), traditional wine and <i>soju</i> (burnt wine) tea.

Plate 15, Languages on products



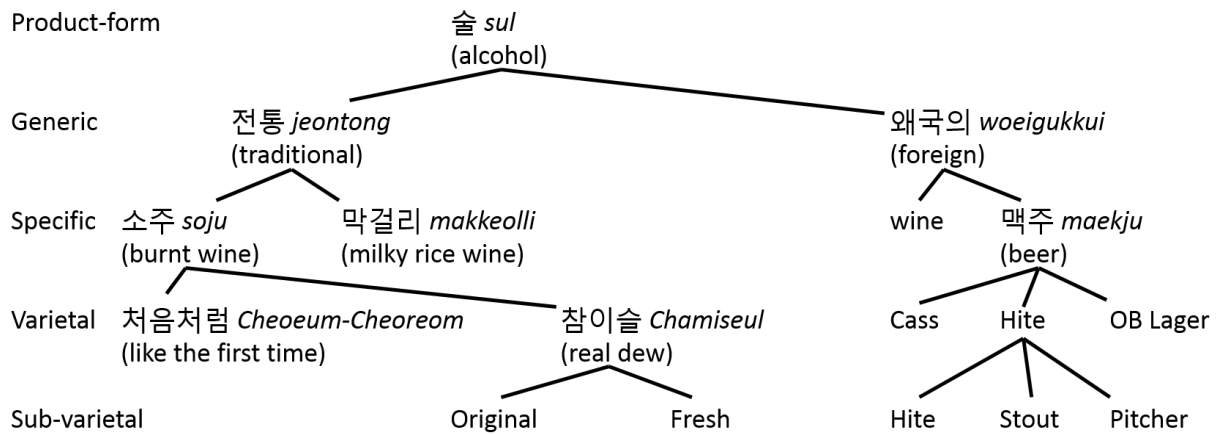
Source: Author

Since these are Korean companies, with Korean products, for sale in Korean convenience stores, for Korean customers, then any occurrence of English was configured to be EGL. Specific language ideologies emerged: ‘English is good for sweet things (ice cream, chocolate, cereal, etc.) fashion (t-shirts, hats, hair products) and foreign things (cigarettes, western alcohol)’. These ideologies can be generalized under ‘English is good for youth.’ A final note on orthography is many Korean products directed at young children (chips, ice cream, chocolate bars) have English written in Hangeul, which may come from the ideology that ‘Hangeul can handle the pronunciation of every language’, or the language education ideology ‘Korean children should be taught English through Hangeul’. However, I believe that the motivating ideology for using Hangeul for children’s products is ‘Korean children are not good at reading English’ and since they are not good

at English they need the help of Hangeul (which ‘can handle the pronunciation of every language’ and which is being used to teach English). This also indexes the opposite: ‘Korean adults are good at reading English’. Whether or not this is true, it sends the underlying message to Korean children that reading English is an important part of Korean society.

A specific case study of a specific product in Korea – alcohol – serves as a useful illustration of the specific pattern of the borrowing of English. Following Berlin’s (1992) famous work on the taxonomy of ethnobiological classification, the ‘Life-form’ level, slightly modified to ‘Product-form’ would correspond to ‘alcohol’ which is called and labeled in *Hangeul* as 술 *sul*. This is subdivided at the ‘Generic’ level into 전통 *jeontong* (traditional) and 왜국의 *woegukui* (foreign). Traditional alcohols can be subdivided at the ‘Specific’ level into 소주 *soju* (burnt wine), 막걸리 *makkeolli* (milky rice wine), 동동주 *dongdongju* (milky rice wine), etc., which are always labeled in *Hangeul*. Foreign alcohols can be subdivided at the ‘Specific’ level into 맥주 *maekju* (beer), 양주 *yangju* (whisky) etc. and are usually labeled in *Hangeul*, except for the term ‘wine’ which is an English borrowing (more on this to come). This is not to say that Korea does not produce domestic beer, but that the concept and technology of beer is a recent foreign import compared to the long history of traditional alcohols in Korea. The ‘Varietal’ level is where a distinct pattern can be observed regarding the borrowing of English. 소주 *soju* (burnt wine) can be subdivided into company names such as ‘Lotte’ and ‘Jinro’, which are labelled in English, but the brand names *Cheoeum-Cheoreom*, *Chamiseul*, etc. are written in *Hangeul*. However, *maekju* (beer) is divided into ‘Hite’ ‘Cass’ and ‘OB Lager’ and are all written in the Roman alphabet. At the next level ‘Sub-varietal’ *Chamiseul* is divided into ‘Original’ and ‘Fresh’ written in the Roman alphabet, and ‘Hite’ is divided into regular ‘Hite’ ‘Stout’ and ‘Pitcher’ written in the Roman alphabet (see figure 44 below).

Figure 44, Korean alcohol taxonomy



Therefore, the main pattern here is that once a word has been borrowed into a taxonomic level, further borrowing becomes easy at any level below, but borrowing into the level above is extremely difficult. The language ideologies are: ‘English is good for beer, wine and a new twist on traditional alcohol’. Again, any English on Korean alcohol, made by a Korean company for Korean customers must be configured under EGL.

Two enigmatic cases weaken this conclusion: Japanese beer and Korean wine. On Japanese beer, the English term *biru/bia* (beer) has been borrowed at the ‘Specific’ level, yet on the labels there is a mixture of English, Katakana and Chinese, whereas Korean beer labels have just English (see plate 15).

Plate 16, Japanese beers & Korean beers



Source: author

In the case of wine, Korea produces its own traditional red wine called *poduju* (grape alcohol), and the major Korean company producing this is ‘Majuang’. However, in recent years Korea has imported a very large number of wines from all over the world, and these are called *ledeu wain* (red wine). An interesting field note and plate 16 illustrates the amusing confusion.

I walked into my local ‘7-11’ and asked

BL: led wain issoyeo? (Is there red wine)

Aj: anyo podoju issoeyo (No. There is podoju / grape alcohol)

BL: bolus isseoyo (Can I see?)

She handed it to me. It was a red wine made by Majuang and there was ‘Red Wine’ written at the bottom in the Roman alphabet... so if it’s Korean it’s not red wine it’s grape alcohol.

Plate 17, Red wine



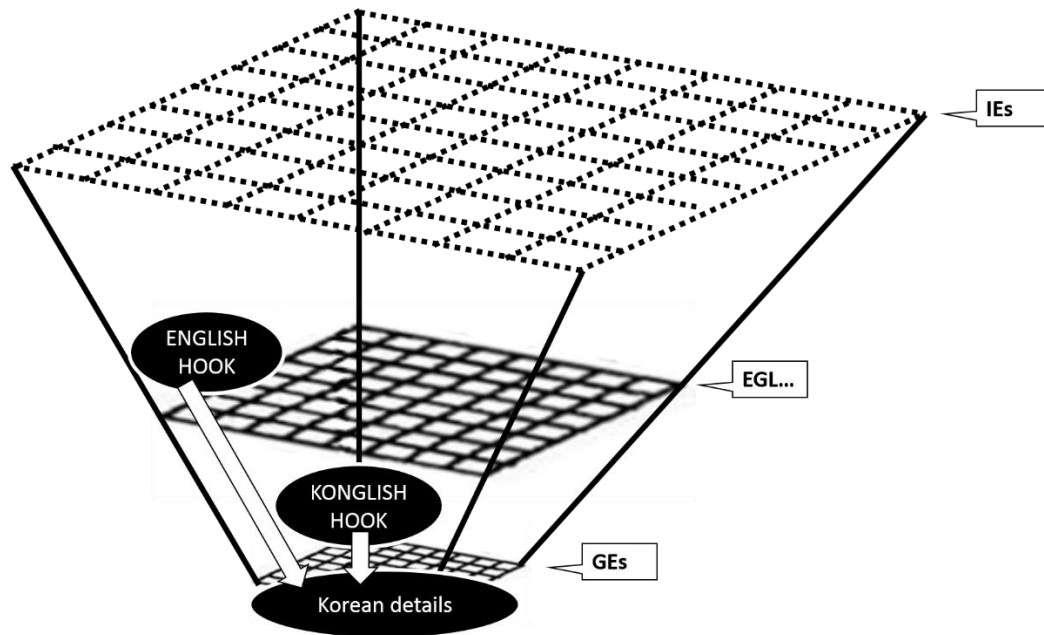
source: <http://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/Business/view?articleId=124828>

In sum, the photographs of buildings revealed a large majority of language ideologies coalescing under EGL. Signs with ‘Both’ languages dominate the linguistic landscape, but show that English is not being used to inform foreigners on the contents or instructions, but to hook or impress Koreans with indexes to modernity, sophistication and cosmopolitanism. Even ‘English only’ signs have gone through transformations that indicate the English has been glocalized. Videos revealed ideologies of ‘English is good

for coffee, cake, make-up and western alcohol' but 'not good for Korean food, Asian food, busses and Korean traditional stamps'. Videos of products revealed ideologies of 'English is good for hats, t-shirts, sports equipment, imported beer, whiskey and wine' which could be configured under 'English is good for youth and imports' the first part of which could be configured under EGL as it is Korean youth. In addition the ideologies 'English is good for ice cream, chocolate bars, cereal, chewing gum, cleaning products' can be configured under 'English is good for processed food' and also under EGL as the English is written in *Hangeul*. On the other hand the ideologies 'Korean is good for fruit, vegetables, *ramyeon* (ramen noodles), meat, fish, *banjan* (side dishes)' could be configured under 'Korean is good for raw food and Korean processed food' which would be configured under EFL. The ideologies of 'Chinese is good for *hanyak* (traditional medicine), traditional wine and *soju* (burnt wine) tea' can be configured under 'Chinese is good for traditional things' which can be neither EGL nor EFL. Finally, the analysis of alcohol shows the ideology 'English is good for modern alcohol' which is configured under EGL and shows that once borrowing starts at a certain node, then nodes below that level can easily take more borrowing but not nodes above that level.

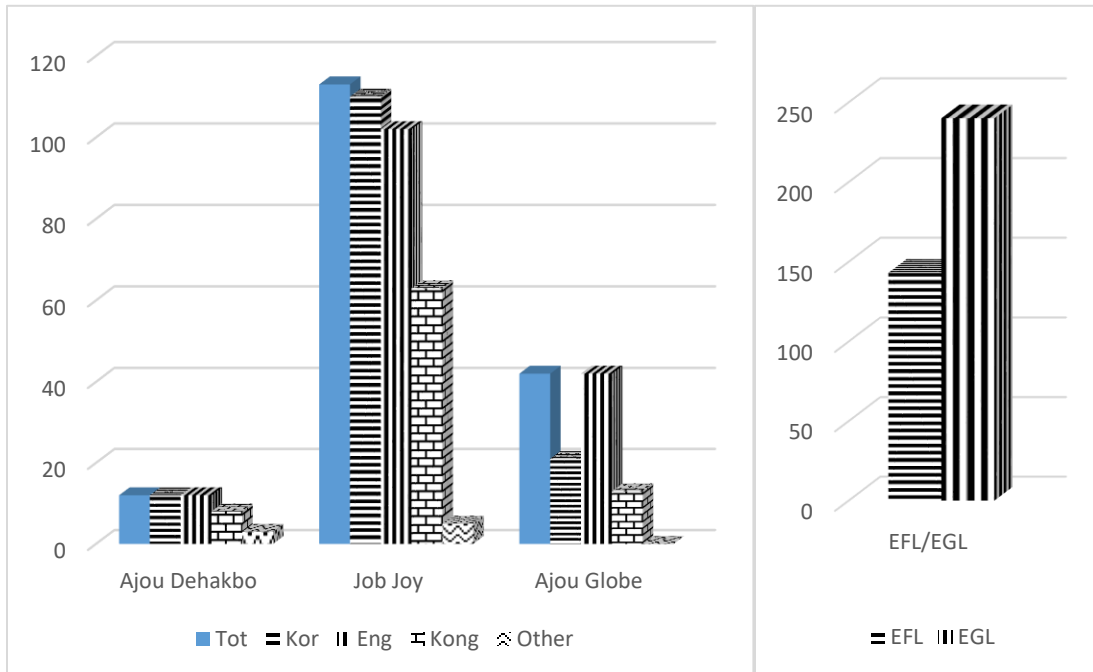
The Pyramid Continuum model represents this in motion. Many Korean products have English or Konglish as a prominent feature, at the top, or with capital letters. These are designed to catch the eye, as a 'hook'. Then the eye is led to Korean written in *Hangeul* with smaller writing that explains the details about the product (see figure 45 below).

Figure 45, Pyramid continuum of products



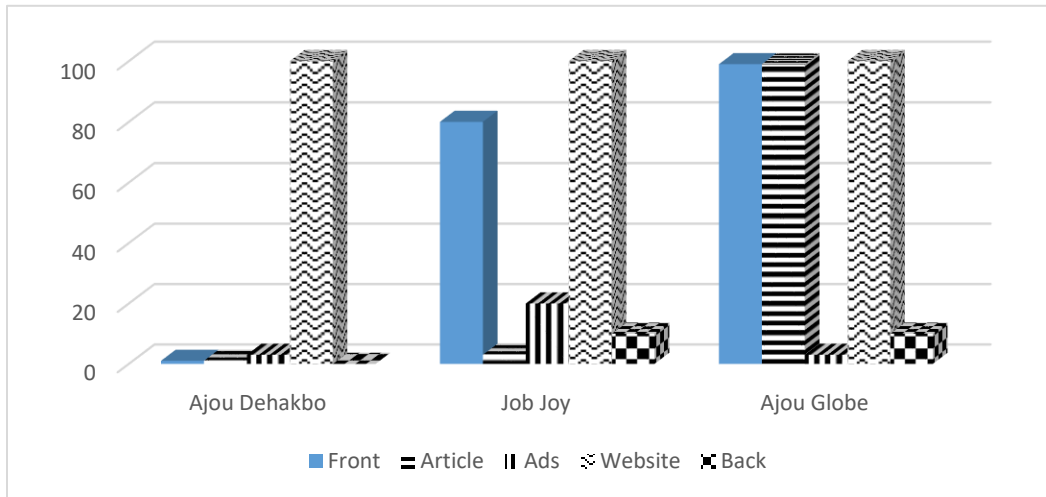
A similar but more complex pattern emerged with the analysis of three public magazines on campus. English occurred a lot in all three magazines. ‘Ajou dehakbo’ was written in *Hangeul* yet it had some English on every page. ‘Job Joy’ was written in *Hangeul* yet is has a lot of English, especially on the front page and in advertisements, some of which had no *Hangeul* at all. ‘Ajou Globe’ was written in the Roman alphabet, yet in its advertisements there was very little English. Since these magazines are written by Koreans and for Koreans, any word in English was considered an indexical configuration of EGL. Combined with *Konglish*, configurations of EGL far outweighed EFL (240 vs 143) (see figure 46 below).

Figure 46, Language in literature

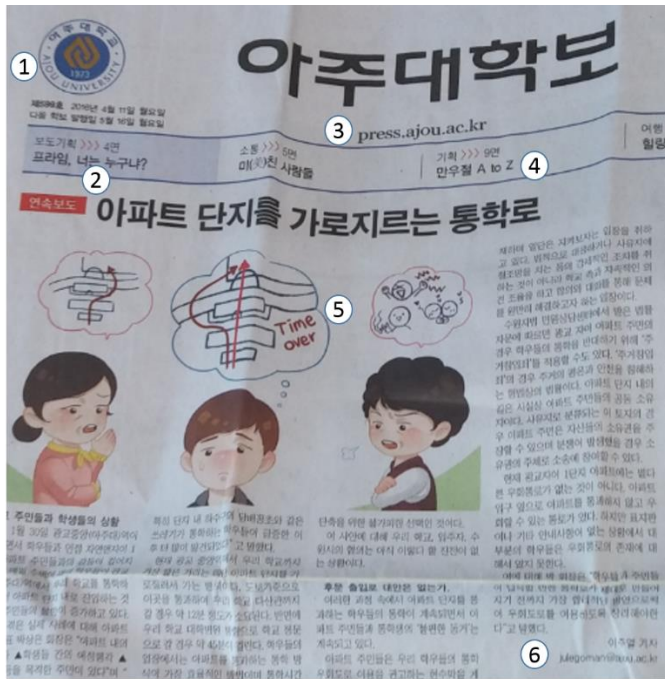


A closer look at the location of English reveals the language ideologies of ‘English is good for hooks and technology’. There was a high percentage of English on two out of three covers, a low level of English in the articles, except for Ajou Globe which is the ‘English magazine’, which suggests the language ideology ‘English is good for hooks’. English was used in absolutely all of the websites. This would indicate the language ideology ‘English is good for websites/computers/technology’ (see figure below).

Figure 47, Percentage/location of English



A closer look reveals the pattern of the language ideologies of English, Korean and Chinese. The front page of ‘Ajoudehakbo’ shows ‘AJOU UNIVERSITY’ written in *Hangeul* and English (1). This indexes Ajou as an international university. The paper’s website (3) and the author’s email (6) are also written in the Roman alphabet. This is mostly due to the techno-linguistic restraints of the internet: content can be in any language but url and email addresses are English only. An easy English phrase ‘A to Z’ (4) also appears. This is configured under EGL as every Korean would know this from elementary school. There is also some Konglish written in the Roman alphabet ‘Time over / Time’s up’ (5) and in *Hangeul* ‘프라임 / *peuraim* / prime’ and ‘아파트 / *apateu* / apartment’ (2). These are configured under EGL as there are phonetic and semantic changes already discussed (see plate 17).



Source: author

Two advertisements from ‘Job Joy’ show a pattern about food. The first ad has the name of the company written in the Roman alphabet (1). This indexes that the company is international. The name of the product ‘미원 / miwon’ which is a soup additive, is written in *Hangeul* (2) and in Chinese (3). This indexes that it is a traditional, healthy, slow food. Then you can see the common phrase ‘Since ...’ and the date it began (4) and the stamp ‘WORLD CLASS PRODUCT OF KOREA’ (5) in English. These index that the product is international. The details about the product are all in *Hangeul*, so English and Chinese are both being used as a ‘hook’ for customers to believe this is traditional, healthy food that is good enough to be recognized by the world. The second ad has the name of the company in English (1), a brief hook in English (2), details about the promotion in *Hangeul* (3), the name of the food in *Hangeul* and English (4), and the website in English (5). These reveal the language ideologies that ‘English as international’ and ‘English is good for a hook’ and Korean is used to explain the details i.e. ‘Korean is the language of everyday life’ (see plate 18).

Plate 19, Job Joy ads



Source: author

This English only ad clearly shows the language ideology that ‘English is young and sexy’ (see plate 19).

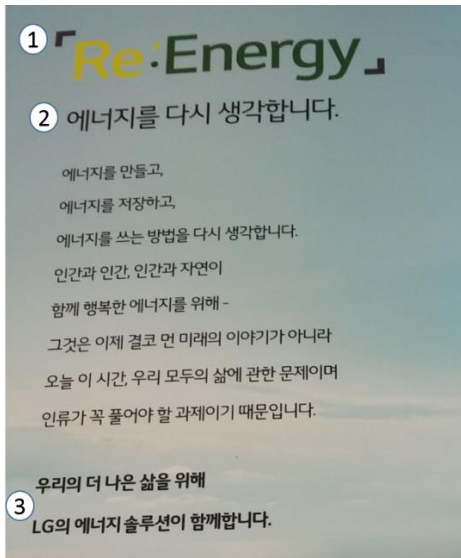
Plate 20, Thursday Island



Source: author

On the contrary the ‘Ajou Globe’ ads had very little English. English was used as a ‘hook’ with ‘Re-Energy’ (1) but then the rest of the ad is all in *Hangeul* except for ‘에너지 / energy / energy’ (2) and ‘LG’ (3) (see image 20).

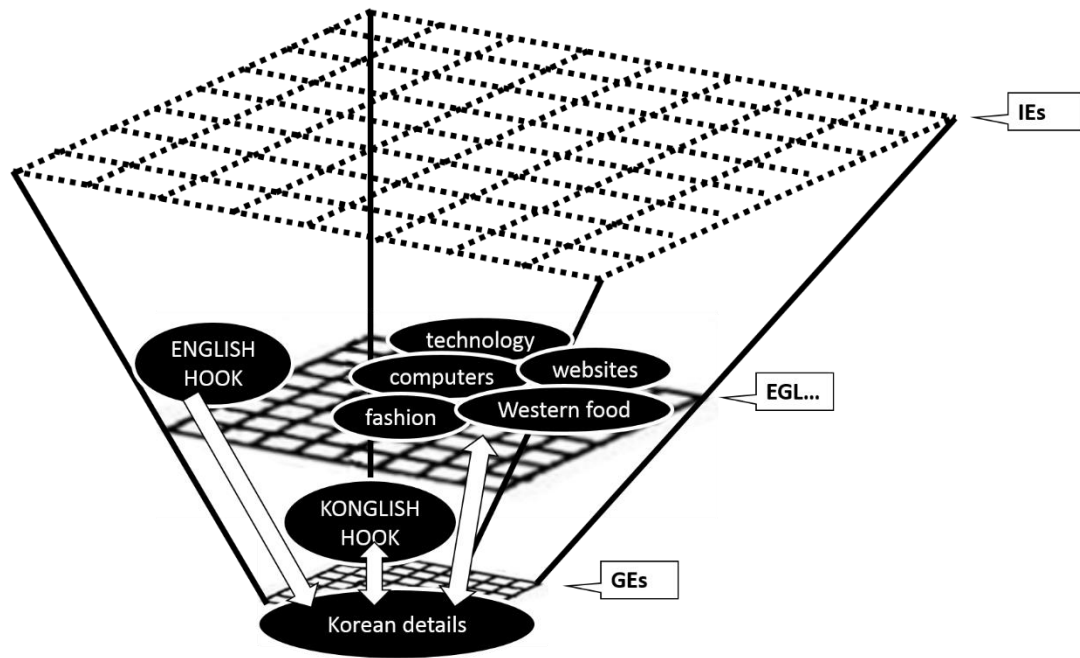
Plate 21, Re-Energy






Source: author

The Pyramid Continuum model illustrates this pattern. Public literature will often catch the eye with an English ‘hook’ followed by details in Korean, with occasional ‘hooks’ in Konglish and the usage of English in the domain of websites, computers, technology, western food, and fashion (see figure below).

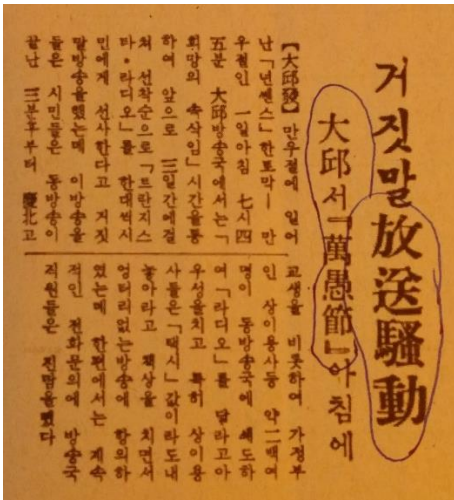
Figure 48, Pyramid continuum of public literature



A closer look at the use of Sino-Korean characters or ‘한자 / *hanja*’ in public literature reveals yet another example of linguistic play. The traditional way of writing *hanja* is vertically, from top to bottom, right to left. I met an ESL teacher who has lived in Korea long enough to remember when all the newspapers had more *hanja* than *Hangeul* and they were written top to bottom, right to left. By the time I had arrived in the mid 90s they changed to the ‘English way’ left to right, and the *hanja* slowly began disappearing. Usually *hanja* were written with the equivalent *Hangeul* characters beside them in brackets and were about a difficult, academic or philosophical nature, so the *Hangeul* was needed to explain the meaning. Words that were commonly known like ‘ / 돼지 / *dwaeji* / pig’, ‘ / 대 / *dae* / great’ and ‘ / 미 / *mi* / beauty’ were not translated. Trying to figure out which *hanja* were ‘commonly known’ was a challenge for me as I began buying self-study books on how to write obscure Sino-Korean words I had never learned in Korean. A trip to Hong Kong was useful as book one ‘Fun with Chinese’ taught me commonly seen characters, their origin and how to write them. In Korean *hanja* books would give long lists with entries like ‘在 / 있을 재 / *isseul jae*’ that could not be looked up in the dictionary because ‘있을 / *isseul*’ does not exist in the

dictionary as it is a form of ‘있다 / issta / existence’ that only exists when Koreans are explaining *hanja*. Like my almost fluent colleague said, “It’s like they don’t want us to learn their language” (see plate 21).

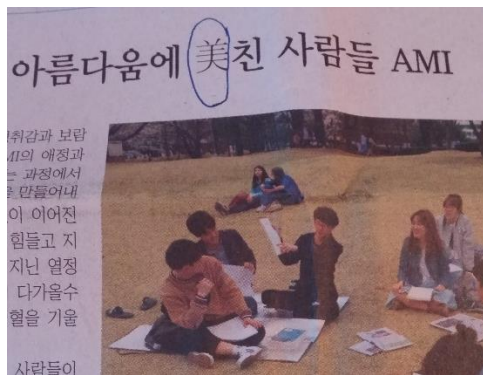
Plate 22, Hanja



This rather long explanation of the difficulty of learning *hanja* pales in comparison of how Koreans complain about learning *hanja* in school. Literally each of every Korean student, friend, colleague, etc. I met stated that there was nothing ‘fun’ about learning *hanja*. Even my Chinese students told me it was very difficult to learn how to write. Consider then the beauty of this one written *hanja* that almost slipped by attention while analyzing the student newspaper ‘아주대학보 / Ajou Daehakbo / Ajou University Daily.’ It is a simple form ‘美친’ which in Korean is ‘미친 / mi-chin’ which after years of torturous study I know is the un-look-up-able ‘아름다울 미 / areumdaul mi’ which translates into ‘아름답다 / areumdapta / beautiful’ which is often used with ‘미술 / misul / art’ which is the result of a linguistic ideology. When I arrived in Korea in the 90s, I tried to learn the word ‘crazy’ as it was a common English slang word that described something fun. I looked it up in the dictionary and found ‘미친 / mi-chin’ but when I tried it in sentences like ‘내 미친친구 / nae michin chingu / my crazy friend’ my Korean students were shocked. I soon learned that it was rather offensive like ‘my fucking retarded friend’ but I found that the *Konglish* ‘마니아 / mania / maniac’ was a

better alternative. When I returned to Korean in 2006, I heard the word ‘crazy’ being used by some Korean pop stars and assumed this word was becoming popular among young people. I also heard Koreans saying 미치겠다 / *michigetta* / ‘sounds crazy’ in what seemed to me both positive and negative connotations. This rather long explanation of the word ‘mi-chin’ may now give the beautiful relieving sensation of the linguistic play of the word ‘美친’ as it combines the difficult *hanja* ‘beautiful’ with the Korean suffix ‘chin’ resulting in the Korean pronunciation ‘mi-chin’ which means ‘crazy’ which is used to describe ‘students who are crazy about art’ as the article is about a group of students who meet on the ‘Teletubby field’ to discuss their favourite works of art! (see plate 22).

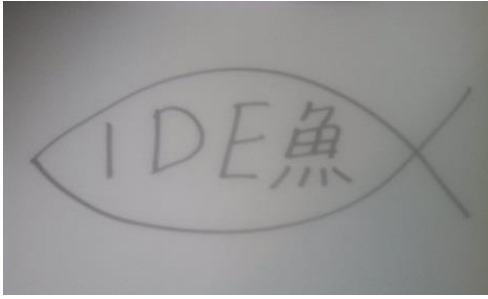
Plate 23, 'michin'



Source: author

I asked a couple of students what this kind of thing was in Korean, and they said ‘유히 / *yuhi*’ which after 20 minutes of finding out that it was another un-look-up-able word that seemed to mean ‘meaning play’! This finally seemed to explain the other beautiful image I captured at Seoul National University (see plate below). I drew it on the board and my students exclaimed, “Yes that’s *yuhi*!” Thus, Ajou students would agree that the only explanation for the graffiti ‘ide-uh’ would be linguistic play.

Plate 24, 'ide-uh'



Source: author

6.4 Conclusions

An analysis of the linguascape revealed a variety of language ideologies, certain domains of English, and a majority of EGL configurations. The videos showed that while Ajou campus does not have a lot of English to be heard in conversations, it does have a lot in songs. EGL indexical configurations in songs include 'English is good for intros, choruses, and hooks' and '*Konglish* is good for dating'. The previous chapter showed that personal names were a stronghold of EFL, but an analysis of the linguascape shows that band names, song names and brand names have more configurations of EGL. Map drawings also had more configurations of EGL as did public literature including 'English is good for websites, computers, technology, western food and fashion'. Finally, some things like combining English and Chinese together into a fun 'ide-uh' can only be explained by linguistic play (i.e. EGL).

Chapter 7

7 Conclusions and future implications

In this chapter, I will draw conclusions and discuss future implications for linguistic anthropology and applied linguistics for the theoretical concepts put forth in this dissertation.

7.1 Language play, linguascape, indexicality & standard language

In this dissertation I have made the following conclusions from my analysis:

- 1) when students use *Konglish* instead of Korean or English they are developing a more positive attitude toward *Konglish*, which is becoming a marker for Korean identity, which means English is becoming a more familiar, glocalized language and the standard language myth is meeting some resistance;
- 2) when Korean students study English for success in Korea it means that English has become an integral part of Korean society (EGL), but that the standard language myth is still a tool for maintaining unequal socio-politico-economic situations especially regarding English testing; however, a new model of the pyramid continuum that values International Englishes (IEs) and movement within the model poses a real challenge to the standard language ideology, especially since movement indexes a new identity of ‘Asian global’ who can use IEs, EGL, GEs and other languages;
- 3) when English appears in the linguascape in Korea it means that English is becoming more familiar and glocalized, but it is not taking over as part of ‘language shift’ or ‘language death’ (Crystal, 2000), as it is limited to certain taxonomic nodes and to certain domains following language ideologies such as ‘English is good for K-pop, T-shirts and beer’.

Again, the details of these conclusions involve language play, the linguascape, indexicality and standard language ideologies.

Language play

Ideologies about *Konglish* have been a basic part of this dissertation and *Konglish* basically involves language play. *Konglish* was first described to me to be limited to vocabulary and phrases, but I have shown that it includes all linguistic levels and can defy traditional definitions. Language play is everywhere. It is in interview data as both researcher and students laugh about *Konglish*. It is in advertisements as entrepreneurs try to catch a customer's eye or ear with a new twist of language. It is written on the wall with a black Sharpie while a friend watches out for professors and janitors. In all cases, language play indexes EGL as it is bringing difficult, oppressive English into the light-hearted familiar genre of play. It can involve puns, jokes and logographic play. Language attitudes toward 'play'ful *Konglish* are becoming more positive over time, especially among female students. This means that English is becoming more familiar and less foreign than in the past. This also means that the standard language ideology is being resisted through valuing non-standard *Konglish* as an identifying marker of Korean identity. However, this does not mean that the standard language myth is losing its position of power, as *Konglish*, whether liked or disliked, is always diametrically and negatively opposed to the standard language ideology. In either case, at some point it is not analyzable as a wise professor once said to me, "At some point they're just simply playing with the language".

Future implications for the study of language play involving GEs are vast. The population of the Expanding Circle is far greater than the combined populations of the Inner and Outer Circle. Studies of *Chinglish*, *Janglish*, *Brazinglish* and other GEs offer the chance to explore the similarities of both structure and usage of these translanguaging practices. As all of these students will likely be 'playing' with English, there are opportunities to study how this play occurs, where it occurs and why it occurs there. I believe there will be more logographic play in Korea as China becomes a stronger economic force in the world. Sherzer and Webster (2015) state: that speech play blurs the

boundaries between languages, acts as an engine of language change, and plays a crucial role of aesthetics in language use. In other words, studying *Konglish* is funny and fun.

Linguascape

The linguascape has proven to be a useful methodological tool. Previously researchers studied the linguistic landscape of cities and districts and recently Backhaus (2015) has begun studying the linguistic soundscape. Now I have combined the two for a full picture of the linguascape of a community. Previously, the five scapes put forth by Appadurai (1990) are useful, but rather ethereal. In this dissertation I have added a sixth ‘linguascape’ which is a combination of the linguistic soundscape and landscape, and I have quantified it. My analysis of the linguascape has shown that spoken and written English are not borrowed ubiquitously in Korean society, but only in certain domains such as fashion, K-pop and beer. This indexes the ideology that ‘English is good for X but not for Y’. I have also shown that when an English word is borrowed at a certain taxonomic node, further borrowing below that node is easy but borrowing above that node is very difficult. This means that English has become embedded in the local culture of Korea, but is not taking over as the language of common communication as might be the case in language shift or language death.

Indexicality

Indexicality in the form of indexical configurations of language ideologies has been the largest point of this dissertation. I have shown that multiple, diverse, smaller instances of language ideologies can coalesce into configurations that index EFL or EGL. By utilizing this type of discourse analysis originated by Wortham & Reyes (2015), these configurations have been quantified by looking at not only texts of interviews but the entire linguascape. My results showed not only the presence, but the dominance of the language ideology that English is not a foreign language in Korea (EFL); rather it is becoming a domestic, glocalized one (EGL). This means that English has become a familiar, integral part of Korean society. Part of being successful in Korea is having a high ability in English. The two major tests in Korea, the university entrance exam and the TOEIC test, are used to determine who gets into a good school and gets a promotion

at a good job. The choice of orthography also involves language ideologies. Products for children have English that is often written in Hangeul; products for adults usually have English that is written in the Roman alphabet. This indexes the ideology that 'Korean children are not good at English', which in turn indexes that a low level of English indexes a low level of age, education and perhaps intelligence. All of this means that English is becoming an integral part of Korean society and that the binary of ESL/EFL is untenable and should include EGL. I believe that the shift from EFL ideologies to EGL is a reaction to the hegemony of standard English. Many Korean students and professors resent having to spend so much time and money on studying language instead of knowledge. Having a cool style of *Konglish* and having their own English testing system is a way of resisting the crippling power of world standard English. However, this resistance has not raised any significant challenge to the standard English ideology.

Future implications of this kind of research are promising. Researchers can quantify language maintenance, language change, or even language death. Research sites can be categorized into different parts of the linguascape and indexical configurations of IE, EFL, EGL, GE and local languages can be quantified to see if a language is being maintained, changed or lost. Sites for this kind of research can be as small as a classroom or as large as the internet. Linguistic anthropologists can investigate how many times a language ideology occurs in a linguascape, where it occurs, why it occurs, and what that means. Beyond the boundaries of Korea, researchers can investigate the emergence of other GEs in other countries and deduce whether English is becoming an integral, glocalized part of their society. Or this methodology could be applied to how Chinese or another language becomes a more integral part of a non-Chinese society.

Standard language ideologies

The standard language ideology has now met a serious challenger in a newer, fairer and more accurate model of the pyramid continuum. My data have shown there is overwhelming evidence that English has become an integral part of Korean society in the forms of GE and EGL. My data have also shown that there is slight evidence that Koreans recognize that there is an ideological level above 'the native speaker' in the form

of IEs. The biggest contribution of my analysis is the value of *movement* within the model. In interviews, songs, advertisements and products it is the ability to move from high-level IE to mid-level EGL, to low-level GE that is attractive and valuable. This means there is a growing change in identity from the ‘Korean elite’ who speaks Korean and world standard English, to the ‘Asian global’ who speaks Korean, *Konglish*, a couple IEs and another language or two and has the ability to switch between these languages and levels at will. This alternative model might be the David that can topple the Goliath of world standard English.

Future implications for this kind of research are promising and refreshing. Studies of movement between IEs, EGL, and GEs can show how some presidents (such as Obama) are able to do it and others (such as Trump) are not. Successful attempts to move among these levels are likely to be valued and labelled as ‘open-minded, multi-cultural, cosmopolitan’ while unsuccessful attempts are likely to be labelled ‘racist, nerdy, parochial’. There is some evidence that this is already happening in tests like IELTS where the students have to listen to English speakers with not just British or American accents but also Irish, Scottish, French and Thai accents. A less geographically specific term than ‘Asian global’ would also be more accurate as Europeans, South Americans and Africans also have the ability to ‘move’ within the model.

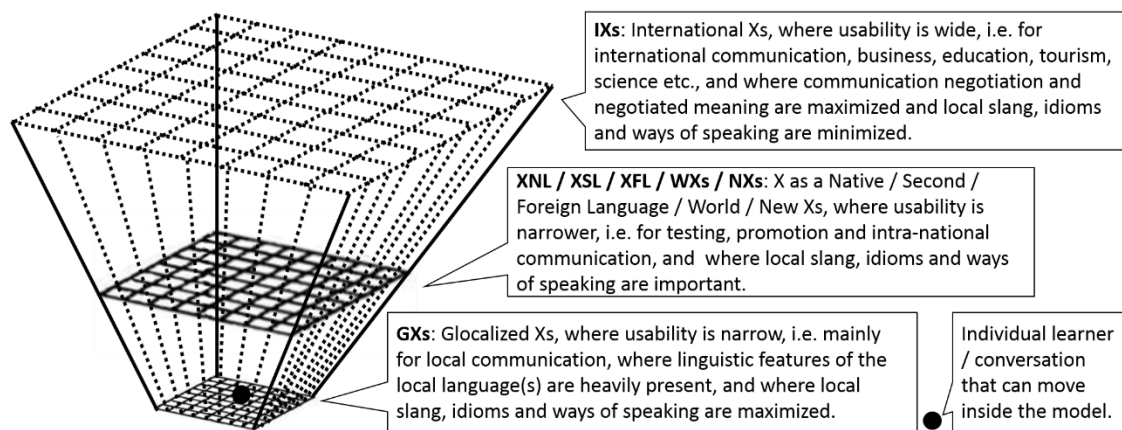
7.2 Pyramid continuum model of English

The Pyramid Continuum model has been proven to be useful as a supplement to the Circle model of English. It can show the hierarchical levels of English according to usability with GEs at the bottom, ENLs et al in the middle, and IEs at the top. It can also illustrate movement of individual learners as they move from one level to another in the course of language acquisition, as well as movement of a speaker, singer or reader that moves immediately moves from one level to another in a conversation, song or advertisement.

The future of the Pyramid Continuum of English is that it can be used for studying other GEs, ENLs or even future languages. It can be used to study other GEs such as

Janglish, Chinglish or Brazinglish, and how these languages are used in conjunction with IEs in those countries. It can also be used to study a native speaker who is born anywhere on the model and may move throughout their life through the model. For example, a boy is born in Canada, learns the local language (ENL), learns local slang (GE), travels around the planet and learns to modify his English for maximum intelligibility anywhere he goes (IEs). It can also represent a conversation that starts at one point in the model and moves immediately to somewhere else. For example a girl begins a conversation at an international conference (IEs), then finds out that her interlocutor is from near her hometown and immediately switches to her hometown's slang and pronunciation (GEs). It can also be used to study languages other than English (see figure 49 below).

Figure 49, The pyramid continuum of X

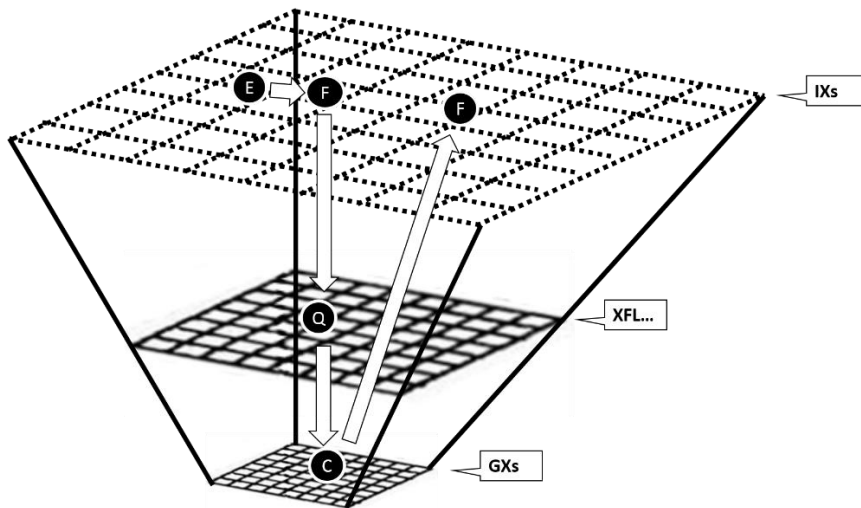


Consider that another language X takes the place of English as the world's lingua franca. The Pyramid model can still be used. At the bottom level is the map of the world, either the Asian one, European one, or even the Australian one. The languages here are Glocalized Xs (GXs), where the usability is narrow. Foreigners will have a hard time understanding GXs as they are mainly used for local communication, and linguistic features of the local language(s) are heavily present, and local slang, idioms, and ways of speaking are maximized. The middle level represents the various situations of X as a Foreign, Second and Native Language, New and World Xs, etc. The usability of these languages is wider than the bottom, as the intent is for international communication, but the result is not as the practical usability of the languages is more for testing at school, promotions at work, intra-national communication, and local slang, idioms, and ways of

speaking are important. The highest level is for International Xs (IXs) where the usability is wide, i.e. for international communication, business, education, tourism, etc., and where communication, negotiation, etc. are maximized and local slang, idioms, etc. are minimized.

Finally, consider how the pyramid model could be applied to multilingualism. When I was travelling in Thailand I met a man on a scooter. He spoke to me in English with a French accent. I asked him where he was from. He said he was from France, so I switched into French. He seemed to enjoy speaking to me in French, but he was very careful not to speak too fast. I recognized this and thanked him for it, and just for fun I threw in a couple very Quebecois sounding statements like “Quesqui spouse, lo?” He laughed and waited for me to explain that it was “Qu'est-ce qui se passe?” (What’s happening?). Had I known any Chiac I could have said “J’aime hanger out aux cafés” (I like to hang out in cafes), which would not have likely resulted in successful communication. In the end it was obvious that his English was much better than my French, so we landed on English and I followed him on my scooter to a hilltop restaurant that was better and cheaper than any I had found. This multilingual conversation can be represented by the pyramid model with the first exchange in IEs, the second French exchange as International French (IFs), the third Quebecois exchange as French as a Glocalized Language (FGL), the fourth hypothetical Chiac exchange as Glocalized French, and the final as back to IEs.

Figure 50, Pyramid Continuum of Multilingualism



7.3 GEs, EGL and IEs

Konglish, Chinglish, Janglish and other translanguaging practices are best represented by the term Glocalized Englishes, which are best represented by a continuum that can range from a few simple borrowings to fully-developed complex languages, which:

- 1) often develop in the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle, but can even develop in the Inner Circle (Kachru, 1983);
- 2) are localized at all linguistic levels including phonetics, phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax, pragmatics and discourse, to the point of mutual unintelligibility;
- 3) often develop in language learning situation of English as a Glocalized Language (EGL).

There is an academic tradition of similar terms including World Englishes (Kirkpatrick 2007, 2010), New Englishes (Platt et al, 1984), and International English (Trudgill & Hannah, 2017), and like these terms, the phenomenon exists for a while, then academics coin a term to describe them. Finally, I would conclude that the ‘s’ in GEs is vital in that

it indicates that GEs do not originate from one world standard English, but from multiple points of origin, with localizations at various linguistic levels.

The future implications of GEs are vast for linguistic anthropology. As I have shown, there are culturally specific words such as ‘junior’ and ‘senior’ that are created to fill a cultural gap. These relationships do not exist in any English speaking culture, yet GE words are invented to describe them. Other cultural gaps such as *jeong* and *han* do not have GE words invented. Further research in this area could investigate why some words and not others have GE words, what other cultural gaps exist in other GEs and how these words are translated into IEs or GEs. Having *Konglish*, *Chinglish*, *Janglish* and all the other hybrid languages developing in the Expanding Circle under the single term GEs enables researchers to compared their similarities to each other and contrast them to WEs.

English as a Glocalized Language (EGL) is a necessary expansion of the overly simple binary opposition of learning situation, English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). EGL is the language learning situation of:

- 1) the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle, but can even develop in the Inner Circle (Kachru, 1983)
- 2) having access to English outside the classroom in certain domains of the linguascape:
 - a. linguistic soundscape of music, advertising, overheard conversations, telephone calls, skype calls, etc., and
 - b. linguistic landscape of advertisements, products, magazines, texting, emailing, graffiti, etc.

EGL follows the three-lettered traditions of English as a Second Language (ESL; Morgan, 1998), and English as a Foreign Language (EFL; Gowans, 2012) and the tradition of Glocalization (Robertson, 1994).

The future implications for EGL involve linguistic anthropologists researching areas that have been dominated by applied linguistics. There has been ample research

done on ESL and EFL in the classroom by scholars and published in journals. However, the concept of EGL acknowledges that English is present outside the classroom, but not evenly. It occurs in the domains of luxury, modernity and youth. Consumer items, buildings and lifestyles associated with luxury have a lot of English music, speech, signs, and emails surrounding them. Modern technology, food and lifestyle have a lot of advertising, conversations, products and texting around them. Youth tend to listen to music, make facetime calls, wear fashion products, and write graffiti with a lot of English. The study of the full linguascope of Ajou University has shown that the language learning situation is not English as a *foreign* language but as a *domestic* one: EGL. Future questions include “How does EGL in other countries work? Where is English present in other countries? How does this differ from WEs?”

International Englishes (IEs), as a theoretical concept, is only minimally supported in my data, but it is becoming an issue with my present students and will likely become an important issue in the future. To recap, IEs are:

Englishes that are mutually intelligible to native and non-native speakers for international communication, but still have phonological, lexical, syntactic, etc. features of their national origins.

It is impossible to claim that there is one world standard English (Grzega, 2005; Farrell & Martin, 2009; Crystal, n.d.), rather there are many mutually intelligible dialects and non-native varieties of English in the world. These varieties have mutually intelligible phonetic, phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic and pragmatic variants.

Future implications would be studying these linguistic variants.

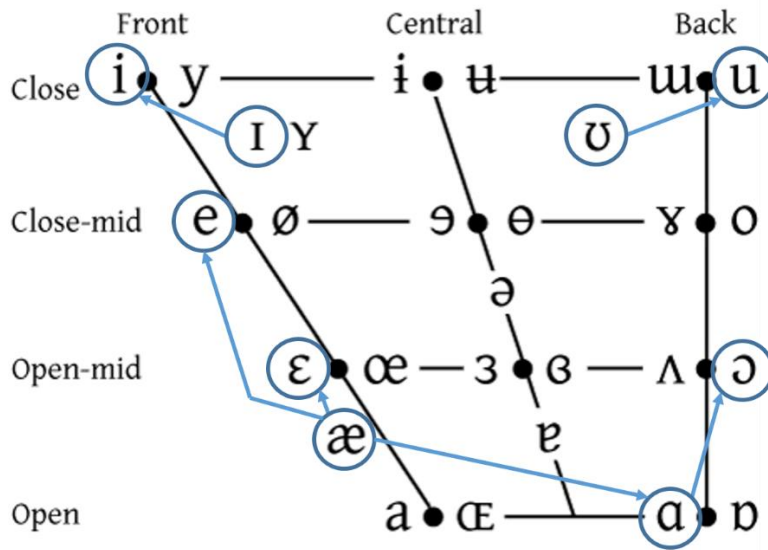
Phonetic variants

Phonetic variants include variations to English vowels and consonants, but not enough to cause unintelligibility in rapid speech, and in careful speech are clearly intelligible. Vowel include the following: [ɪ] being pronounced [i] as in Spanish “The package is coming by sheep”; [ʊ] being pronounced [u] as in Portuguese “Take a Luke at these numbers.”; [æ] being pronounced [ɛ] or [e] as in Korean/Chinese “Let’s have a

sneak/snake before lunch'; and [ɑ] being pronounced [ɔ] as in Korean/Japanese “I boat movie tickets online”. In sum IEs have a tendency to

- 1) replace central vowels by either front or back vowels;
- 2) leave out the second sound element in a diphthong;
- 3) change close lax to close tense vowels;
- 4) change open front vowels to open-mid or open back (see figure 50 below).

Figure 51, Vowel variants



Modified source: <http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/IPA/ipachart.html>

Consonant variants would involve mutually intelligible variants of difficult English sounds including the following: [f] and [v] being pronounced [p] and [b] or [ɸ] and [β] as in Korean “Bancouber is pamous” or Japanese “Ihu you come to Japan please call me”; [θ] and [ð] being pronounced [f] and [v], [s] and [z] or [t] and [d] as in Cantonese “OK fank you” German “Zis is unacceptable” or Nigerian “I like dat one”; [ɹ] being pronounced [r], [ɾ] or [R] as in Scottish “Rr-r-roll up the r-r-rim to win” Italian “You are so pretty” French “I have an incredible French accent” or deleted following a vowel as in Japanese “I walk to walk (work)”. In sum IEs have a tendency to

- 1) make no distinction between certain voiced and voiceless consonants;

- 2) reduce the aspiration of consonants at the beginning of words;
- 3) change fricatives to similar fricative or plosives;
- 4) change [ɹ] to [r], [l] or nothing (see figure 51 below).

Figure 52, Consonant variations

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Epi-glottal	Glottal
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ			
Plosive	p b	ɸ β		t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ			
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ				
Trill	ʙ			ʀ					ʀ		ʀ	
Tap, Flap		ⱱ		ɾ		ɽ						
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ		ɭ	ç	ɟ				
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ				
Lateral flap				ɺ		ɻ						

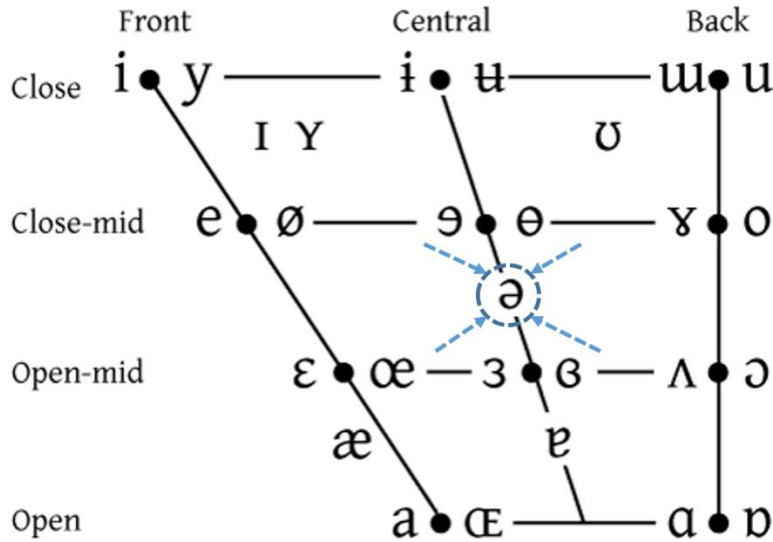
Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a modally voiced consonant, except for murmured ɦ. Shaded areas denote articulations judged to be impossible. Light grey letters are unofficial extensions of the IPA.

Modified source: <http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/IPA/ipachart.html>

Phonological variants

Phonological variants include changes to English vowels and consonants according to phonetic context, which occur in rapid speech, but are clear in careful speech. Vowel variants would include the tendency of Inner Circle ENL speakers to de-stress vowels to become schwa [ə] or complete deletion as in “I live in Chranuh (Toronto)”. In order to speak and understand IEs this phonological process must be minimized (represented by a dashed line) for maximum mutual intelligibility (see figure 52 below).

Figure 53, Phonological vowel variants



Consonant variants would include the following: adding an extra syllable to a word ending in a stop consonant as in Korean “Let’s have lunchie” and Brazilian “Let’s to a pubie”; adding extra syllables to consonant clusters as in Japanese “Suturaiku (strike)!”; the tendency of ENL speakers to reduce [t] and [d] to [r] between a stressed and unstressed vowel “Pass the budder (butter)” or to [ʔ] as in “Can I get a woʔə (water)?”; and the palatalization of [s] to [ʃ] by ESL speakers as in Korean “I she the picture’ and [t]/[d] to [ʃ] / [ʒ] by ENL speakers as in “Jeet (did you eat) yet?” Again these must be minimized for mutual intelligibility (see figure 53 below).

Figure 54, Consonant phonological variants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Epi-glottal	Glottal
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ			
Plosive	p b	ɸ β		t d		ɖ ɗ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ	ʔ
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ				
Trill	ʙ			r					ʀ		ʀ	
Tap, Flap		ɹ		ɾ		ɽ						
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ		ɭ	ç	ɟ				
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ				
Lateral flap				ɭ		ɮ						

Morphological variants

Morphological variants involve variations to the suffixes of nouns, verbs and adjectives that occur in rapid speech, become clearer in careful speech and are absent in writing. Nouns are often not marked for plural e.g. “I have many student”. Verbs are often not marked for 3rd person singular in present tense e.g. “He take a shower”, or past tense e.g. “He go downtown yesterday” and are marked with -ing for non-stative verbs e.g. “He is having a cold”. Adjectives suffixes ‘-ed’ and ‘-ing’ are often confused e.g. “I think you are boring (bored)”. In sum IEs tend to:

- 1) not mark nouns for plural;
- 2) not mark the verb for 3rd person singular in present tense;
- 3) not mark verbs for past tense;
- 4) use be + verb + ing for stative verbs;
- 5) confuse -ed and -ing adjectives.

Lexical variants

Lexical variants involve changes to the open class categories of nouns, verbs and adjectives, can often be understood from context, and can be easily learned and shared among speakers of IEs. Lexical variants include borrowing English words to express aspects of social life e.g. “She is my junior/senior”, making new abbreviations e.g. “Does this car have good A.S. (after service)?”, making new compounds e.g. “I live in a one room”; translating idioms e.g. “She is a frog in a well (unable to see the big picture)”, and changing verbs e.g. “Can you borrow (lend) me your pen?” In sum IEs tend to

- 1) borrow English words to express aspects of social life;
- 2) make new abbreviations;
- 3) make new compounds;
- 4) translate idioms;
- 5) mix similar verbs.

Syntactic variants

Discourse variants

Discourse variants involve different ways of using larger chunks of language. It can be as simple as differences in topics such as Scollon & Scollon's work on the differences between English and Athapaskan and B.C. Min's book on the differences between Koreans and Americans. For example, Athapaskans find the following things confusing about English speakers: They talk too much; They think they can predict the future; They brag about themselves. Whereas English speakers find the following things confusing about Athapaskans: They do not speak; They lack planning; They play down their own abilities (Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Also, Americans find it inappropriate when Koreans ask personal questions, engage in extensive small talk before getting down to business, and don't accept an offer unless asked two (or more) times; whereas Koreans find it inappropriate when Americans call people (especially older people) by their first names, use sarcasm, take "No" as "No" the first time (B.C. Min, 1995). It can be as mysterious as calling Korean and other Asian languages 'high context' languages (M.S. Park, 1999), which means speakers have a high level of shared knowledge, so specific information is not usually provided, as opposed to calling English and other Indo-European languages 'low context' languages (ibid) where there is much less shared knowledge, so specific information must be provided. It can be as complex as Hofstede's (1991; 2003; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010) 'cultural dimensions' of 'power distance' (high for Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Arab world and low for Anglo and Germanic countries), 'individualism' (high in western countries and low in less developed and eastern countries), 'Uncertainty avoidance' (high in Latin America, Southern /Eastern Europe, Germany and Japan and low for Anglo, Nordic, and Chinese), 'Masculinity' (Nordic low, USA mid, Latin mix, Japan and Germany high), 'Long term orientation' (low in Asia, mid in Europe, high in US and UK), and 'Indulgence' (high in Latin America, parts of Africa, the Anglo world and Nordic Europe and low in East Asia, Eastern Europe and the Muslim world). None of these studies are, or can be, definitive in describing the complexities behind language and culture. Suffice to say that speakers of IEs will be aware of many of these and other factors when using English to communicate with speakers of other languages, dialects and vernaculars.

I am not naïve about the academic world's acceptance of IEs as there will be many opponents to this idea. There is a multi-billion dollar business ensuring millions of students spend money on taking and preparing for TOEIC, TOEFL, IELTS, and other tests, and the acceptance of IEs as correct alternatives will mean a loss of revenue or spending money to alter the tests. Instead of measuring a student's abilities conform to an ENL, there will need to be more acceptance of variation. For example a common TOEIC question tests the ability to hear the difference between 'ship[i]' and 'sheep[i]', but this distinction is not present in many New/World Englishes or Glocalized Englishes, so this type of question will likely need to be removed from the test or modified to place more emphasis on successful communication. Measuring successful communication and international intelligibility is difficult, but not impossible. It can be accomplished, for example, by having a Korean student read out a list of numbers to speakers from different countries who write them down; if most of the listeners wrote down the correct numbers, then communication was successful. This is also a more efficient way of learning, as it is extremely difficult and at times impossible for EFL/ESL students to 'get rid of' an accent and sound like a native speaker, but it only takes a few weeks to 'get used to' several IE accents. Another future implication of IEs is an unwelcome one for the writers of the tests: native speakers would have to take them.

Therefore, the future implications for IEs are immense: it could spark an entire new industry. At this point there is a multi-trillion dollar industry of testing learners' English. TOEIC, TOEFL, and IELTS are the big players in testing how closely a student models certain ENLs. The Test of English Proficiency (TEPS) is a similar test developed by Seoul National University, but it still uses ENL as a standard, as its scores are easily translated into TOEIC equivalents (J.S. Yang and T.Y. Kim, 2011). What would an IE testing system look like? What would it use as standards? Would native speakers have to take it? I imagine an IE testing system would be run by international multilingual scholars, who would use multiple accents and speaking styles, and for the first time native speakers would have to take English tests, not just give them. A Test of International Englishes (TIEs) would test native and non-native speakers on how well they can understand and communicate using IEs. There is some evidence that this

development of endonormative standard for English education of has already begun (Shim, 1999; McArthur, 2001; Bolton & Kachru, 2006).

I think it might even be a good...



Seng you ^^!

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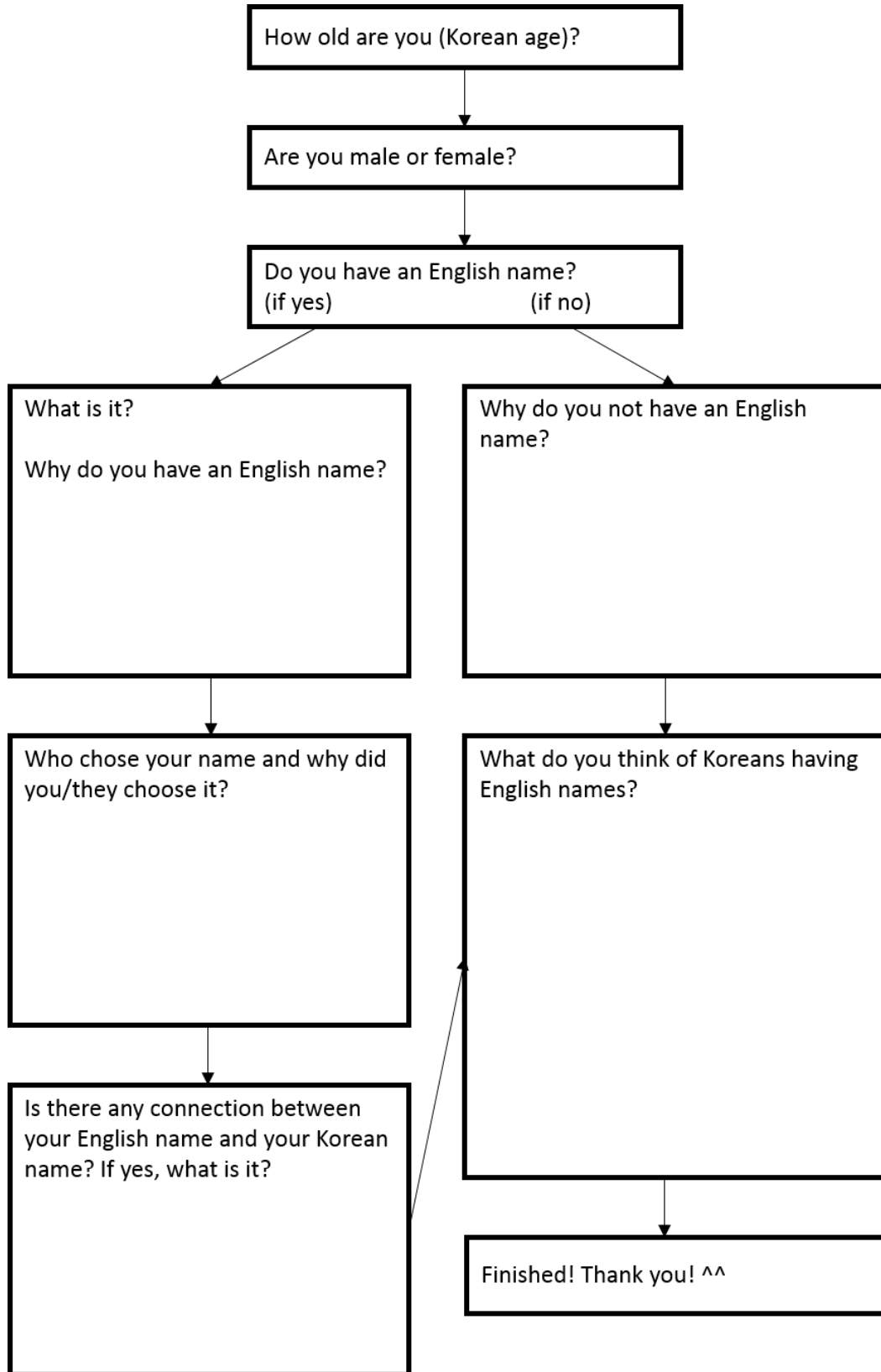
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Appendix 1: Name Survey



Appendix 2: Starter Interview Questions

What do you think of English being used on campus? |

Why do companies use English in ads?

Why do students use English words in their speech?

What do Koreans think about English?

Why do Koreans sometime take English names?

What do you think about Koreans taking English names?

When a Korean uses an English word in a sentence, how do you feel?

Do students in different majors use English more, less or differently?

Do people of different age/gender/class use English more, less or differently?

What do you think of English being used on campus?

Why do companies use Konglish in ads?

Why do students use Konglish in their speech?

What do Koreans think about Konglish?

When a Korean uses Konglish in a sentence, how do you feel?

Do students in different majors use Konglish more, less or differently?

Do people of different age/gender/class use Konglish more, less or differently?

Appendix 3: Road (video & pictures)

<i>Place</i>	<i>% E</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Campus Plaza	40%	(big signs in English, small signs in Korean), 'Ajou University' logo 50K-50E, 'CAMPUS PLAZA' 100% E
Kududuseon senteo	1%	Dojang (stamp) only E is in <i>Hangeul</i> 'senteo' (center)
A Twosome Place	40%	A TWOSOME PLACE, (BgE/SmK = big simple signs in English/small detailed signs in Korean), 'dessert cafe' 'thank you', smaller menu in K
Jeju heuk daeji (pork rest	2%	Song in Korean, in <i>Hangeul</i> 'babekyu' (bbq) balloon ad only one E: 'hite'
'CU' market	40%	(BgE/SmK), 'BGF litaeil' (BGF retail), CUS for You on umbrella
McDonalds	50%	M, McDonalds, 'angeuri shanghai beogeo (angry shanghai burger' in <i>Hangeul</i> , Coca-Cola
Watsons	60%	watsons (make up), LUNA, pre SUMMER battle, Cheer Up Festival, Get it Beauty, NEW, 10-20& OFF, 'peolokaounsil paunde (procouncil found)' 'aipaletu (eye palette)' etc. in <i>Hangeul</i>
A rok bil ding	3%	Parking, 'bil ding (building)' 'pi ja pa king (pizza parking)' etc. in <i>Hangeul</i>
Toms Coffee	50%	TOM N TOMS COFFEE, 24 ALWAYS OPEN, Tropical Revolution, (BgE/SmK), Song in Korean, Conversation in Korean
GS 25	40%	GS 25, Friendly Fresh Fun, 'dijenilaendeu (Disneyland)' 'keopi (coffee)' in <i>Hangeul</i>
Bus map	10%	G BUS, (Route), about 20% of destinations in E
Bus	1%	'ka de (card)' in <i>Hangeul</i>
Havana bar	100%	HAVANA, BAR, The MACALLAN SINGLE MALT (only 3 big signs)
Ediya coffee	70%	EDIYA COFFEE, ESPRESSO, BLOSSOM, size up, 'keo pi (coffee)' 'hwaiting (fighting)' etc in <i>Hangeul</i> , (BgE/SmK)

Chou cake	70%	Chou Cake House, Fresh Cream Cake, POST, OPEN, CLOSE, 'tiramisu' 'chize (cheese)' etc. in <i>Hangeul</i> , (BgE/SmK)
U+ Square	20%	U+ SQUARE, LG U+, FESTIVAL, 'deiteo (data)' 'peurimiyeom (premium)' etc. in <i>Hangeul</i> (BgE/SmK)
Japanese rest.	1%	ADT (alarm system), Hiragana, Chinese, <i>Hangeul</i> signs
Soselip beer	10%	TAKE OUT, Frozen Beer, by far the majority of English is in <i>Hangeul</i> with all the beer names 'aiseukeurim meakju (ice cream meakju)' 'lemon meakju (lemon maeksu)' etc. including the name 'soselipbieo (sausea[ge] lip beer)' sausage shortened to 'sose', (BgE/SmK)
Barket	20%	WORLD BEER OUTLET, BARKET, OPEN 4 th BIG EVENT, Pasta & Grill, Pesce, OK!, 'yegeomaisteo (Jägermeister)' 'Bombeijin (Bombay Gin)' in <i>Hangeul</i> , (BgE/SmK)
Han	2%	OPEN CLOSE, Nasi Goreng, 'loboka (robo-car)' 'polli seteu (poly set)' in <i>Hangeul</i>
Jyukeura Gold	10%	GOLD, Jewellery Shop, Jewelry, 'ibenteu (event)' in <i>Hangeul</i> (BgE/SmK)
The Jinkuk	3%	The Jinkuk, TAKE OUT, GRAND OPEN, (BgE/SmK)
Segyemekjujeonmujeom	5%	SELF BAR, CLUB S, SENSE COIN, ABSOLUTE, MUSIC STUDIO, (BgE/SmK)
Olive Young	20%	OLIVE O YOUNG, isoi, BR Blemish Care Serum Plus, 'aisoi (isoi)' 'chaptiroje seeom (chop tea rose serum)' etc. in <i>Hangeul</i> , (BgE/SmK)
Phone booth	40%	phone booth, SK telecom GALAXY, 'seumateupon (smartphone)' in <i>Hangeul</i> (BgE/SmK) not much language
Yeoneoyeomyeok	10%	SINCE 2015, OPEN MON to SAT Last order, (BgE/SmK)

GG Go	30%	GG Go, Take Out, Menu, CLOSE, 'naiseu raiseu (nice rice)' 'nudeul dudeul (noodle doodle) etc. in <i>Hangeul</i> , (BgE/SmK)
3Q	30%	3Q, BUBBLE TEA, Ji Pai, one Chinese sign, (BgE/SmK)
Sonagi	5%	Crispy, Set Menu, A Set, B Set, C Set
Good Coffee	50%	GOOD COFFEE, NATURE IN THE CITY, (BgE/SmK)
Haha	20%	haha, coffee, & fruits juice, take out, (BgE/SmK)
The Book's	2%	THE BOOK'S, 'aipon (Iphone)' 'wonpiseu (one piece)' etc. in <i>Hangeul</i> , (BgE/SmK)
Ziller net/Nine o clock	70%	ziller o net, NINE O' CLOCK, COFFEE COMPANY 2F, TAKE OUT, HOT/ICED, 'amerikano (Americano)' 'net' in <i>Hangeul</i> , not much language but most in English
Olleh	20%	olleh, GiGA LTE, GiGA internet, GALAXY J7, KT, LED TV, life's good when you play more, LGG5 'hepi dei (happy day)' in <i>Hangeul</i> , (BgE/SmK)
Kkamdis jjimdak	2%	FIND OUT THE AMAZING TASTE, KKAMDIS JJIMDAK, 'toping (topping) in <i>Hangeul</i>
Yonglim munwhaseo	1%	'maseuta (master)' 'dijital (digital)' in <i>Hangeul</i>
Pyeonuijeom sarang	1%	SALE, 'aipon (Iphone)' 'seil (sale)' in <i>Hangeul</i>
Dding ddon wa pul	5%	Ade, order, out, TAKE OUT, 'dding ddon wa pul (ding dong waffle)' 'keureonchi wa pul (crunchy waffle)' etc. in <i>Hangeul</i>
Coffeenie	20%	COFFEENIE CAFE, Everyone needs a 'Third Place' to relax, talk and get things done, 'keopi (coffee)' 'lieol (real)' in <i>Hangeul</i> , (BgE/SmK)

Ethics Approval



Research Ethics

Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board NMREB Delegated Initial Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. Karen Pennesi
Department & Institution: Social Science/Anthropology, Western University

NMREB File Number: 107927
Study Title: English, Konglish and Expanding English: The role of ideology in language learning and usage in Korea

NMREB Initial Approval Date: May 18, 2016
NMREB Expiry Date: May 18, 2017

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Western University Protocol		2016/05/02
Letter of Information & Consent	Received May 6, 2016	2016/04/01
Instruments		2016/05/01

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the above named study, as of the NMREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Curriculum Vitae

C. Bruce Lawrence

Education

PhD Linguistic anthropology, Western University	Sep 2014-present
Teaching Assistant Training Program, Western University	Sep 2014
CELTA, Cambridge University	Mar-May 2014
MA Linguistic anthro., University of Western Ontario (UWO)	Sep 1994-Oct 1996
BA Linguistics, UWO	Sep 1990-Jun 1994
Certificate in Second Language Teaching, UWO	Jun 1992

Awards

Regna Darnell Graduate Award	June 16, 2015
Graduate Research Awards Fund	March 19, 2015
Conference Fellowship, Ajou University	Jul-Aug 2013
Instructor of the Year, Ajou University	2008
Ontario Graduate Scholarship (OGS)	Summer 1995-Winter 1996
Special University Scholarship (SUS)	Sep 1994-Aug 1996
Gold Medal Anthropology-Linguistics (#1 Student)	1994
Dean's Honour List (A+ Student), UWO	1993-94

Work Experience

International Language School of Canada	Sep 2018-present
Teaching Assistantship, Western University	Sep 2014-Aug 2018
Ajou University, Suwon Korea:	Jan 2006-Aug 2014
Sprott-Shaw Community College (SSC)/Burnaby College	May 2002-Dec 2005
Bodwell Language School, Vancouver, Canada:	May 2000-2002
Sogang University, Seoul Korea:	Jan 1997-May 2000
Research Assistantship, UWO	Jun 1994-Apr 1996
Teaching Assistantship, UWO	Sep 1994-Apr 1996

Publication highlights

- (2015). A Discursive Assessment of Narrative Journalism Using Coh-Metrix and Principal Component Analysis. Co-authored with Jungsik Park and Hyunkeun Cho. *영어영문학 21 (English Literature 21)* 28(1), pp. 383-400.
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- (2006). Building Conversational Ability by Learning Sentence Structures. Co-authored with Don Hearn and Nic McGhie in *영어 I/English I*, Suwon: Ajou University Secondary School Teacher Training Center.
- (2005). *Teaching English as a Second Language*. Vancouver: Sprott-Shaw International Language College (SSILC), which included 10 modules in 7 volumes:
Module 1: Overview of Teaching. Module 2&3: Teaching Vocabulary & Functions and Listening & Speaking. Module 4: Teaching Pronunciation. Module 5: Teaching Grammar. Module 6: Tutoring & Teaching Children. Module 7&8: Teaching Materials and Teaching Reading. Module 9&10: Teaching Writing and Preparing to Teach.
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